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The church historians of  
England













THE CHURCH HISTORIANS  
OF ENGLAND.





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THE CHURCH HISTORIANS  
OF ENGLAND.

REFORMATION PERIOD.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF  
✓  
JOHN FOXE.

CAREFULLY REVISED, WITH NOTES  
AND APPENDICES.

VOL. VIII.—PART II.

George Seeley,  
32, ARGYLL STREET, REGENT STREET.  
MDCCCLXVIII.



Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon, between one and two of the clock, to hear the definitive sentence read against them, according to the ecclesiastical laws then in force. At which time, he sitting in judgment, talking with these godly and virtuous men, at last came into the said place sir Edward Hastings and sir Thomas Cornwallis, knights, two of queen Mary's officers of her house; and being there, they sat them down over against the chancellor, in whose presence the said chancellor condemned those good poor lambs, and delivered them over to the secular power, who received and carried them to prison immediately, and there kept them in safety, till the day of their death.

Mary.

A. D.  
1558.

Sir Edward Hastings and sir Thomas Cornwallis at the condemnation of these martyrs.

In the mean time this naughty chancellor slept not, I warrant you, but that day in which they were condemned, he made certificate into the lord chancellor's office, from whence the next day after was sent a writ to burn them at Brentford aforesaid, which accordingly was accomplished in the same place, the said 14th day of July; whereunto they being brought, made their humble prayers unto the Lord Jesus, undressed themselves, went joyfully to the stake (whereunto they were bound), and the fire flaming about them, they yielded their souls, bodies, and lives, into the hands of the omnipotent Lord, for whose cause they did suffer, and to whose protection I commend thee, gentle reader, Amen.

See  
Appendix

Among these six was one William Pikes (as ye have heard), who sometime dwelt in Ipswich in Suffolk, by his occupation a tanner, a very honest godly man, and of a virtuous disposition, a good keeper of hospitality, and beneficial to the persecuted in queen Mary's days. This said William Pikes, in the third year of queen Mary's reign, a little after Midsummer, being then at liberty, went into his garden, and took with him a Bible of Rogers's translation,<sup>1</sup> where he, sitting with his face towards the south, reading on the said Bible, suddenly fell down upon his book, between eleven and twelve o'clock of the day, four drops of fresh blood, and he knew not from whence it came. Then he, seeing the same, was sore astonished, and could by no means learn (as I said) from whence it should fall: and wiping out one of the drops with his finger, he called his wife and said, "In the virtue of God, wife, what meaneth this? will the Lord have four sacrifices? I see well enough the Lord will have blood: his will be done, and give me grace to abide the trial! Wife, let us pray," said he, "for I fear the day draweth nigh." Afterward, he daily looked to be apprehended of the papists; and it came to pass accordingly, as ye have heard. Thus much thought I good to write thereof, to stir up our dull senses in considering the Lord's works, and reverently to honour the same. His name there-for be praised for evermore! Amen.

\* Here<sup>2</sup> is to be noted by the way, amongst those that suffered at Braineфорde, one there was of the said company, who, at their burning, desired of God some token to be given, whereby the people might know that they died in the right. After, coming to the place of execu-

(1) This was William Tyndale's translation, published at Hamburg under the name of "Thomas Matthews:" the press was corrected by John Rogers. See an account of this Bible in vol. v. pp. 410—413.—Ed.

(2) This story, exemplifying the credulity of the times in which Foxe lived, is introduced from his First Edition, p. 1670.—Ed.



*Mary.**A.D.*  
1558.

tion, and being in the fire, there appeared in him that so prayed, in his breast, a marvelous white cross, as white as the paper; the breadth whereof extended from the one shoulder to the other, the length being as much as the breadth. The compass thereof in every place was as broad as a hand. This cross appeared so long till he fell down flat to the fire. Master Dean, aforesaid, did see it with his eyes; and he that saw, did justify it; and himself declared it to me with his own mouth, anno 1561, October 14th.\*

Moreover, concerning the said William Pikes, as he was in Newgate sore sick and at the point of death, so that no man looked he should live six hours, he declared to them that stood by, that he had been twice in persecution before, and that now he desired the Lord, if it were his will, that he might glorify his name at the stake; and so, as he prayed, it came to pass at Brentford.

Ye heard before, that of those two-and-twenty taken at Islington, thirteen were burnt, and six escaped, albeit very hardly, and some of them not without scourging by the hands of the bishop; in the which number was Thomas Hinshaw and John Milles.

\*R. L.

Quid<sup>1</sup> miserum laceras, quid virgis, turgide, torques?  
Facti nonne pudet, sanguinolente, tui?  
Insurgunt lapides: surgunt animalia quæque  
Dentibus, O Bufo, te laniare suis.\*

Ex Epigrammate Ennii apud Ciceronem Allusio.

Si fas cædendo cœlestia scandere cuiquam est,  
Bonnero cœli maxima porta patet.

In Effigiem Bonneri Carmen.

Quid nova forma viri, quid virga, quid ora, quid alvus,  
Pondera quid ventris, crassitiesque velit?  
Corpus amaxæum, distento abdomine pigrum,  
Rides anne stupes, lector amice, magis?  
Vasta quid ista velint si nescis pondera, dicam:  
Nam nihil hic mirum venter obesus habet.  
Carnibus humanis et sanguine vescitur atro,  
Tercentos annis hauserat ille tribus.  
Ergo quid hoc monstri est, recto vis nomine dicam?  
Nomen nec Matris, nec gerit ille Patris.  
Qui patre Savago natus, falsoque Bonerus  
Dicitur: hunc melius dixeris Orbilium.<sup>2</sup>

The same in English.

Muse not so much that nature's work is thus deformed now,  
With belly blown, and head so swoln, for I shall tell you how:  
This cannibal, in three years' space, three hundred martyrs slew;  
They were his food; he loved so blood, he spared none he knew.

It should appear that blood feeds fat, if men lie well and soft;  
For Bonner's belly waxt with blood, though he seemed to fast oft.  
O bloody beast! bewail the death of those that thou hast slain:  
In time repent, since thou canst not their lives restore again.

G G.

(1) This stanza is from the First Edition, p. 1682.—ED.

(2) See Hor. Epist. II. 1. 71.—ED.

## \*In Bonerum.

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.

Magna<sup>1</sup> fuit priscais muletandi gloria noxas,  
 Et disciplinæ cura severa piæ.  
 Tempore defecit; quid non cariosa vetustas  
 Carpit? et in pejus, quæ viguere, trahit?  
 Nam pro suppliciis imitantia sacra Lupercos  
 Sacrifici virgâ perficit uncta manus.  
 Tam rigidos mores dum sic fluxisse Bonerus,  
 Ille vetustatis cultor amansque, dolet;  
 Jure Lupercorum lictoris fasce flagellum  
 Mutat, et antiqui signa rigoris amat.  
 Nec tamen Orbilii prudens convivia pastor  
 Sed neque plagosi crimina falsa timet.\*

## In Bonerum.

Carnificis nomen debetur jure Bonero,  
 Qui sine Christicolas crimine mactat oves.  
 Certe carnificis immiti nomine gaudet,  
 Sique isto pejus nomine nomen, amat.  
 Carnificem vocitas? ridet. Crudelia facta  
 Narras? rem gratam non facis ipse minus.  
 Det Deus ut sapias meliora, Bonere, vel istis  
 Te feriant meritis munera digna precor.

## THE SCOURGING OF THOMAS HINSHAW.

In the godly number above mentioned, which were apprehended at Islington, there congregated together, for their exercise of prayer and reading, was this Thomas Hinshaw above named, a young man of the age of nineteen or twenty years, prentice in Paul's churchyard with one master Pugson, who, with the rest, was carried to the constables of Islington, and there every one of them searched, and led forthwith to the chief justice master Cholmley, dwelling in the Old Bailey in London; and by him then the said Thomas Hinshaw was sent to Newgate, and there remaining prisoner without conference with any about eight weeks, at the last was sent for to Bonner, bishop of London, and by him, Harpsfield, and Cole, examined. After which examination he was sent to Newgate again, where he remained a three weeks following; which time being \*blowen over\*, he was sent for again before the said bishop, the day being Saturday, and with him had much talk to little purpose. The next day after also, which was Sunday, they persuaded with him very much in like manner, and perceiving they could not bend him unto their bow, in the afternoon the bishop, going unto Fulham, took him with him, where, immediately after his coming, he was set in the stocks, remaining there all the first night with bread and water. The next morning the bishop came and examined him himself, and perceiving no yielding to his mind, he sent master Harpsfield to talk with him; who, after long talk, in the end fell to raging words, calling the said Thomas Hinshaw "peevish boy," and asked him whether he thought he went about to damn his soul, or no, etc.: unto which the said Thomas answered, that he was persuaded that they laboured to maintain their dark and devilish kingdom, and not for any love to truth. Then

The story of Thomas Hinshaw.

See Appendix.

Cholmley chief justice.

Bonner, Harpsfield, and Cole.

Hinshaw carried to Fulham, and set in the stocks.

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

Hinshaw  
beaten  
with rods.  
The boy  
was be-  
holden to  
bishop  
Bonner's  
grand  
paunch.

Harpsfield, being in a mighty rage, told the bishop thereof; whereat the bishop fumed and fretted, that scant for anger being able to speak, he said, "Dost thou answer my archdeacon so, thou naughty boy? I shall handle thee well enough, be assured." So he sent for a couple of rods and caused him to kneel against a long bench in an arbour in his garden, where the said Thomas, without any enforcement of his part, offered himself to the beating, and did abide the fury of the said Bonner, so long as the fat-paunched bishop could endure with breath, and till for weariness he was fain to cease, and give place to his shameful act. He had two willow rods, but he wasted but one, and so left off.<sup>1</sup>

Now after this scourging the said Thomas Hinshaw notwithstanding did sustain divers conflicts and examinations sundry times. At last, being brought before the said bishop in his chapel at Fulham, there he had procured witnesses, and gathered articles against him, which the young man denied, and would not affirm, or consent to any interrogatory there and then ministered, do what they could; the articles were these.

### Articles objected.

Concerning palms, ashes, holy bread, holy water, auricular confession, receiving the sacrament at Easter, hearing divine service then set forth, etc.

Whether he had received all these, or whether he would receive them or no.

Item, What he thought of the service set forth in king Edward's time, in his latter days; and, in especial, what he thought of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament. In all which his answers, the said Thomas Hinshaw kept an upright conscience, and entangled himself with none of their ceremonies, so merciful was the Lord unto him.

Hinshaw  
delivered  
to his  
master.

Not long after this his examination (about a fortnight or such a thing), the foresaid examinee fell sick of a burning ague, whereby he was delivered upon entreaty unto his master Martin Pugson, in Paul's churchyard aforesaid; for the bishop thought verily he was more likely to die, than to live. The which his sickness endured a twelvemonth or more, so that in the mean time queen Mary died. Then he, shortly after, recovered health, and escaped death, being at the writing of this yet alive, both witness and reporter of the same; the Lord there-for be praised! Amen.

### THE SCOURGING OF JOHN MILLES BY BISHOP BONNER.

Besides the above named, was scourged also by the hands of the said Bonner, one John Milles a capper, a right faithful and true honest man in all his dealings and conditions; who was brother to the foresaid R. Milles, burnt before at Brentford, as is above signified: who also was apprehended in the same number with them at Islington, as is mentioned also before; and being brought before Bonner, and there examined, was commanded to the coalhouse, with the foresaid Thomas Hinshaw, where they remained one night in the stocks. From thence he was sent to Fulham, where he, with the said Hinshaw, remained eight or ten days in the stocks, during which time

Milles  
and Hin-  
shaw, in  
the  
stocks.

(1) In the original Editions of the Acts and Monuments is a very spirited engraving of this infliction of bishop Bonner. It portrays the bishop, with his robes off, belabouring the object of his displeasure in regular schoolboy undress; the representation of this episcopal feat is denominated "The right picture and true counterfeyt of Boner, and his crueltye in scourgyng of Goddes Sayntes in his orcharde."—Ed.



he sustained divers conflicts with the said Bonner, who had him oftentimes in examination, urging him, and, with a stick which he had in his hand, oftentimes rapping him on the head, and flirting him under the chin, and on the ears, saying, he looked down like a thief. Moreover, after he had assayed all manner of ways to cause him to recant, and could not, at length having him to his orchard, there within a little arbour, with his own hands he beat him first with a willow-rod; and that being worn well nigh to the stumps, he called for a birchen rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber. The cause why he so beat him was this: Bonner asked him when he had crept to the cross. He answered, not since he came to the years of discretion, neither would, though he should be torn with wild horses. Then Bonner bade him make a cross in his forehead, which he refused to do; whereupon he had him incontinently to his orchard, and there calling for rods, showed his cruelty upon him, as he did upon Thomas Hinshaw, as is above declared.

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.Milles  
beaten of  
Bonner.

This done, he had him immediately to the parish church of Fulham with the said Thomas Hinshaw and with Robert Willis, to whom, there being severally called before him, he ministered certain articles, asking if he would subscribe to the same: to the which the said John Milles made his answer according to his conscience, denying them all, except one article, which was concerning king Edward's service in English. Shortly after this beating, Bonner sent to him in prison a certain old priest lately come from Rome, to conjure out the evil spirit from him, who laying his hand upon his head, began with certain words pronounced over him, to conjure as he had been wont before to do. Milles, marvelling what the priest was about to do, said, he trusted no evil spirit to be within him; and laughed him to scorn, etc.

Milles  
denieth to  
subscribe  
to Bon-  
ner's  
articles.  
*See*  
*Appendix.*An old  
conjuring  
priest.

As this John Milles was divers times and oft called before Bonner, so much communication and talk passed between them; which to recite all, it were too long. And yet it were not unpleasant for the reader that lusteth to laugh, to see the blind and unsavoury reasons of that bishop, which he used to persuade the ignorant withal. As in the process of his other talk with this Milles, Bonner, going about to persuade him not to meddle with matters of the Scripture, but rather to believe other men's teaching, which had more skill in the same, first asked if he did believe the Scripture.

Unsa-  
voury rea-  
sons of  
Bonner  
going  
about to  
persuade  
Milles.

"Yea," said Milles, "that I do."

Then the bishop: "Why," quoth he, "St. Paul saith, 'If the man sleep, the woman is at liberty to go to another man.' If thou wert asleep, having a wife, wouldest thou be content thy wife to take another man? and yet this is the Scripture. Item, If thou wilt believe Luther, Zuinglius, and such, then thou canst not go right. But if thou wilt believe me, etc., thou canst not err. And if thou shouldst err, yet thou art in no peril: thy blood should be required at our hands. As if thou shouldst go to a far country, and meet with a fatherly man, as I am" (for these were his terms), "and ask the way to the head city, and he should say, 'Go this way;' and thou wilt not believe him, but follow Luther, and other heretics of late days, and go a contrary way; how wilt thou come to the place thou askest for? So, if thou wilt not believe me, but follow the leading of other heretics, so shalt thou be brought to destruction, and burn both body and soul.<sup>1</sup> As truly as thou seest the bodies of them in Smithfield burnt, so truly their souls do burn in hell, because they err from the true church."

Bonner's  
judgment  
that we  
should  
trust  
more to  
men than  
to the  
Scriptures  
of God.Rash and  
presump-  
tuous  
judgment  
of Bon-  
ner.

(1) This similitude holdeth, κατὰ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν.

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.His wish  
in punish-  
ing God's  
saints.The occa-  
sion of de-  
livering  
Milles.Milles's  
wife en-  
treateth  
for her  
husband.

†

Robert  
Rouse  
kinsman  
to Milles.The con-  
dition put  
to Milles.*See  
Appendix.*Milles  
sent home  
with his  
wife.

Ofttimes speaking to the said John Milles, he would say, "They call me bloody Bonner. A vengeance on you all! I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. But if I might have my will, I would sew your mouths, and put you in sacks and drown you."

Now somewhat to say concerning the deliverance of the said John Milles. The same day that he was delivered, Bonner came unto the stocks where he lay, and asked him how he liked his lodging, and his fare. "Well," said Milles, "if it would please God I might have a little straw to lie or sit upon."

Then said Bonner, "Thou wilt show no token of a christian man." And upon this his wife came in, unknown unto him, being very great with child, and looking every hour for her lying down, entreating the bishop for her husband, and saying, that she would not go out of the house, but there would lay herself in the bishop's house, unless she had her husband with her. "How sayest thou," quoth Bonner, "thou heretic? If thy wife miscarry, or thy child, or children, if she be with one or two, should perish, the blood of them would be required at thy hands." Then to this agreement he came, that *\*she\** should hire a bed in the town of Fulham, and her husband should go home with her the morrow after, upon this condition, that his kinsman there present (one Robert Rouse) should bring the said Milles unto his house at Paul's the next day. Whereunto the said Milles said, he would not agree, except he might go home by and by. At length his wife being importunate for her husband, and seeing that she would go no further, but there remain, unless she had her husband with her, the bishop, fearing belike the rumour which might come upon his house thereby, bade the said Milles make a cross, and say, "In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen."

Then the said Milles began to say, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." "No, no," saith Bonner, "say it me in Latin, 'In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.'" Milles, understanding the matter of that Latin to be but good, said the same, and so went home with his wife, his fore-said kinsman being charged to bring him the next day unto Paul's: "else," said Bonner, "if thou dost not bring him, thou art a heretic, as well as he." Notwithstanding, the charge being no greater, his kinsman did not bring him, but he of his own voluntary accord came to the said bishop within a few days after, where the bishop put unto him a certain writing in Latin to subscribe unto, containing (as it seemed to him) no great matter that he needed greatly to stick at; albeit, what the bill was, he could not certainly tell: so subscribed he to the bill, and returned home. And thus much concerning the twenty-two taken at Islington.

### The Story and cruel Handling of Richard Yeoman,

DOCTOR TAYLOR'S CURATE AT HADLEY, CONSTANTLY SUFFERING  
FOR THE GOSPEL'S SAKE, JULY 10TH.

After the story of these twenty-two taken at Islington, proceeding now (the Lord willing). we will prosecute likewise the taking and cruel

handling of Richard Yeoman, minister ; which Yeoman had been, before, Dr. Taylor's curate, a godly devout old man of seventy years, which had many years dwelt in Hadley, well seen in the Scriptures, and giving godly exhortations to the people. With him Dr. Taylor left his cure at his departure : but as soon as master Newall had gotten the benefice, he drove away good Yeoman, as is before said, and set in a popish curate to maintain and continue their Romish religion, which now they thought fully stablished. Then wandered he long time from place to place, moving and exhorting all men to stand faithfully by God's word, earnestly to give themselves unto prayer, with patience to bear the cross now laid upon them for their trial, with boldness to confess the truth before the adversaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the crown and reward of eternal felicity. But when he perceived his adversaries to lie in wait for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pins, and points, and such like things, he travelled from village to village, selling such things ; and by that poor shift got himself somewhat to the sustaining of himself, his poor wife, and children.

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.Yeoman  
flieth into  
Kent.

At the last a justice of Kent, called master Moyle, took poor Yeoman, and set him in the stocks a day and a night ; but having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So came he secretly again to Hadley, and tarried with his poor wife, who kept him secretly in a chamber of the town-house, commonly called the Guildhall, more than a year ; all the which time the good old father abode in a chamber, locked up all the day, and spent his time in devout prayer, and reading the Scriptures, and in carding of wool, which his wife did spin. His wife also did go and beg bread and meat for herself and her children, and by such poor means sustained they themselves. Thus the saints of God sustained hunger and misery, while the prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and were costly pampered at Jezebel's table.

Yeoman  
set in the  
stocks.  
Return-  
eth to  
Hadley.

At the last parson Newall (I know not by what means) perceived that Richard Yeoman was so kept by his poor wife, and, taking with him the bailiff's deputies and servants, came in the night-time, and brake up five doors upon Yeoman, whom he found in a bed with his poor wife and children : whom when he had so found, he irefully cried, saying, " I thought I should find a harlot and a whore together." And he would have plucked the clothes off from them ; but Yeoman held fast the clothes, and said unto his wife, " Wife, arise, and put on thy clothes." And unto the parson he said, " Nay parson, no harlot, nor whore, but a married man and his wife, according unto God's ordinance ; and blessed be God for lawful matrimony. I thank God for this great grace, and I defy the pope and all his popery." Then led they Richard Yeoman unto the cage, and set him in the stocks until it was day.

Parson  
Newall a  
wicked  
persecu-  
tor.Yeoman  
taken by  
him.

There was then also in the cage an old man named John Dale, who had sitten there three or four days, because when the said parson Newall with his curate executed the Romish service in the church, he spake openly unto him, and said, " O miserable and blind guides, will ye ever be blind leaders of the blind ? will ye never amend ? will ye never see the truth of God's word ? will neither God's threats nor promises enter into your hearts ? will the blood of martyrs nothing

The  
words of  
Dale to  
parson  
Newall  
and his  
curate.

*Mary.* mollify your stony stomachs? O indurate, hard-hearted, perverse, and crooked generation! O damnable sort, whom nothing can do good unto!"

*John Dale set in the cage by parson Newall.*

*Sir Henry Doyle entreateth for God's saints, but cannot be heard.*

These and like words he spake in ferventness of spirit against the superstitious religion of Rome. Wherefore, parson Newall caused him forthwith to be attached, and set in the stocks in the cage. So was he there kept till sir Henry Doyle, a justice, came to Hadley.

Now when poor Yeoman was taken, the parson called earnestly upon sir Henry Doyle to send them both to prison. Sir Henry Doyle earnestly laboured and entreated the parson, to consider the age of the men, and their poor estate: they were persons of no reputation, nor preachers; wherefore he would desire him to let them be punished a day or two, and so to let them go—at the least John Dale, who was no priest; and therefore, seeing he had so long sitten in the cage, he thought it punishment enough for this time. When the parson heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great rage called them pestilent heretics, unfit to live in the commonwealth of Christians. "Wherefore, I beseech you, sir," quoth he, "according to your office, defend holy church, and help to suppress these sects of heresies, which are false to God, and thus boldly set themselves, to the evil example of others, against the queen's gracious proceedings." Sir Henry Doyle, seeing he could do no good in the matter, and fearing also his peril, if he should too much meddle in this matter, made out the writ, and caused the constables to carry them forth to Bury gaol. For now were all the justices, were they never so mighty, afraid of every shaven crown, and stood in as much awe of them, as Pilate did stand in fear of Annas and Caiaphas, and of the Pharisaical brood, which cried, "Crucify him, Crucify him! If thou let him go, thou art not Cæsar's friend." Wherefore, whatsoever their consciences were, yet, if they would escape danger, they must needs be the popish bishop's slaves and vassals. So they took Richard Yeoman and John Dale, pinioned; and bound them like thieves, set them on horseback, and bound their legs under the horses' bellies, and so carried them to the gaol at Bury, where they were tied in irons; and for that they continually rebuked the popery, they were thrown into the lowest dungeon, where John Dale, through sickness of the prison, and evil keeping, died in prison, whose body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the fields. He was a man of forty-six years of age, a weaver by his occupation, well learned in the holy Scriptures, faithful and honest in all his conversation, steadfast in confession of the true doctrine of Christ set forth in king Edward's time; for the which he joyfully suffered prison and chains, and from this worldly dungeon he departed in Christ to eternal glory, and the blessed paradise of everlasting felicity.

*The kingdom of locusts.*

*See Appendix.*

*Yeoman and Dale sent to Bury gaol.*

*Commendation of John Dale.*

*Yeoman removed to Norwich.*

After that John Dale was dead, Richard Yeoman was removed to Norwich prison, where, after strait and evil keeping, he was examined of his faith and religion. Then he boldly and constantly confessed himself to be of the faith and confession that was set forth by the late king of blessed memory, holy king Edward the sixth; and from that he would in no wise vary. Being required to submit himself to the holy father the pope, "I defy him," quoth he, "and all his detestable abominations: I will in no wise have to do with him, nor any thing



that appertaineth to him." The chief articles objected to him, were his marriage, and the mass-sacrifice. Wherefore when he continued steadfast in confession of the truth, he was condemned, disgraced, and not only burnt, but most cruelly tormented in the fire. So ended he his poor and miserable life, and entered into the blessed bosom of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus the comfortable quietness that God hath prepared for his elect saints.

*Mary.*  
A. D.  
1558.  
The chief  
matters  
objected  
to Yeo-  
man.

### The Story of John Alcock.

There was also in Hadley a young man, named John Alcock, which came to Hadley seeking work, for he was a shearman by his occupation. This young man after the martyrdom of Dr. Taylor, and taking of Richard Yeoman, used first in the church of Hadley to read the service in English, as partly is above touched.

*See  
Appendix.*

At length, after the coming of parson Newall, he, being in Hadley church upon a Sunday, when the parson came by with procession, would not once move his cap, nor show any sign of reverence, but stood behind the font. Newall, perceiving this, when he was almost out of the church door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the constable.

Parson  
Newall in  
a rage  
against  
John Al-  
cock for  
not going  
on pro-  
cession.

Then came Robert Rolfe, with whom this young man wrought, and asked, "Master parson! what hath he done, that ye are in such a rage with him?"

Robert  
Rolfe  
an honest  
constable  
of Had-  
ley.

"He is a heretic and a traitor," quoth the parson, "and despiseth the queen's proceedings. Wherefore I command you, in the queen's name, have him to the stocks, and see he be forthcoming." "Well," quoth Rolfe, "he shall be forthcoming: proceed you in your business, and be quiet."

"Have him to the stocks," quoth the parson. "I am constable," quoth Rolfe, "and may bail him, and will bail him; he shall not come in the stocks, but he shall be forthcoming." So went the good parson forth with his holy procession, and so to mass.

At afternoon Rolfe said to this young man, "I am sorry for thee, for truly the parson will seek thy destruction, if thou take not good heed what thou answerest him." The young man answered, "Sir, I am sorry that it is my hap to be a trouble to you. As for myself, I am not sorry, but I do commit myself into God's hands, and I trust he will give me mouth and wisdom to answer according to right." "Well," quoth Rolfe, "yet beware of him; for he is malicious and a blood-sucker, and beareth an old hatred against me; and he will handle you the more cruelly, because of displeasure against me." "I fear not," quoth the young man. "He shall do no more to me, than God will give him leave; and happy shall I be, if God will call me to die for his truth's sake."

After this talk, they then went to the parson, who at the first asked him, "Fellow, what sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?" "I say," quoth he, "as ye use the matter, ye make a shameful idol of it, and ye are false idolatrous priests all the sort of you." "I told you," quoth the parson, "he was a stout heretic."

Alcock  
brought  
to Parson  
Newall.

So after long talk, the parson committed him to ward, and the next day rode he up to London, and carried the young man with him, and

Newall  
carrieth  
up Alcock  
to Lon-  
don.

*Mary.* so came the young man no more again to Hadley, but, after long imprisonment in Newgate, where, after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish religion, he was cast into the lower dungeon, where with evil keeping and sickness of the house, he died in prison. Thus died he a martyr for Christ's verity, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed, and received the garland of a well-foughten battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill; for the papists would in all things be like themselves. Therefore would they not so much as suffer the dead bodies to have honest and convenient sepulture.

*A. D.*  
*1558.*

*John Aleock dieth in Newgate. Buried of the papists in a dunghill. See Appender.*

### The Story of Thomas Benbridge, Gentleman and Martyr,

WRONGFULLY CONDEMNED AND PUT TO DEATH BY THE CRUEL PAPISTS, FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST JESUS.

*July 29.* Thomas Benbridge a gentleman, single and unmarried, in the diocese of Winchester, although he might have lived a pleasant and a gentleman's life in the wealthy possessions of this world, yet to follow Christ had rather enter into the strait gate of persecution, to the heavenly possession of life in the Lord's kingdom, than here to enjoy pleasures present, with unquietness of conscience. Wherefore manfully standing against the papists for the defence of the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel, he spared not himself to confirm the doctrine of the gospel. For the which cause he being apprehended for an adversary of the Romish religion, was forthwith had to examination before Dr. White, bishop of Winchester, where he sustained sundry conflicts for the truth, against the said bishop and his colleagues. The articles of the bishop ministered to him, with his answers to the same annexed, be here following.

*Thomas Benbridge examined before the bishop of Winchester.*

Articles ministered to Master Benbridge, with his Answers following the same.

*The rite apostolical.* "First, We articulate against you, that the church of God ministereth rightly, according to the rite apostolical."

To this he answered, that baptism is not administered at this present, so as it was in the apostles' time, for that it is not ministered in the English tongue.

*The real presence.* 2. "Item, We articulate that the church of God doth believe, and hold, that in the sacrament of thanksgiving, after the words of consecration pronounced of the priest, the true and natural body of Christ is present really."

He answered, that he believeth not that in the sacrament is contained the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, saying, "This is the mark that ye shoot at."

*Confirmation.* 3. "Item, We articulate that the church holdeth and believeth, that confirmation is a sacrament in the church, and that by imposition of hands of a bishop, cometh grace."

He answered, that he knoweth not whether that confirmation be a sacrament or not, and whether the bishop giveth grace or not; he knoweth not the order and fashion of ministration.

4. "Item, We articulate that penance is a sacrament in the church, and that by auricular confession and absolution, pronounced by the priest, sins be forgiven."

*Penance no sacrament.* He answered negatively, denying sins to be forgiven by absolution pronounced of a priest; and that it is not necessary for a man to recite all his sins to a priest.

5. "Item, We articulate against thee, that the church doth believe and hold the same authority to be now in the church, which Christ gave to his apostles." Mary.  
A. D.  
1558.

He answered negatively, for that the church hath not the same power and strength to work.

6. "Item, We articulate that the church believeth and holdeth, that the order of ministers, now being in the church of Christ, is instituted of Christ himself."

He answered, he believed not the bishops to be the successors of the apostles, for that they be not called as they were, nor have that grace.

7. "Item, We articulate that the church believeth and holdeth the pope to be supreme head in the church, and the vicar of Christ in earth." Head of  
the  
church.

He answered, that it is not the pope, but it is the devil, that is supreme head of the church which you speak of.

8. "Item, We articulate that the church doth hold and believe that it is necessary to be baptized." Baptism.

He denied not the same.

9. "Item, We articulate that the church doth hold and believe that there is purgatory, and that the souls of the dead be relieved with the alms and prayers of the living." Purga-  
tory.

He answered and saith, as touching purgatory, he will not believe as their church doth believe.

10. "Item, We articulate that the church holdeth and believeth that matrimony is a sacrament of the church." Matri-  
mony.

He answered, that he will not say that matrimony is a sacrament, but to be a sacrate order and sign of a holy thing, etc.

Moreover, happening into the mention of Martin Luther, he said, that the said Martin Luther died a good christian man, whose doctrine and life he did approve and allow. Martin  
Luther.

Thus have ye the articles ministered by the bishop, and also the answers of the said Master Benbridge unto the same, for the which he was then condemned, and after brought to the place of martyrdom by the sheriff, called sir Richard Pecksal; where he, standing at the stake, began to untie his points, and to prepare himself. Then he gave his gown to the keeper, being belike his fee. His jerkin was laid on with gold lace, fair and brave, which he gave to sir Richard Pecksal the high sheriff. His cap of velvet he took off from his head, and threw it away.<sup>1</sup> Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his prayers. Ben-  
bridge  
condem-  
ned.  
  
Ben-  
bridge  
brought  
to the  
stake.

That done, being now fastened to the stake, Dr. Seaton willed him to recant, and he should have his pardon. But when he saw it prevailed not to speak, the said dreaming and doltish doctor willed the people not to pray for him unless he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog. Dr. Sea-  
ton for-  
biddeth  
to pray  
for him.

Master Benbridge, standing at the stake with his hands together in such manner as the priest holdeth his hands in his memento, the said Dr. Seaton came to him again, and exhorted him to recant: unto whom he said, "Away, Babylonian, away!"

Then said one that stood by, "Sir, cut out his tongue;" and another, being a temporal man, railed on him worse than Dr. Seaton did a great deal, who, as is thought, was set on by some other.

Then when they saw he would not yield, they bade the tormentors to set to fire; and yet he was nothing like covered with faggots. First, the fire took away a piece of his beard, whereat he nothing shrank at all. Then it came on the other side, and took his legs; and the nether stockings of his hose being leather, made the fire to pierce the sharper, so that the intolerable heat thereof made him to Ben-  
bridge  
recants  
at the  
stake.

(1) \*Saying *Qui potest capere, capiat*, ketch that ketch may.' Edit. 1568. p. 1668.

*Mary.* cry, "I recant." And suddenly therewith he thrust the fire from him; and having two or three of his friends by, that wished his life, they stept to the fire, and holpe to take it from him also; who for their labour were sent to prison. The sheriff also of his own authority took him from the stake, and sent him to prison again, for the which he was sent unto the Fleet, and there lay a certain time. But before he was taken from the stake, the said Seaton wrote articles to have him to subscribe unto them, as touching the pope, the sacrament, and such other trash. But the said master Benbridge made much ado or he would subscribe them, insomuch that Dr. Seaton willed them to set to fire again. Then with much pain and grief of heart he subscribed to them upon a man's back. That being done, he had his gown given him again, and so was led to prison. Being in prison he wrote a letter to Dr. Seaton, and recanted those words he spake at the stake, unto which he had subscribed; for he was grieved that ever he did subscribe unto them. Whereupon expressing his conscience, he was, the same day seven-night after, burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broil him than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance!

Ben-  
bridge re-  
penteth  
his recan-  
tation.

### The unjust Execution and Martyrdom of Four, burnt at St. Edmund's Bury.

In this year aforesaid, which was the last of queen Mary's reign, Dr. Hopton being bishop of Norwich, and Dr. Spenser bearing the room of his chancellor, about St. James's tide, at St. Edmund's Bury, were wrongfully put to death four christian martyrs, to wit, John Cooke, a sawyer; Robert Miles, alias Plummer, a shearman; Alexander Lane, a wheelwright; and James Ashley, bachelor.

Martyrs.

The examination of these forenamed persons, being severally called before the bishop of Norwich, and sir Edward Walgrave, with others, was partly upon these articles following.

Sir Ed-  
ward  
Wal-  
grave,  
persecu-  
tor.

First, sir Edward Walgrave called John Cooke to him, and said, "How fortuneth it, that you go not to church?"

John Cooke said, "I have been there."

Exami-  
nation  
of John  
Cooke.

Sir Edward said, "What is the cause that you go not thither now, in these days?"

John Cooke said, "Because the sacrament of the altar is an abominable idol, and," saith he, "the vengeance of God will come upon all them that do maintain it."

Sir Edward said, "O thou rank traitor! if I had as good commission to cut out thy tongue, as I have to sit here this day, thou shouldst be sure to have it cut out."

Then commanded he the constable to have him away, saying, he was both a traitor and a rebel.

Exami-  
nation  
of Robert  
Miles.

Then he called Robert Miles, and said, "How fortuneth it, that you go not to the church?"

Robert Miles answered, "Because I will follow no false gods."

Then said the bishop, "Who told thee that it is a god?"

Then said Miles, "Even you, and such as you are."

Then the bishop commanded him aside, and to appear before him the next day.

Exami-  
nation  
of Alexan-  
der Lane.

Then he called Alexander Lane before him, and asked him, how it chanced, that he would not go to the church?

He said, that his conscience would not serve him so to do.

Then sir Edward said, "How dost thou believe?"

Then said Lane, "Even as it is written in God's book."



Then sir Edward commanded him to say his belief.

Then he said Lane being somewhat abashed, said his belief to these words, which he missed unawares, "Born of the virgin Mary."

Then sir Edward said, "What! was he not born of the virgin Mary?"

"Yes," said Lane, "I would have said so."

"Nay," said sir Edward, "you are one of Cooke's scholars!" And so commanded him away, and to come before him the next day.

After the like manner they passed also with James Ashley, whom they warned the next day likewise to appear before them again. So in fine they, appearing again, had their condemnation. And thus these four blessed martyrs and servants of Christ innocently suffered together at St. Edmund's Bury, as is aforesaid, about the beginning of August, not long before the sickness of queen Mary.

*Mary.*

*A. D.*

*1558.*

*Examination of James Ashley.*

### The Martyrdom of \*Saunder\* Gouch and Alice Driver,

*See Appendix.*

TWO GODLY PERSONS SUFFERING AT IPSWICH FOR THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST, AND HIS EVERLASTING TESTAMENT.

Master Noone, a justice in Suffolk, dwelling in Martlesham, hunting after good men to apprehend them (as he was a bloody tyrant in the days of trial), at the length had understanding of one Gouch of Woodbridge, and Driver's wife of Grundisburgh, to be at Grundisburgh together, a little from his house; and immediately took his men with him, and went thither, and made diligent search for them, where the poor man and woman were compelled to step into an haygolph, to hide themselves from their cruelty. At the last they came to search the hay for them, and by gauging thereof with pitchforks, at the last found them: so they took them and led them to Melton gaol, where they, remaining a time, at the length were carried to Bury, against the assize at St. James's tide; and being there examined of matters of faith, did boldly stand to confess Christ crucified, defying the pope with all his papistical trash. And among other things Driver's wife \*likening\* queen Mary in her persecution to Jezebel, and so in that sense calling her Jezebel, for that, sir Clement Higham, being chief judge there, adjudged her ears immediately to be cut off, which was accomplished accordingly, and she joyfully yielded herself to the punishment, and thought herself happy that she was counted worthy to suffer any thing for the name of Christ.

*Nov. 4. Master Noone a persecutor.*

*Gouch and Alice Driver taken at Grundisburgh and carried to Melton gaol.*

*Alice Driver's ears cut off, for likening queen Mary to Jezebel.*

After the assize at Bury, they were carried to Melton gaol again, where they remained a time. This \*Saunder\* Gouch was a man of the age of thirty-six years, or thereabouts, and by his occupation was a weaver of shredding-coverlets, dwelling at Woodbridge in Suffolk, and born at Ufford in the same county. Driver's wife was a woman about the age of thirty years, and dwelt at Grundisburgh, where they were taken, in Suffolk: her husband did use husbandry. These two were carried from Melton gaol to Ipswich, where they remained and were examined; the which their examination, as it came to our hands, hereafter followeth.

*Alex. Gouch and Alice Driver carried to Ipswich.*

The Examination of Driver's wife before Dr. Spenser<sup>1</sup> the Chancellor of Norwich, and Dr. Gascoine.

First, she coming into the place where she should be examined with a smiling countenance, Dr. Spenser said, "Why, woman, dost thou laugh us to scorn?"

(1) Dr. Spenser after the death of Dr. Dunning, who died suddenly in Lincolnshire, was chancellor under Bishop Hopton.

*Mary.* *Driver* :—"Whether I do or no, I might well enough, to see what fools ye be."

*A. D.* Then the chancellor asked her wherefore she was brought before him, and  
1558. why she was laid in prison.<sup>1</sup>

*Driver* :—"Wherefore? I think I need not tell you; for ye know it better than I."

*Spenser* :—"No, by my troth, woman, I know not why."

"Then have ye done me much wrong," quoth she, "thus to imprison me, and know no cause why: for I know no evil that I have done, I thank God; and I hope there is no man that can accuse me of any notorious fact that I have done, justly."

*Spenser* :—"Woman, woman, what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? dost thou not believe that it is very flesh and blood, after the words be spoken of consecration?"

*Driver's* wife at those words held her peace, and made no answer. Then a great chuff-headed priest that stood by spake, and asked her, why she made not the chancellor an answer. With that, the said *Driver's* wife looked upon him austere, and said, "Why, priest, I come not to talk with thee, but I come to talk with thy master: but, if thou wilt I shall talk with thee, command thy master to hold his peace." And with that the priest put his nose in his cap, and spake never a word more. Then the chancellor bid her make answer to that he demanded of her.

A fat priest put to silence.

"Sir," said she, "pardon me though I make no answer, for I cannot tell what you mean thereby: for in all my life I never heard nor read of any such sacrament in all the Scripture."

*Spenser* :—"Why, what Scriptures have you read, I pray you?"

*Driver* :—"I have (I thank God) read God's book."

*Spenser* :—"Why, what manner of book is that you call God's book?"

See Appendix.

*Driver* :—"It is the New Testament. What call you it?"

*Spenser* :—"That is God's book indeed, I cannot deny."

No sacrament of the altar to be found in God's book. What a sacrament is. Dr. Gascoigne persecutor.

*Driver* :—"That same book have I read throughout, but yet never could find any such sacrament there; and for that cause I cannot make you answer to that thing I know not. Notwithstanding yet, for all that, I will grant you a sacrament, called the Lord's supper; and therefore, seeing I have granted you a sacrament, I pray you show me what a sacrament is."

*Spenser* :—"It is a sign." And one Dr. Gascoigne, being by, confirmed the same, that it was the sign of an holy thing.

*Driver* :—"You have said the truth, sir," said she: "it is a sign indeed, I must needs grant it; and therefore seeing it is a sign, it cannot be the thing signified also. Thus far we do agree; for I have granted your own saying."

Dr. Gascoigne's oration little to purpose.

Then stood up the said Gascoigne, and made an oration with many fair words, but little to purpose, both offensive and odious to the minds of the godly. In the end of which long tale, he asked her if she did not believe the omnipotency of God, and that he was almighty, and able to perform that he spake. She answered, "Yes," and said, "I do believe that God is almighty, and able to perform that he spake and promised."

*Gascoigne* :—"Very well. Then he said to his disciples, 'Take, eat, this is my body:' ergo, it was his body. For he was able to perform that he spake, and God useth not to lie."

Talk between Alice Driver and Dr. Gascoigne.

*Driver* :—"I pray you did he ever make any such promise to his disciples, that he would make the bread his body?"

*Gascoigne* :—"Those be the words. Can you deny it?"

*Driver* :—"No: they be the very words indeed, I cannot deny it: but I pray you, was it not bread that he gave unto them?"

*Gascoigne* :—"No, it was his body."

*Driver* :—"Then was it his body, that they did eat over night?"

*Gascoigne* :—"Yea, it was his body."

*Driver* :—"What body was it, then, that was crucified the next day?"

*Gascoigne* :—"It was Christ's body."

*Driver* :—"How could that be, when the disciples had eaten him up over night,

(1) This course of examination reminds us of the stratagems adopted in the Spanish Inquisition, the system of which was being introduced into this country in these times. Consult Eymeric "*Directorium Inquisitorium*" (Rome 1587, pp. 432—436; or Puigblanch's "*Inquisition unmasked*" (Lond. 1816), vol. i. p. 237; and Pegnæ "*Praxis Inquis.*" lib. ii. c. 14.—Ed.

except he had two bodies, as by your argument he had? <sup>1</sup> one they did eat over night, and another was crucified the next day. Such a doctor, such doctrine! Be you not ashamed to teach the people, that Christ had two bodies? In Luke xxii., 'He took bread and brake it \*and gave it\* to his disciples, saying, Take, etc.; and do this in the remembrance of me.' St. Paul also saith, 1 Cor. xi. 'Do this in the remembrance of me; for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come:' and therefore I marvel ye blush not before all this people, to lie so manifestly as ye do." With that Gascoine held his peace, and made her no answer; for, as it seemed, he was ashamed of his doings. Then the chancellor lift up his head \*of on\* his cushion, and commanded the gaoler to take her away.

"Now," said she, "ye be not able to resist the truth, ye command me to prison again.<sup>2</sup> Well, the Lord in the end shall judge our cause, and to him I leave it. I wis, I wis, this gear will go for no payment then." So went she with the gaoler away.

### Another Examination before Drs. Spenser and Gascoine.

The next day she came before them again, and the chancellor then asked her, What she said to the blessed sacrament of the altar.

*Driver* :—"I will say nothing to it; for you will neither believe me nor yourselves. For yesterday I asked you what a sacrament was, and you said it was a sign, and I agreed thereto, and said it was the truth, confirming it by the Scriptures; so that I went not from your own words: and now ye come and ask me again of such a sacrament as I told you I never read of in the Scriptures."

*Spenser* :—"Thou liest, naughty woman! we did not say so, that it was a sign."

*Driver* :—"Why masters, be ye not the men that you were yesterday? Will ye eat your own words? Are ye not ashamed to lie before all this multitude here present, who heard you speak the same?"

Then stood up Dr. Gascoine, and said, she was deceived; for there were three churches—the malignant church, the church militant, and the church triumphant. So he would fain have made matter, but he could not tell which way.

*Driver* :—"Sir, is there made mention of so many churches in the Scripture?"

*Gascoine* :—"Yea."

*Driver* :—"I pray you, where find you this word 'church' written in the Scripture?"

*Gascoine* :—"It is written in the New Testament."

*Driver* :—"I pray you, sir, show the place where it is written."

*Gascoine* :—"I cannot tell the place, but there it is." With that she desired him to look in his Testament. Then he fumbled and sought about him for one: but at that time he had none; and that he knew well enough, though he seemed to search for it. At the last she said, "Have ye none here, sir?"

*Gascoine* :—"No."

*Driver* :—"I thought so much indeed, that ye were little acquainted withal. Surely, you be a good doctor. You say you sit here to judge according to the law, and how can you give true judgment, and have not the book of the law with you?" At which words Gascoine was out of countenance, and asked her if she had one.

*Driver* :—"No," said she.

"Then," said he, "I am as good a doctor as you."

*Driver* :—"Well, sir, I had one, but you took it from me (as you would take me from Christ if you could); and since would ye not suffer me to have any book at all, so burning is your charity. But you may well know (I thank God) that I have exercised the same; else could I not have answered you (to God's glory be it spoken) as I have." Thus she put them all to silence, that one looked on another, and had not a word to speak.

*Driver* :—"Have you no more to say? God be honoured! You be not able to resist the Spirit of God in me, a poor woman. I was an honest poor man's daughter, never brought up in the university, as you have been, but I have driven the plough before my father many a time (I thank God): yet notwithstanding, in the defence of God's truth, and in the cause of my Master Christ, by his grace I will set my foot against the foot of any of you all, in the

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

Gas-  
coine's  
mouth  
stopped.

*See  
Appendix.*

Spenser  
up with  
his sacra-  
ment of  
the altar  
again.

Gascoine  
again  
taket  
the mat-  
ter in  
hand.  
Three  
churches

Gascoine  
little ac-  
quainted  
with the  
New Tes-  
tament.

The pa-  
rists put  
to silence  
by a sim-  
ple wo-  
man.

Allice  
Driver  
brought  
up at her  
father's  
plough.

(1) If Christ had but one body, and that body was eaten up overnight, what body then was crucified the next day?

(2) The chancellor, when he could not answer her with reason, sendeth her to prison.

*Mary.* maintenance and defence of the same, and if I had a thousand lives, they should go for payment thereof."

A. D.  
1558.

Spenser  
readeth  
sentence  
against  
Alice  
Driver.

So the chancellor rose up, and read the sentence in Latin of condemnation, and committed her to the secular power; and so went she to prison again as joyful as the bird of day, praising and glorifying the name of God.

### Alexander Gouch, Martyr.

At which time Alexander Gouch also was examined, who was taken with her, as before is said, whose examination hereafter followeth.

The arti-  
cles  
where-  
upon  
Gouch  
was con-  
demned.

This Alexander Gouch was examined chiefly of the sacrament and other ceremonies of the popish church; and for that his belief was, that Christ was ascended into heaven, and there remaineth, and that the sacrament was the remembrance of his death and passion, and for refusing the mass, and the pope to be the supreme head of Christ's church. For these causes was he condemned, and died with Alice Driver at Ipswich, the 4th of November, which was the Monday<sup>1</sup> after All Saints, 1558, Dr. Miles Spenser being chancellor; they both ending their lives with earnest zeal, nothing fearing to speak their conscience, when they were commanded to the contrary.

Gouch  
and Alice  
Driver  
brought  
to the  
stake.

These two godly persons being come to the place where the stake was set, by seven of the clock in the morning (notwithstanding they came the selfsame morning from Melton gaol, which is six miles from Ipswich), being in their prayers, and singing of psalms both of them together, sir Harry Dowell, then being sheriff, was very much offended with them, and willed the bailiffs of Ipswich to bid them make an end of their prayers. They kneeling upon a broom-faggot, one of the bailiffs, whose name was Richard Smart, commanded them to make an end, saying, "On, on, have done, have done; make an end; nail them to the stake;" yet they continued in prayer.

Then sir Harry sent one of his men, whose name was Richard Cove, that they should make an end.

Then Gouch stood up and said unto the sheriff, "I pray you, master sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here."

Then said the bailiff, "Come off, have them to the fire."

Then the said Gouch and Alice Driver said, "Why, master sheriff and master bailiff, will you not suffer us to pray?"

"Away," said sir Harry, "to the stake with them!"

The mar-  
tyrs not  
suffered  
to pray.

Gouch answered, "Take heed, master sheriff. If you forbid prayer, the vengeance of God hangeth over your heads." Then they, being tied to the stake, and the iron chain being put about Alice Driver's neck, "Oh!" said she, "here is a goodly neckerchief; blessed be God for it."

Then divers came, and took them by the hands, as they were bound, standing at the stake. The sheriff cried, "Lay hands on them, lay hands on them!" With that a great number ran to the stake. The sheriff seeing that, let them all alone, so that there was not one taken.

There was one Bate, a barber, a busy doer about them, who,

(1) The 4th of November in 1558 fell on a Friday: so that we must either read "7th of November," or "Friday."—Ed.



having then a frieze gown upon him, sold it immediately, saying, It stank of heretics, with other foul words more. After this, within three or four weeks, God's hand was upon him, and so he died very miserably in Ipswich.

Mary.

A. D.  
1558.

### The Martyrdom of Philip Humfrey, and John and Henry David,

See  
Appendix.

THREE WHICH WERE BURNT AT BURY, FOR THE TRUE TESTIMONY OF JESUS CHRIST.

Although our history hasteth apace (the Lord be praised) to the happy death of queen Mary, yet she died not so soon, but some there were burnt before, and more should have been burnt soon after them, if God's provision had not prevented her with death. In the number of them which suffered in the same month when queen Mary died, were three that were burnt at Bury, whose names were these: Philip Humfrey,<sup>1</sup> John David, and Henry David, his brother.

The martyrdom of three good men at Bury.

Concerning the burning of these three, here is to be noted, that sir Clement Higham, about a fortnight before the queen died, did sue out a writ for the burning of these three aforesaid godly and blessed martyrs, notwithstanding that the queen was then known to be past remedy of her sickness.

Sir Clement Higham persecutor.

### The Trouble and Martyrdom of Prest's Wife,

A GODLY POOR WOMAN WHICH SUFFERED AT EXETER.

Although in such an innumerable company of godly martyrs, which in sundry quarters of this realm were put to torments of fire in queen Mary's time, it be hard so exactly to recite every particular person that suffered, but that some escape us, either unknown or omitted; yet I cannot pass over a certain poor woman, and a silly creature, burnt under the said queen's reign, in the city of Exeter (whose name I have not yet learned), who dwelling sometime about Cornwall, having a husband and children there much addicted to the superstitious sect of popery, was many times rebuked of them, and driven to go to church, to their idols and ceremonies, to shrift, to follow the cross in procession, to give thanks to God for restoring antichrist again into this realm, etc.: which when her spirit could not abide to do, she made her prayer unto God, calling for help and mercy; and so, at length, lying in her bed, about midnight she thought there came to her a certain motion and feeling of singular comfort. Whereupon, in short space, she began to grow in contempt of her husband and children; and so taking nothing from them, but even as she went, departed from them, seeking her living by labour and spinning as well as she could, here and there for a time. In which time notwithstanding, she never ceased to utter her mind as well as she durst; howbeit she at that time was brought home to her husband again, where at last she was accused by her neighbours, and so brought up to Exeter, to be presented to the bishop and his clergy. The name of the bishop which had her in examination, was Dr. Turberville: his chancellor (as I gather) was Blackstone. The chiefest matter whereupon she was charged and condemned, was for

Her departing from her husband, and returning again. The poor woman sent up to Exeter. Dr. Turberville, bishop of Exeter, and Blackstone, persecutors.

(1) His sentence is recorded on the 27th of May, in the Harleian MSS., No. 421, Art. 68.—Ed.

*Mary.* the sacrament (which they call of the altar), and for speaking against idols, as by the declaration of those which were present, I understand, which report the talk between her and the bishop on this wise.

*A. D.*  
*1558.*

Talk between the woman and the bishop.  
*See Appendix.*

"Thou foolish woman," quoth the bishop, "I hear say, that thou hast spoken certain words against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ. Fie for shame! Thou art an unlearned person, and a woman. Wilt thou meddle with such high matters, which all the doctors of the world cannot define? Wilt thou talk of so high mysteries? Keep thy work, and meddle with that thou hast to do. It is no woman's matters, at cards and tow<sup>1</sup> to be spoken of. And if it be as I am informed, thou art worthy to be burned."

"My lord," said she, "I trust your lordship will hear me speak." "Yea, marry," quoth he; "therefore I send for thee."

*Woman* :—"I am a poor woman, and do live by my hands, getting a penny truly; and of that I get, I give part to the poor."

The wife renouncing her husband for Christ's sake.

*Bishop* :—"That is well done. Art thou not a man's wife?" And here the bishop entered into talk of her husband. To whom she answered again, declaring that she had a husband and children; and had them not. So long as she was at liberty, she refused neither husband nor children: "But now, standing here as I do," said she, "in the cause of Christ and his truth, where I must either forsake Christ or my husband, I am contented to stick only to Christ my heavenly spouse, and renounce the other."

And here she, making mention of the words of Christ, "He that leaveth not father or mother, sister or brother, husband," etc., the bishop inferred, that Christ spake that of the holy martyrs, which died because they would not do sacrifice to the false gods.

*Woman* :—"Sikerly, sir, and I will rather die than I will do any worship to that foul idol, which with your mass you make a god."

*Bishop* :—"Yea, you callet, will you say that the sacrament of the altar is a foul idol?"

The sacrament of the altar made an idol.

"Yea truly," quoth she, "there was never such an idol as your sacrament is made of your priests, and commanded to be worshipped of all men, with many foul fantasies; whereas Christ did command it to be eaten and drunken in remembrance of his most blessed passion for our redemption."

*Bishop* :—"See this prattling woman. Dost thou not hear, that Christ did say over the bread, 'This is my body,' and over the cup, 'This is my blood?'"

*Woman* :—"Yes, forsooth he said so; but he meant that it is his body and blood, not carnally, but sacramentally."

*Bishop* :—"Lo, she hath heard prattling among these new preachers, or heard some peevish book. Alas, poor woman! thou art deceived."

*Woman* :—"No, my lord, that I have learned was of godly preachers, and of godly books which I have heard read. And if you will give me leave, I will declare a reason, why I will not worship the sacrament."

*Bishop* :—"Marry say on, I am sure it will be goodly gear."

*Woman* :—"Truly such gear, as I will lose this poor life of mine for."

*Bishop* :—"Then you will be a martyr, good wife."

*Woman* :—"Indeed, if the denying to worship that bready god be my martyrdom, I will suffer it with all my heart."

*Bishop* :—"Say thy mind."

"You must bear with me, a poor woman," quoth she.

"So I will," quoth he.

Why the sacrament of the Lord's body is not to be worshipped.

*Woman* :—"I will demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which doth say, that Christ perpetually doth sit at the right hand of his Father, both body and soul, until he come again; or whether he be there in heaven our advocate, and do make prayer for us unto God his Father? If it be so, he is not here in the earth, in a piece of bread. If he be not here, and if he do not dwell in temples made with hands, but in heaven, what, shall we seek him here? If he did offer his body once for all, why make you a new offering? If with once offering he made all perfect, why do you, with a false offering, make all unperfect? If he be to be worshipped in spirit and truth, why do you worship a piece of bread? If he be eaten and drunken in faith and truth; if his flesh be

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

not profitable to be among us, why do you say, you make his body and flesh, and say it is profitable for body and soul? Alas! I am a poor woman, but rather than I would do as you do, I would live no longer. I have said, sir."

*Bishop* :—" I promise you, you are a jolly protestant! I pray you, in what schools have you been brought up?"

*Woman* :—" I have upon the Sundays visited the sermons; and there have I learned such things as are so fixed in my breast, that death shall not separate them."

*Bishop* :—" O foolish woman! who will waste his breath upon thee, or such as thou art? But how chanceth it that thou wentest away from thy husband? If thou wert an honest woman, thou wouldest not have left thy husband and children, and run about the country like a fugitive."

*Woman* :—" Sir, I laboured for my living; and, as my Master Christ counselleth me, when I was persecuted in one city, I fled into another."

*Bishop* :—" Who persecuted thee?"

*Woman* :—" My husband and my children. For when I would have him to leave idolatry, and to worship God in heaven, he would not hear me; but he with his children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for whoredom, nor for theft; but because I would be no partaker with him and his, of that foul idol the mass. And wheresoever I was, as oft as I could, upon Sundays and holy days, I made excuses not to go to the popish church."

*Bishop* :—" Belike then you are a good housewife, to flee from your husband, and also from the church."

*Woman* :—" My housewifery is but small; but God give me grace to go to the true church."

*Bishop* :—" The true church! what dost thou mean?"

*Woman* :—" Not your popish church, full of idols and abominations, but where three or four are gathered together in the name of God, to that church will I go, as long as I live."

*Bishop* :—" Belike then you have a church of your own. Well, let this mad woman be put down to prison, until we send for her husband."

*Woman* :—" No, I have but one husband, which is here already in this city and in prison with me, from whom I will never depart." And so their communication for that day brake off.

Blackstone and others persuaded the bishop that she was a mazed creature, and not in her perfect wit (which is no new thing for the wisdom of God to appear foolishness to carnal men of this world); and therefore they consulted together, that she should have liberty, and go at large. So the keeper of the bishop's prison had her home to his house, where she fell to spinning and carding, and did all other work as a servant in the said keeper's house, and went about the city, when and whither she would, and divers had delight to talk with her. And ever she continued talking of the sacrament of the altar, which of all things they could least abide. Then was her husband sent for, but she refused to go home with him, with the blemish of the cause and religion, in defence whereof she there stood before the bishop and the priests.

Then divers of the priests had her in handling, persuading her to leave her wicked opinion about the sacrament of the altar, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ. But she made them answer, that it was nothing but very bread and wine, and that they might be ashamed to say, that a piece of bread should be turned by a man into the natural body of Christ, which bread doth vinow,<sup>1</sup> and mice oftentimes do eat it, and it doth mould, and is burned: "And," said she, "God's own body will not be so handled, nor kept in prison, or boxes, or aumbries.<sup>2</sup> Let it be your god, it shall not be mine; for my Saviour sitteth on the right hand of God, and doth pray for me. And to make that sacramental or significative bread instituted for a remembrance, the very body of Christ, and to worship it, it is very foolishness and devilish deceit."

"Now truly," said they, "the devil hath deceived thee."

"No," said she, "I trust the living God hath opened mine eyes, and caused

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

The wife  
persecut-  
ed by her  
husband  
and chil-  
dren.

See  
Appendix.

Talk be-  
tween the  
woman  
and the  
priests  
about the  
sacram-  
ent.

(1) "Vinow" or "vinew," to grow musty. See H. Tooke's "Diversions of Purley," ed. 1840, 346.—ED.

(2) See Todd's Johnson's Dictionary, under Aumbry and Almonry. This term is defined by Carter as "a niche or cupboard by the side of an altar, to contain the utensils belonging thereunto;" but it is evident that a more extended signification must be given to the word. In some of the larger churches the almeries were numerous and of considerable size, answering to what we should now call closets. See "A Glossary of Architecture," (Lond. 1838.) p. 3, etc.—ED.

*Mary.* me to understand the right use of the blessed sacrament, which the true church doth use, but the false church doth abuse."

*A. D.* Then stept forth an old friar, and asked her what she said of the holy pope.

*1558.* "I," said she, "say, that he is antichrist and the devil." Then they all laughed. "Nay," said she, "you have more need to weep than to laugh, and to be sorry that ever you were born, to be the chaplains of that whore of Babylon: I defy him and all his falsehood. And get you away from me: you do but trouble my conscience. You would have me follow your doings: I will first lose my life. I pray you depart."

Talk between the woman and a friar.

"Why, thou foolish woman," said they, "we come to thee for thy profit and soul's health."

"O Lord God," said she, "what profit riseth by you that teach nothing but lies for truth? How save you souls, when you preach nothing but damnable lies, and destroy souls?"

"How provest thou that?" said they.

"Do you not damn souls," said she, "when you teach the people to worship idols, stocks, and stones, the works of men's hands? and to worship a false god of your own making, of a piece of bread? and teach that the pope is God's vicar, and hath power to forgive sins? and that there is a purgatory, when God's Son hath by his passion purged all? and say, you make God, and sacrifice him, when Christ's body was a sacrifice once for all? Do you not teach the people to number their sins in your ears, and say, they be damned, if they confess not all; when God's word saith, 'Who can number his sins?' Do you not promise them trentals and diriges, and masses for souls, and sell your prayers for money, and make them buy pardons, and trust to such foolish inventions of your own imaginations? Do you not altogether against God? Do ye not teach us to pray upon beads, and to pray unto saints, and say they can pray for us? Do you not make holy water and holy bread to fray devils? Do you not a thousand more abominations? and yet you say, you come for my profit and to save my soul! No, no; one hath saved me. Farewell you with your salvation!"

False doctrine of the papists reproved. See Appendix

Much other talk there was between her and them, which here were too tedious to be expressed.

In the mean time, during this her month's liberty granted to her by the bishop, which we spake of before, it happened that she, entering into St. Peter's church, beheld there a cunning Dutchman, how he made new noses to certain fine images which were disfigured in king Edward's time: "What a mad man art thou," said she, "to make them new noses, which within a few days shall all lose their heads!" The Dutchman accused her, and laid it hard to her charge. And she said unto him, "Thou art accursed, and so are thy images." He called her "whore." "Nay," said she, "thy images are whores, and thou art a whore-hunter; for doth not God say, 'You go a whoring after strange gods, figures of your own making?' And thou art one of them." Then was she sent for, and clapped fast; and from that time she had no more liberty.

The reviving of one Daniel a minister, from the gospel to popery.

During the time of her imprisonment, divers resorted to her to visit her, some sent of the bishop, some of their own voluntary will; amongst whom was one Daniel, a great doer and preacher sometime of the gospel, in the days of king Edward, in those parties of Cornwall and Devonshire: whom after that she perceived by his own confession to have revolted from that which he preached before, through the grievous imprisonments, as he said, and fear of persecution which he had partly sustained by the cruel justices in those parts, earnestly she exhorted him to repent with Peter, and to be more constant in his profession.

Moreover, there resorted to her a certain worthy gentlewoman, the



wife of one Walter Ralegh, a woman of noble wit, and of a good and godly opinion; who coming to the prison, and talking with her, she said her creed to the gentlewoman; and when she came to the article, "He ascended," there she stayed, and bade the gentlewoman to seek his blessed body in heaven, not in earth; and told her plainly that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands; and that sacrament to be nothing else but a remembrance of his blessed passion; "and yet," said she, "as they now use it, it is but an idol, and far wide from any remembrance of Christ's body; which," said she, "will not long continue; and so take it, good mistress." So that as soon as she came home to her husband, she declared to him, that in her life she never heard a woman (of such simplicity to see to) talk so godly, so perfectly, so sincerely, and so earnestly; insomuch, that if God were not with her, she could not speak such things, "to the which I am not able to answer her," said she, "who can read, and she cannot."

*Mary.*  
A. D.  
1558.

Also there came to her one William Kede, and John his brother, not only brethren in the flesh, but also in the truth, and men in that country of great credit, whose father, R. Kede, all his life suffered nothing but trouble for the gospel. These two good and faithful brethren were present with her, both in the hall, and also at the prison, and (as they reported) they never heard the like woman, of so godly talk, so faithful or so constant; and such godly exhortations as she gave them.

William  
and John  
Kede, two  
godly bre-  
thren.

Thus this good matron, the very servant and handmaid of Christ, was by many ways tried, both by hard imprisonment, threatenings, taunts, and scorns; called an Anabaptist, a mad woman, a drunkard, a whore, a runagate. She was proved by liberty to go whither she would; she was tried by flattery, with many fair promises; she was tried with her husband, her goods and children; but nothing could prevail, her heart was fixed; she had cast her anchor, utterly condemning this wicked world; a rare ensample of constancy to all professors of Christ's holy gospel.

Constan-  
cy of this  
woman,  
many  
ways  
tried.

In the bill of my information, it is so reported to me, that albeit she was of such simplicity, and without learning, yet you could declare no place of Scripture, but she would tell you the chapter; yea, she would recite you the names of all the books of the Bible. For which cause one Gregory Basset, a rark papist, said, she was out of her wit, and talked of the Scripture, as a dog rangeth far off from his master when he walketh in the fields, or as a stolen sheep out of his master's hands, she wist not whereat, as all heretics do; with many other such taunts, which she utterly defied. Whereby as Almighty God is highly to be praised, working so mightily in such a weak vessel, so men of stronger and stouter nature have also to take example how to stand in like case, when as we see this poor woman, how manfully she went through with such constancy and patience.

Basset a  
railing  
papist.

The con-  
stant pa-  
tience of  
this wo-  
man and  
martyr to  
be noted.

At the last, when they perceived her to be past remedy, and had consumed all their threatenings, that neither by prisonment nor liberty, by menaces nor flattery, they could bring her to sing any other song, nor win her to their vanities and superstitious doings, then they cried out, "An Anabaptist, an Anabaptist!" Then, at a day, they brought her from the bishop's prison to the Guildhall; and after

*Mary.* that delivered her to the temporal power, according to their custom, where she was by the gentlemen of the country exhorted yet to call for grace, and to leave her fond opinions: "and go home to thy husband," said they; "thou art an unlearned woman; thou art not able to answer to such high matters." "I am not," said she, "yet with my death I am content to be a witness of Christ's death: and I pray you make no longer delay with me. My heart is fixed; I will never otherwise say, nor turn to their superstitious doings."

Blasphemy of the bishop.

How God revealed his truth unto her. [Job 33. 15.]

Then the bishop said, the devil did lead her.

"No, my lord," said she, "it is the Spirit of God which leadeth me, and which called me in my bed, and at midnight opened his truth to me." Then was there a great shout and laughing among the priests and others.

During the time that this good poor woman was thus under these priests' hands, amongst many other baitings and sore conflicts which she sustained by them, here is moreover not to be forgotten, how that master Blackstone aforesaid, being the treasurer of the church, had a concubine, which sundry times resorted to him with other of his gossips; so that always when they came, this said good woman was called forth to his house, there to make his minion with the rest of the company some mirth, he examining her with such mocking and \*gyring\*, deriding the truth, that it would have vexed any christian heart to have seen it. Then when he had long used his foolishness in this sort, and had sported himself enough in deriding this christian martyr, in the end he sent her to prison again, and there kept her very miserably, saving that sometimes he would send for her, when his aforesaid guest came to him, to use with her his accustomed folly aforesaid. But in fine, these vile wretches (after many combats and scoffing persuasions), when they had played the part of the cat with the mouse, at length condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power.

Judgment given against this good woman.

She thanketh God for her judgment given.

Then the indictment being given and read, which was, that she should go to the place whence she came, and from thence be led to the place of execution, then and there to be burned with flames till she should be consumed; she lifted up her voice, and thanked God, saying, "I thank thee, my Lord my God; this day have I found that which I have long sought." But such outcries as there were again, and such mockings, were never seen upon a poor silly woman; all which she most patiently took. And yet this favour they pretended after her judgment, that her life should be spared, if she would turn and recant. "Nay, that I will not," said she: "God forbid that I should lose the life eternal, for this carnal and short life. I will never turn from my heavenly Husband, to my earthly husband; from the fellowship of angels, to mortal children. And if my husband and children be faithful, then am I theirs. God is my Father, God is my Mother; God is my Sister, my Brother, my Kinsman; God is my Friend most faithful."

The woman led to the place of execution.

Then was she delivered to the sheriff, and innumerable people beholding her, she was led by the officers to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Southernhay, where again these superstitious priests assaulted her; and she prayed them to have no more talk with her, but cried still, "God be merciful to me a sinner,

God be merciful to me a sinner !” And so, while they were tying her to the stake, thus still she cried, and would give no answer to them, but with much patience took her cruel death, and was with the flames and fire consumed. And so ended this mortal life, as constant a woman in the faith of Christ, as ever was upon the earth. She was as simple a woman to see to, as any man might behold ; of a very little and short stature, somewhat thick, about fifty-four years of age. She had a cheerful countenance, so lively, as though she had been prepared for that day of her marriage to meet the Lamb ; most patient of her words and answers ; sober in apparel, meat and drink, and would never be idle ; a great comfort to as many as would talk with her ; good to the poor ; and in her trouble, money, she said, she would take none ; “ for,” she said, “ I am going to a city, where money beareth no mastery ; while I am here, God hath promised to feed me.” Thus was her mortal life ended : for whose constancy God be everlastingly praised, Amen.

Touching the name of this woman (as I have now learned), she was the wife of one called Prest, dwelling in the diocese of Exeter, not far from Launceston.

### **The Persecution and Martyrdom of Richard Sharp, Thomas Benion, and Thomas Hale,**

THREE GODLY MEN BURNT AT BRISTOL, ABOUT THE LATTER  
YEARS OF QUEEN MARY'S REIGN.

*Mary.*

*A. D.*  
*1558.*

*See  
Appendix.*

In writing of the blessed saints which suffered in the bloody days of queen Mary, I had almost overpassed the names and story of three godly martyrs, which with their blood gave testimony likewise to the gospel of Christ, being condemned and burnt in the town of Bristol. The names of whom were these : Richard Sharp, Thomas Benion, and Thomas Hale.

First, Richard Sharp, weaver, of Bristol, was brought the 9th day of March, anno 1556, before master Dalby, chancellor of the town or city of Bristol ; and, after examination, concerning the sacrament of the altar, was persuaded by the said Dalby and others to recant ; and the 29th of the same month was enjoined to make his recantation before the parishioners in his parish church. Which when he had done, he felt in his conscience such a tormenting hell, that he was not able quietly to work in his occupation, but decayed and changed both in colour and liking of his body ; who shortly after, upon Sunday, came into his parish church, called Temple, and after high mass, came to the choir-door, and said with a loud voice, “ Neighbours ! bear me record that yonder idol,” and pointed to the altar, “ is the greatest, and most abominable that ever was ; and I am sorry that ever I denied my Lord God.” Then the constables were commanded to apprehend him ; but none stepped forth, but suffered him to go out of the church. After, by night, he was apprehended and carried to Newgate ; and shortly after he was brought before the lord chancellor, denying the sacrament of the altar to be the body and blood of Christ ; and said, it was an idol ; and therefore was condemned to be burnt, by the said Dalby. He was burnt the 7th of May, 1557 ; and died godly, patiently, and constantly, confessing the articles of our faith.

Richard  
Sharp  
martyr ;  
master  
Dalby  
chancel-  
lor of  
Bristol,  
persecu-  
tor.

Richard  
Sharp  
condem-  
ned.

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.Thomas  
Hale  
martyr.

The Thursday in the night before Easter, anno 1557, came one master David Herris, alderman, and John Stone, to the house of one Thomas Hale, a shoemaker of Bristol, and caused him to rise out of his bed, and brought him forth of his door. To whom the said Thomas Hale said, "You have sought my blood these two years, and now much good do it you with it:" who, being committed to the watchmen, was carried to Newgate the 24th of April, the year aforesaid, was brought before master Dalby the chancellor, committed by him to prison, and after by him condemned to be burnt, for saying the sacrament of the altar to be an idol. He was burned the 7th of May with the foresaid Richard Sharp, and godly, patiently, and constantly, embraced the fire with his arms.

Richard Sharp and Thomas Hale were burnt both together in one fire, and bound back to back.

Thomas  
Benion  
martyr.

Thomas Benion a weaver, at the commandment of the commissioners, was brought by a constable, the 13th day of August, anno 1557, before master Dalby, chancellor of Bristol, who committed him to prison for saying there was nothing but bread in the sacrament, as they used it. Wherefore, the 20th day of the said August, he was condemned to be burnt by the said Dalby, for denying five of their sacraments, and affirming two, that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism. He was burnt the 27th of the said month and year, and died godly, constantly, and patiently, with confessing the articles of our christian faith.

### The Martyrdom of Five constant Christians,

WHICH SUFFERED THE LAST OF ALL OTHERS IN THE TIME OF  
QUEEN MARY.

Nov. 10.

Martyrs.

The last that suffered in queen Mary's time, were five at Canterbury, burnt about six days before the death of queen Mary, whose names follow hereunder written: John Corneford, of Wrotham; Christopher Brown, of Maidstone; John Herst, of Ashford; Alice Snoth; and Katherine Knight, otherwise called Katherine Tynley, an aged woman.

These five (to close up the final rage of queen Mary's persecution), for the testimony of that word, for which so many had died before, gave up their lives meekly and patiently, suffering the violent malice of the papists; which papists, although they then might have either well spared them, or else deferred their death, knowing of the sickness of queen Mary; yet such was the implacable despite of that generation, that some there be that say, the archdeacon of Canterbury the same time being at London, and understanding the danger of the queen, incontinently made all post-haste home to despatch these, whom, before, he had then in his cruel custody.

The matter why they were judged to the fire, was this:—

Their  
articles,  
why they  
were con-  
demned.

For believing the body not to be in the sacrament of the altar, unless it be received; saying moreover, that we receive another thing also besides Christ's body, which we see, and is a temporal thing, according to St. Paul, "The things that be seen, be temporal," etc.



Item, For confessing that an evil man doth not receive Christ's body, "Because no man hath the Son, except it be given him of the Father." *Mary.*

Item, That it is idolatry to creep to the cross; and St. John forbidding it, saith, "Beware of images." *A. D. 1558.*

Item, For confessing that we should not pray to our Lady, and other saints, because they be not omnipotent.

For these and other such articles of christian doctrine, were these five committed to the fire. Against whom when the sentence should be read, and they excommunicate, after the manner of the papists, one of them, John Corneford by name, stirred with a vehement spirit of the zeal of God, proceeding in a more true excommunication against the papists, in the name of them all, pronounced sentence against them, in these words as follow :

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most mighty God, and by the power of his Holy Spirit, and the authority of his holy catholic and apostolic church, we do here give into the hands of Satan to be destroyed, the bodies of all those blasphemers and heretics, that do maintain any error against his most holy word, or do condemn his most holy truth for heresy, to the maintenance of any false church or feigned religion; so that by this thy just judgment, O most mighty God, against thy adversaries, thy true religion may be known to thy great glory and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our nation. Good Lord, so be it. Amen."

An example of God's works to be noted.

Sentence of condemnation pronounced by Corneford against the papists.

This sentence of excommunication, being the same time openly pronounced and registered, proceeding so, as it seemeth, from an inward faith and hearty zeal to God's truth and religion, took such effect against the enemy, that, within six days after, queen Mary died, and the tyranny of all English papists with her. Albeit, notwithstanding the sickness and death of that queen, whereof they were not ignorant; yet the archdeacon, with others of Canterbury, thought to despatch the martyrdom of these men before. In the which fact, the tyranny of this archdeacon seemeth to exceed the cruelty of Bonner; who, notwithstanding he had certain the same time under his custody, yet he was not so importune in haling them to the fire, as appeareth by father Living and his wife, and divers others, who, being the same time under the custody and danger of Bonner, were delivered by the death of queen Mary, and remain yet some of them alive.

The cruel dealing of archdeacon Harpsfield.

See Appendix.

These godly martyrs, in their prayers which they made before their martyrdom, desired God that their blood might be the last that should be shed, and so it was.

This Katherine Tynley was the mother of one Robert Tynley, now dwelling in Maidstone, which Robert was in trouble all queen Mary's time; to whom his mother, coming to visit him, asked him how he took this place of Scripture which she had seen, not by reading of the Scripture (for she had yet in manner no taste of religion), but had found it by chance in a book of prayers, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants, and upon the maids, in those days, will I pour my Spirit," etc.; which place after that he had expounded to her, she began to take hold on the gospel, growing more and more in zeal and love thereof; and so continued unto her martyrdom.

Among such young women as were burnt at Canterbury, it is

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.A note of  
Alice  
Snoth.

recorded of a certain maid, and supposed to be this Alice Snoth here in this story mentioned, or else to be Agnes Snoth above storied (for they were both burnt), that when she was brought to be executed, she being at the stake, called for her godfather and godmothers. The justice, hearing her, sent for them, but they durst not come. Notwithstanding the justices willed the messenger to go again, and to show them that they should incur no danger therefore.

Then they, hearing that, came to know the matter of their sending for. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her; and so she immediately rehearsed her faith, and the commandments of God; and required of them, if there were any more that they had promised in her behalf, and they said, No.

"Then," said she, "I die a christian woman, bear witness of me."<sup>1</sup> And so cruelly in fire was she consumed, and gave joyfully her life up for the testimony of Christ's gospel, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly; and also to the stopping of the slanderous mouths of such as falsely do quarrel against the faithful martyrs, for going from that religion wherein by their godfathers and godmothers they were first baptized.

THE STORY AND CONDEMNATION OF JOHN HUNT AND RICHARD  
WHITE, READY TO BE BURNT, BUT WHO, BY THE DEATH  
OF QUEEN MARY, ESCAPED THE FIRE.

Besides these martyrs above named, divers there were in divers other places of the realm imprisoned, whereof some were but newly taken and not yet examined; some begun to be examined, but were not yet condemned; certain were both examined and condemned, but for lack of the writ escaped.

Others there were also, both condemned, and the writ also was brought down for their burning, and yet by the death of the chancellor, the bishop, and of queen Mary happening together about one time, they most happily and marvellously were preserved, and lived many years after; in the number of whom was one John Hunt and Richard White, imprisoned at Salisbury: touching which history something here is to be showed.

First, these two good men and faithful servants of the Lord above named, to wit, John Hunt and Richard White, had remained long time in prison at Salisbury, and other places thereabout, the space of two years and more. During which time, oftentimes they were called to examination, and manifold ways were impugned by the bishops and the priests. All whose examinations, as I thought not much needful here to prosecute or to search out, for the length of the volume; so neither again did I think it good to leave no memory at all of the same, but some part to express, namely of the examination of Richard White before the bishop of Salisbury, the bishop of Gloucester, with the chancellor and other priests, not unworthy, perchance, to be rehearsed.

(1) Hereby bishop Bonner may see, that the martyrs died in the same faith, wherein they were baptized by their godfathers and godmothers.

The Examination of Richard White, before the Bishop of Salisbury, in his Chamber in Salisbury, the 26th day of April, anno 1557.

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

The bishop of Salisbury at that time was Dr. Capon. The bishop of Gloucester was Dr. Brooks. These, with Dr. Geffery the chancellor of Salisbury, and a great number of priests sitting in judgment, Richard White was brought before them; with whom first the bishop of Gloucester, who had the examination of him, beginneth thus.

*Bishop Brooks* :—"Is this the prisoner?"

*The Chancellor* :—"Yea, my lord."

*Brooks* :—"Friend, wherefore camest thou hither?"

*White* :—"My lord, I trust to know the cause: for the law saith, 'In the mouth of two or three witnesses, things must stand.'"

*Dr. Capon* :—"Did not I examine thee of thy faith, when thou camest hither?"

*White* :—"No, my lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the Lollards' Tower, and that no man should speak with me. And now I do require mine accuser."

Then the registrar said, "The mayor of Marlborough did apprehend you for words that you spake there; and, for that, I commanded you to be conveyed to prison." The mayor of Marlborough persecutor.

*White* :—"You had the examination of me in Marlborough. Say you what I have said; and I will answer you."

*Geffery* :—"Thou shalt confess thy faith ere thou depart; and therefore say thy mind freely, and be not ashamed so to do."

*White* :—"I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God to salvation unto all that believe: and St. Peter saith, 'If any man do ask thee a reason of the hope that is in thee, make him a direct answer, and that with meekness.' Who shall have the examination of me?"

*Chancellor* :—"My lord of Gloucester shall have the examination of thee."

*White* :—"My lord, will you take the pains to wet your coat in my blood? Be not guilty thereof; I warn you beforehand!"

*Brooks* :—"I will do nothing to the contrary to our law."

*White* :—"My lord, what is it that you do request at my hands?"

*Brooks* :—"I will appose thee upon certain articles, and principally upon the sacrament of the altar: How dost thou believe of the blessed sacrament of the altar? Believeest thou not the real, carnal, and corporal presence of Christ in the same, even the very same Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was hanged on the cross, and that suffered for our sins?" And at these words they all put off their caps, and bowed their bodies. The sacrament of the altar.

*White* :—"My lord, what is a sacrament?"

*Brooks* :—"It is the thing itself the which it representeth."

*White* :—"My lord, that cannot be; for he that representeth a prince, cannot be the prince himself."

*Brooks* :—"How many sacraments findest thou in the Scriptures, called by the name of sacraments?"

*White* :—"I find two sacraments in the Scriptures, but not called by the names of sacraments. But I think St. Augustine gave them the first name of sacraments." The name "sacrament," not found in the Scriptures.

*Brooks* :—"Then thou findest not that word sacrament in the Scriptures?"

*White* :—"No, my lord."

*Brooks* :—"Did not Christ say, 'This is my body?' and are not his words true?"

*White* :—"I am sure the words are true; but you play by me, as the devil did by Christ, for he said, 'If thou be, etc. for it is written,'<sup>2</sup> etc. But the words that followed after, he clean left out, which are these: 'Thou shalt walk upon the lion and asp,'<sup>3</sup> etc. These words the devil left out, because they were spoken against himself; and even so do you recite the Scriptures."

*Brooks* :—"Declare thy faith upon the sacrament."

*White* :—"Christ and his sacraments are like, because of the natures; for in Christ are two natures, a divine and a human nature: so likewise in the sacra- White's opinion.

(1) How the papists play with the Scriptures, as the devil did when he tempted Christ.

(2) Matt. iv.

(3) Psalm xci.

*Mary.* ments of Christ's body and blood there be two natures, the which I divide into two parts, that is, external and internal. The external part is the element of bread and wine, according to the saying of St. Augustine: the internal part is the invisible grace, which by the same is represented. So is there an external receiving of the same sacrament, and an internal. The external is with the hand, the eye, the mouth, and the ear: the internal is by the Holy Ghost in the heart, which worketh in me faith. Whereby I apprehend all the merits of Christ, applying the same wholly unto my salvation. If this be truth, believe it; and if it be not, reprove it."

*A.D.*  
1558.  
Double  
receiving  
of the sa-  
crament.

*Dr. Hoskins* :—"This is Æcolampadius's doctrine, and Hooper taught it the people."

*Brooks* :—"Dost thou not believe, that after the words of consecration there is the natural presence of Christ's body?"

*White* :—"My lord, I will answer you, if you will answer me to one question. Is not this article of our belief true: 'He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty?' If he be come from thence to judgment, say so."

A popish  
paradox:  
Christ's  
body both  
in heaven  
and in  
earth at  
one time.

*Brooks* :—"No: but if thou wilt believe the Scriptures, I will prove to thee that Christ was both in heaven and in earth at one time."

*White* :—"As he is God, he is in all places; but as for his manhood, he is but in one place."

*Brooks* :—"St. Paul saith, 'Last of all he was seen of me,'<sup>1</sup> etc. Here St. Paul saith he saw Christ; and St. Paul was not in heaven."

How St.  
Paul saw  
Christ.

*White* :—"St. Paul's chief purpose was by this place to prove the resurrection. But how do you prove that Christ, when he appeared to St. Paul, was not still in heaven; like as he was seen of Stephen, sitting at the right hand of God? St. Augustine saith, the Head that was in heaven did cry for the body and members which were on the earth, and said, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?'<sup>2</sup> And was not Paul taken up into the third heaven,<sup>3</sup> where he might see Christ? as he witnesseth in 1 Cor. xv. For there he doth but only say he saw Christ, but concerning the place he speaketh nothing. Wherefore this place of Scripture proveth not that Christ was both in heaven and earth at one time."

Brooks  
leaveth  
the Scrip-  
ture, and  
proveth  
the sacra-  
ment by  
other  
matters.

*Brooks* :—"I told you before, he would not believe me. Here be three opinions, the Lutherans, the Æcolampadians, and we the catholics. If you the Æcolampadians have the truth, then the Lutherans, and we the catholics, be out of the way. If the Lutherans have the truth, then you the Æcolampadians, and we the catholics, be out of the way. But if we the catholics have the truth, as we have indeed, then the Lutherans, and you the Æcolampadians, are out of the way; as you are indeed, for the Lutherans do call you heretics."

*White* :—"My lord, ye have troubled me greatly with the Scriptures."

*Brooks* :—"Did I not tell you it was not possible to remove him from his error? Away with him to the Lollards' Tower, and despatch him as soon as ye can!"

This was the effect of my first examination. More examinations I had after this, which I have no time now to write out.

The  
trembling  
and shak-  
ing of  
Black-  
stone at  
the exa-  
mination  
of  
White.

Amongst many other examinations of the foresaid Richard White, at divers and sundry times sustained, it happened one time, that Dr. Blackstone, chancellor of Exeter, sat upon him, with divers other, who, alleging certain doctors (as Chrysostome, Cyprian, Tertullian) against the said Richard, and being reprov'd by him for his false patching of the doctors, fell in such a quaking and shaking (his conscience belike remorsing him), that he was fain, stooping down, to lay both his hands upon his knees to stay his body from trembling.

Condem-  
nation of  
Hunt and  
White.

Then the said John Hunt and Richard White, after many examinations and long captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Dr. Geffery, the bishop's chancellor, there to be condemned; and so they were. The high sheriff at that present was one named sir Anthony Hungerford, who being then at the sessions, was there

(1) 1 Cor. xv.

(2) Aug. on Psalm [xc. sermo ii. § 5, Ps. xci. § 11.]

(3) 2 Cor. ii.



charged with these two condemned persons, with other malefactors there condemned likewise the same time, to see the execution of death ministered unto them.

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

The christian  
zeal  
of Clifford

In the mean time master Clifford of Boscombe in Wiltshire, son-in-law to the said sir Anthony Hungerford the sheriff, cometh to his father, exhorting him and counselling him earnestly in no case to meddle with the death of these two innocent persons; and if the chancellor and priests would needs be instant upon him, yet he should first require the writ to be sent down *De comburendo*, for his discharge.

Sir Anthony Hungerford hearing this, and understanding justice Brown to be in the town the same time, went to him to ask his advice and counsel in the matter; who told him that without the writ sent down from the superior powers, he could not be discharged; and if the writ were sent, then he must by the law do his charge.

The sheriff, understanding by justice Brown how far he might go by the law, and having at that time no writ for his warrant, let them alone, and the next day after, taking his horse, departed.

Example  
of christian  
piety  
in a sheriff  
to be  
noted.

The chancellor all this while marvelling what the sheriff meant, and yet disdaining to go unto him, but looking rather the other should have come first to him, at last hearing that he was ridden away, taketh his horse and rideth after him; who, at length overtaking the said sheriff, declared unto him how he had committed certain condemned prisoners to his hand, whose duty had been to see execution done: the matter he said was great, and therefore willed him to look well unto it, how he would answer the matter. And thus began he fiercely to lay to his charge.

Wherein note, gentle reader! by the way, the close and covert hypocrisy of the papists in their dealings; who, in the form and style of their own sentence condemnatory, pretend a petition unto the secular power, "that the rigour of the law may be mitigated, and that their life may be spared."<sup>1</sup> And how standeth this now with their own doings and dealings, when this chancellor (as ye see) is not only contented to give sentence against them, but also hunteth after the officer, not suffering him to spare them, although he would? What dissimulation is this of men, going and doing contrary to their own words and profession! But let us return to our matter again.

A note  
to be  
observed  
concern-  
ing the  
papists'  
dealings.  
The  
papists  
charged  
with  
manifest  
dissimu-  
lation.

The sheriff, hearing the chancellor's words, and seeing him so urgent upon him, told him again that he was no babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any writ to warrant and discharge him in burning those men, then he knew what he had to do. "Why," saith the chancellor, "did not I give you a writ, with my hand, and eight more of the close, set unto the same?" "Well," quoth the sheriff, "that is no sufficient discharge for me; and therefore, as I told you, if ye have a sufficient writ and warrant from the superior powers, I know then what I have to do in my office: otherwise, if you have no other writ but that I tell you, I will neither burn them for you, nor none of you all," etc.

Where note again, good reader! how by this it may be thought and supposed, that the other poor saints and martyrs of God, such as had been burnt at Salisbury before, were burnt belike without any

Burning  
without a  
sufficient  
writ.

(1) "In visceribus Jesu Christi, ut juris rigor mitigetur, atque ut parcatur vitæ."

*Mary.* authorized or sufficient writ from the superiors, but only upon the information of the chancellor and of the Close, through the uncircumspect negligence of the sheriffs, which should have looked more substantially upon the matter. But this I leave and refer unto the magistrates. Let us return to the story again.

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1558.

Dr. Geffery the chancellor, thus sent away from the sheriff, went home, and there fell sick upon the same; for anger belike, as they signified unto me, which were the parties themselves, both godly and grave persons, who were then condemned, the one of them, which is Richard White, being yet alive.<sup>1</sup>

*Master Michel under-sheriff burneth the writ*

The under-sheriff to this sir Anthony Hungerford above named, was one master Michel, likewise a right and a perfect godly man. So that not long after this came down the writ to burn the above-named Richard White and John Hunt: but the under-sheriff, receiving the said writ, said, "I will not be guilty," quoth he, "of these men's blood;" and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within four days after the chancellor died; concerning whose death this cometh by the way to be noted, that these two foresaid, John Hunt and Richard White, being the same time in a low and dark dungeon, being Saturday, toward evening (according to their accustomed manner) fell to evening prayer; who, kneeling there together, as they should begin their prayer, suddenly fell both to such a strange weeping and tenderness of heart (but how, they could not tell), that they could not pray one word, but so continued a great space, bursting out in tears. After that night was past, and the morning come, the first word they heard was, that the chancellor their great enemy was dead; the time of whose death they found to be the same hour, when as they fell in such a sudden weeping. The Lord in all his holy works be praised, Amen. Thus much concerning the death of that wicked chancellor.

*God's working to be noted concerning the death of Dr. Geffery, chancellor of Salisbury.*

This Richard White and the said John Hunt, after the death of the chancellor, the bishop also being dead a little before, continued still in prison till the happy coming in of queen Elizabeth: and so were set at liberty. \*Prayse be to the Lord therfore.\*<sup>2</sup>

### The Martyrdom of a Young Lad of Eight Years Old,

SCOURGED TO DEATH IN BISHOP BONNER'S HOUSE IN LONDON.

*The story of John Fetty, and martyrdom of his child.*

If bloody torments and cruel death of a poor innocent, suffering for no cause of his own, but in the truth of Christ and his religion, do make a martyr, no less deserveth the child of one John Fetty to be reputed in the catalogue of holy martyrs, who in the house of bishop Bonner unmercifully was scourged to death, as by the sequel of this story here following may appear.

Amongst those that were persecuted and miserably imprisoned for the profession of Christ's gospel, and yet mercifully delivered by the providence of God, there was one John Fetty, a simple and godly poor man, dwelling in the parish of Clerkenwell, and was by vocation a tailor, of the age of forty-two years or thereabout, who was accused and complained of unto one Brokenbury, a priest, and parson

(1) Richard White is now vicar of Marlborough in Wiltshire.

(2) Edit. 1563, p. 1763. Ed.

of the same parish, by his own wife, for that he would not come unto the church, and be partaker of their idolatry and superstition; and therefore, through the said priest's procurement, he was apprehended by Richard Tanner and his fellow constables there, and one Martin the headborough. Howbeit immediately upon his apprehension, his wife (by the just judgment of God) was stricken mad, and distract of her wits; which declared a marvellous example of the justice of God against such unfaithful and most unnatural treachery. And although this example, perhaps for lack of knowledge and instruction in such cases, little moved the consciences of those simple poor men to surcease their persecution; yet natural pity towards that ungrateful woman wrought so in their hearts, that for the preservation and sustentation of her and her two children (like otherwise to perish), they for that present let her husband alone, and would not carry him to prison, but yet suffered him to remain quietly in his own house; during which time, he, as it were forgetting the wicked and unkind fact of his wife, did yet so cherish and provide for her, that within the space of three weeks (through God's merciful providence), she was well amended, and had recovered again some stay of her wits and senses.

But such was the power of Satan in the malicious heart of that wicked woman, that notwithstanding his gentle dealing with her, yet she, so soon as she had recovered some health, did again accuse her husband; whereupon he was the second time apprehended, and carried unto sir John Mordant knight, one of the queen's commissioners, and he, upon examination, sent him by Cluney the bishop's sumner, unto the Lollards' Tower, where he was (even at the first) put into the painful stocks, and had a dish of water set by him, with a stone put into it: to what purpose God knoweth, except it were to show that he should look for little other sustenance; which is credible enough, if we consider their like practices upon divers before mentioned in this history, as, amongst others, upon Richard Smith, who died through their cruel imprisonment; touching whom, when a godly woman came to Dr. Story, to have leave that she might bury him, he asked her if he had any straw or blood in his mouth: but what he meant thereby, I leave to the judgment of the godly wise.

After the foresaid Fetty had thus lain in the prison by the space of fifteen days, hanging in the stocks, sometimes by the one leg, and the one arm, sometimes by the other, and otherwhiles by both, it happened that one of his children (a boy of the age of eight or nine years) came unto the bishop's house, to see if he could get leave to speak with his father. At his coming thither, one of the bishop's chaplains met with him, and asked him what he lacked and whom he would have. The child answered, that he came to see his father. The chaplain asked again, who was his father. The boy then told him, and pointing towards Lollards' Tower, showed him that his father was there in prison. "Why," quoth the priest, "thy father is a heretic." The child, being of a bold and quick spirit, and also godly brought up, and instructed by his father in the knowledge of God, answered and said, "My father is no Heretique; but you are an Heretique, for you have Balaam's mark."

Mary.

A. D.  
1558.God's  
dreadful  
hand  
upon a  
wife seek-  
ing the  
destruc-  
of her  
husband.John  
Fetty  
again  
appre-  
hended.Strait  
handling  
of him by  
sir John  
Mordant.Richard  
Smith  
dead in  
prison  
through  
cruel  
handling.Cruel  
handling  
and  
scourging  
of John  
Fetty's  
child.

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.The  
miserable  
tyranny  
of the  
papists, in  
scourging  
a child.The child,  
all bloody,  
brought  
to his  
father in  
prison.Cluney  
carrieth  
it to the  
bishop's  
house.The  
words  
between  
Bonner  
and John  
Fetty.Bonner's  
beads.Bonner's  
crucifix.Bishop  
Bonner  
compared  
to Cai-  
aphas.Bonner,  
for fear of  
the law in  
murder-  
ing a  
child, de-  
livereth  
the father  
out of  
prison.

With that the priest took the child by the hand, and carried him into the bishop's house (whether to the bishop or not, I know not, but like enough he did), and there, amongst them, they did most shamefully and without all pity so whip and scourge, being naked, this tender child, that he was all in a gore-blood; and then, in a jolly brag of their catholic tyranny, they caused Cluney, having his coat upon his arm, to carry the child in his shirt unto his father being in prison, the blood running down by his heels.

At his coming unto his father the child fell down upon his knees, and asked him blessing. The poor man then, beholding his child, and seeing him so cruelly arrayed, cried out for sorrow, and said, "Alas, Will! who hath done this to thee?" The boy answered, that as he was seeking how to come to see his father, a priest with Balaam's mark took him into the bishop's house, and there was he so handled. Cluney therewith violently plucked the child away out of his father's hands, and carried him back again into the bishop's house, where they kept him three days after. And at the three days' end, Bonner (minding to make the matter whole, and somewhat to appease the poor man, for this their horrible fact) determined to release him; and therefore caused him early in a morning to be brought out of Lollards' Tower into his bed-chamber, where he found the bishop basting of himself against a great fire; and at his first entering into the chamber, Fetty said, "God be here, and peace." "God be here, and peace!" quoth Bonner; "that is neither God speed, nor Good morrow." "If ye kick against this peace," said Fetty, "then this is not the place that I seek for."

A chaplain of the bishop's standing by, turned the poor man about, and thinking to deface him, said in mocking-wise, "What have we here, a player?" Whilst this Fetty was standing in the bishop's chamber, he espied hanging about the bishop's bed a great pair of black beads: whereupon he said, "My lord, I think the hangman is not far off; for the halter" (pointing to the beads) "is here already." At which words the bishop was in a marvellous rage.

Then, immediately after, he espied also standing in the said bishop's chamber in the window, a little crucifix (before which, belike, Bonner used to kneel in the time of his hypocritical prayers). Then he asked the bishop what it was; and he answered that it was Christ. "Was he handled so cruelly as he is here pictured?" quoth Fetty.

"Yea, that he was," said the bishop.

"And even so cruelly will you handle such as come before you. For you are unto God's people, as Caiaphas was unto Christ."

The bishop being in a great fury, said, "Thou art a vile heretic; and I will burn thee, or else I will spend all that I have, unto my gown." "Nay, my lord," said Fetty, "ye were better to give it to some poor body, that he may pray for you."

But yet Bonner, bethinking in himself of the danger which the child was in by their whipping, and what peril might ensue thereupon, thought better to discharge him; which thing was accomplished. Whereupon, after this and such talk the bishop at last discharged him, willing him to go home and carry his child with him; which he so did, and that with a heavy heart, to see his poor boy in such extreme pain and grief. But within fourteen days after the



child died, whether through this cruel scourging, or any other infirmity, I know not; and therefore I refer the truth thereof unto the Lord, who knoweth all secrets, and also to the discreet judgment of the wise reader. But howsoever it was, the Lord yet used this their cruel and detestable fact as a means of his providence for the delivery of this good poor man and faithful Christian: his name be ever praised there-for. Amen.

Mary.

A. D.  
1558.

### The cruel handling and burning of Nicholas Burton,

ENGLISHMAN AND MERCHANT, IN SPAIN;

ALSO THE TROUBLE OF JOHN FRONTON THERE.<sup>1</sup>

See  
Appendix

Forasmuch as in our former book of Acts and Monuments<sup>2</sup> mention was made of the martyrdom of Nicholas Burton, I thought here also not to omit the same; the story being such as is not unworthy to be known, as well for the profitable example of his singular constancy, as also for the noting of the extreme dealing and cruel ravening of those catholic inquisitors of Spain, who, under the pretended visor of religion, do nothing but seek their own private gain and commodity, with crafty defrauding and spoiling of other men's goods, as by the noting of this story may appear.

The 5th day of the month of November, about the year of our Lord God 1560, this Nicholas Burton, citizen sometime of London, and merchant, dwelling in the parish of Little St. Bartholomew, peaceably and quietly following his traffic in the trade of merchandise, and being in the city of Cadiz, in the parts of Andalusia in Spain, there came into his lodging a Judas, or (as they term them) a familiar of the fathers of the inquisition; who, in asking for the said Nicholas Burton, feigned that he had a letter to deliver to his own hands; by which means he spake with him immediately. And having no letter to deliver to him, then the said promoter or familiar, at the motion of the devil, his master, whose messenger he was, invented another lie, and said, that he would take lading for London in such ships as the said Nicholas Burton had freighted to lade, if he would let any; which was partly to know where he laded his goods, that they might attach them, and chiefly to detract the time until the alguazil or sergeant of the said inquisition might come and apprehend the body of the said Nicholas Burton; which they did incontinently. Burton then, well perceiving that they were not able to burden nor charge him that he had written, spoken, or done anything there, in that country, against the ecclesiastical or temporal laws of the same realm, boldly asked them what they had to lay to his charge that they did so arrest him, and bade them to declare the cause, and he would answer them. Notwithstanding they answered nothing, but commanded him with cruel threatening words to hold his peace, and not to speak one word to them.

Nicholas  
Burton,  
London-  
er.Burton  
laid in  
prison,  
they hav-  
ing no  
cause to  
charge  
him with.

And so they carried him to the cruel and filthy common prison of the town of Cadiz, where he remained in irons fourteen days amongst

(1) This case is mentioned in "Sanctæ Inquis. Hispanicæ artes aliquot detectæ; auct. Reg. Gonsalvio Montano," Heidelbergæ, 1567; Llorente's "History of the Inquisition of Spain" (Lond. 1826), p. 223; Strype's Annals, vol. i. part 1, p. 355—357; Dibdin's Typograph. Ant. vol. iv. p. 106.—Ed.

(2) The First Edition, 1563, p. 1723.—Ed.

*Mary**A. D.*

1558.

Burton  
carried to  
Seville.

thieves. All which time he so instructed the poor prisoners in the word of God, according to the good talent which God had given him in that behalf, and also in the Spanish tongue to utter the same, that in short space he had well reclaimed sundry of those superstitious and ignorant Spaniards to embrace the word of God, and to reject their popish traditions. Which being known unto the officers of the inquisition, they conveyed him, laden with irons, from thence to a city called Seville, into a more cruel and straiter prison called Triana, where the said fathers of the inquisition proceeded against him secretly, according to their accustomed cruel tyranny, that never after he could be suffered to write or to speak to any of his nation ; so that to this day it is unknown who was his accuser.

Brought  
to judg-  
ment af-  
ter a dis-  
guised  
manner.*See  
Appendix.*He, with  
another  
English-  
man con-  
demned.

Afterward, the 20th day of December, in the foresaid year, they brought the said Nicholas Burton, with a great number of other prisoners, for professing the true christian religion, into the city of Seville, to a place where the said inquisitors sat in judgment, which they called the Auto, with a canvas coat, whereupon in divers parts was painted the huge figure of a devil, tormenting a soul in a flame of fire, and on his head a coping tank of the same work. His tongue was forced out of his mouth with a cloven stick fastened upon it, that he should not utter his conscience and faith to the people ; and so he was set with another Englishman of Southampton, and divers other men condemned for religion, as well Frenchmen as Spaniards, upon a scaffold over against the said inquisition, where their sentences and judgments were read and pronounced against them. And immediately after the said sentences given, they were carried from thence to the place of execution without the city, where they most cruelly burnt him : for whose constant faith, God be praised.

This Nicholas Burton, by the way and in the flames of the fire, made so cheerful a countenance, embracing death with all patience and gladness, that the tormentors and enemies which stood by, said that the devil had his soul before he came to the fire ; and therefore they said his senses of feeling were past him.

The  
trouble  
of John  
Fronton,  
citizen of  
Bristol.

It happened that after the arrest of this Nicholas Burton aforesaid, immediately all the goods and merchandise which he brought with him into Spain by the way of traffic, were (according to their common usage) seized and taken into the sequester ; among the which they also rolled up much that appertained to another English merchant, wherewith he was credited as factor ; whereof so soon as news was brought to the merchant, as well of the imprisonment of his factor, as of the arrest made upon his goods, he sent his attorney into Spain, with authority from him, to make claim to his goods, and to demand them ; whose name was John Fronton, citizen of Bristol.

When his attorney was landed at Seville, and had showed all his letters and writings to the Holy House, requiring them that such goods might be redelivered into his possession, answer was made him that he must sue by bill, and retain an advocate (but all was doubtless to delay him) ; and they forsooth, of courtesy, assigned him one to frame his supplication for him, and other such bills of petition as he had to exhibit into their holy court, demanding for each bill eight rials, albeit they stood him in no more stead, than if he had put up none at all. And for the space of three or four months this fellow missed

not twice a day, attending every morning and afternoon at the inquisitor's palace, suing unto them upon his knees for his despatch, but especially to the bishop of Tarragona, who was at that very time chief in the inquisition at Seville, that he, of his absolute authority, would command restitution to be made thereof; but the booty was so good and so great, that it was very hard to come by it again.

At the length, after he had spent four whole months in suits and requests, and all to no purpose, he received this answer from them, that he must show better evidence, and bring more sufficient certificates out of England for proof of his matter, than those which he had already presented to the court:<sup>1</sup> whereupon the party forthwith posted to London, and with all speed returned to Seville again with more ample and large letters testimonial, and certificates, according to their request, and exhibited them to the court.

Notwithstanding the inquisitors still shifted him off, excusing themselves by lack of leisure, and for that they were occupied in greater and more weighty affairs; and with such answers delayed him other four months after.

At the last, when the party had well-nigh spent all his money, and therefore sued the more earnestly for his despatch, they referred the matter wholly to the bishop; of whom, when he repaired unto him, he made this answer: That for himself, he knew what he had to do; howbeit he was but one man, and the determination of the matter appertained unto the other commissioners as well as unto him: and thus by posting and passing it from one to another, the party could obtain no end of his suit. Yet, for his importunity's sake, they were resolved to despatch him. It was on this sort: one of the inquisitors, called Gasco, a man very well experienced in these practices, willed the party to resort unto him after dinner. The fellow, being glad to hear these news, and supposing that his goods should be restored unto him, and that he was called in for that purpose, to talk with the other that was in prison, to confer with him about their accounts, the rather through a little misunderstanding, hearing the inquisitor cast out a word, that it should be needful for him to talk with the prisoner; and being thereupon more than half persuaded, that at the length they meant good faith, did so, and repaired thither about the evening. Immediately upon his coming, the gaoler was forthwith charged with him, to shut him up close in such a certain prison, where they appointed him. The party, hoping at the first that he had been called for about some other matter, and seeing himself contrary to his expectation cast into a dark dungeon, perceived at the length that the world went with him far otherwise than he supposed it would have done. But within two or three days after, he was brought forth into the court, where he began to demand his goods; and because it was a device that well served their turn, without any more circumstance they bade him say his "Ave Maria." The party began, and said it after this manner: "Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus. Amen."

The same was written word by word as he spake it; and without any more talk of claiming his goods, because it was bootless, they

*May.*

A. D.  
1558.

The vile proceedings of the inquisitors of Spain.

Fronton imprisoned by the Spanish inquisitors for asking his own goods.

Fronton judged for a heretic for not adding to "Ave Maria" more than the Scripture hath.

(1) Note the ravening extortion of these inquisitors.

*Mary.* command him to prison again, and enter an action against him as a heretic, forasmuch as he did not say his "Ave Maria" after the Romish fashion, but ended it very suspiciously: for he should have added moreover, "Sancta Maria mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus;" by abbreviating whereof, it was evident enough (said they) that he did not allow the mediation of saints.

A quarrel picked against him, to spoil him of his goods.

Thus they picked a quarrel to detain him in prison a longer season, and afterwards brought him forth into their stage disguised after their manner; where sentence was given, that he should lose all the goods which he sued for (though they were not his own), and besides this, suffer a year's imprisonment.

### The Martyrdom of another Englishman in Spain.

At what time this blessed martyr of Christ suffered, which was the year of our Lord 1560, December the 22d, there suffered also another Englishman, with other thirteen,<sup>1</sup> one of them being a nun, another a friar, both constant in the Lord, of which thirteen read before.

### John Baker and William Burgate, Martyrs in Spain.

John Baker and William Burgate (both Englishmen) in Cadiz, in the country of Spain, were apprehended, and in the city of Seville burnt the 2d day of November.

### Mark Burges, Martyr in Portugal, and William Hoker.

Mark Burges burnt in Lisbon.  
William Hoker stoned to death in Seville.

Mark Burges, an Englishman, master of an English ship, called the Minion, was burnt in Lisbon, a city in Portugal, anno 1560.

William Hoker, a young man, about the age of sixteen years, being an Englishman, was stoned to death of certain young men there in the city of Seville, for the confession of his faith, anno 1560.

But of these and such other acts and matters past in Spain, because they fell not within the compass of queen Mary's reign, but since her time, another place shall serve hereafter (the Lord willing), to entreat more at large of the same, when we come to the years and reign of the queen that now is, where we have more conveniently to infer not only of these matters of the martyrs (whereof somewhat also hath been touched before), but also of the whole inquisition of Spain, and Plackard of Flanders,<sup>2</sup> with the tragical tumults and troubles happening within the last memory of these our later days, according as it shall please the mercy of the Lord to enable our endeavour with grace and space to the accomplishment thereof.

### A CHAPTER OR TREATISE CONCERNING SUCH AS WERE SCOURGED AND WHIPPED BY THE PAPISTS IN THE TRUE CAUSE OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL.

And thus, through the merciful assistance and favourable aid of Christ our Saviour, thou hast as in a general register, good reader, the story collected, if not of all, yet of the most part; or at least, not

(1) The Englishman's name was William Brook. See Appendix, and Llorente's Hist. Inquis. Lond. 1826, p. 24.—Ed.

(2) See Brandt's Hist. of Reform. in the Low Countries, i. 87, 88.—Ed.



many I trust omitted, of such good saints and martyrs as have lost their lives, and given their blood, or died in prison for the testimony of Christ's true doctrine and sacraments, from the time of the cruel statute *ex officio*,<sup>1</sup> first given out by king Henry the fourth, unto this present time; and especially under the reign of queen Mary.

Mary.

A. D.  
1558.

Now after this bloody slaughter of God's good saints and servants thus ended and discoursed, let us proceed (by the good pleasure of the Lord) somewhat likewise to entreat of such as for the same cause of religion have been, although not put to death, yet whipped and scourged by the adversaries of God's word, first beginning with Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax, who, about the time of Anne Askew, were pitifully rent and tormented with scourges and stripes for their faithful standing to Christ, and to his truth, as by the story and examination both of the said Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax, now following, may appear.

#### THE SCOURGING OF RICHARD WILMOT AND THOMAS FAIRFAX.

\*After<sup>2</sup> the first recantation of Dr. Crome for his sermon which he made the fifth Sunday in Lent at St. Thomas Acons, being the Mercers' chapel, his sermon was on the epistle of the same day, written in Heb. x.; wherein he proved very learnedly by the same place of scripture and others, that Christ was the only and sufficient sacrifice unto God the Father for the sins of the whole world, and that there was no more sacrifice to be offered for sin by the priests, forasmuch as Christ had offered his body on the cross, and shed his blood for the sins of the people, and that once for all: for the which sermon he was apprehended of bishop Bonner, and brought before Stephen Gardiner and other of the council, where he promised to recant his doctrine at Paul's Cross the second Sunday after Easter. And accordingly he was there and preached, Bonner with all his doctors sitting before him: but so did he preach and handle his matter, that he rather verified his former saying, than denied any part or parcel of that which he before had preached and taught; for the which the protestants praised God, and heartily rejoiced. But blind Bonner with his champions were not therewith pleased, but yet notwithstanding they had him home with them, and so handled him amongst that wolfish generation, that they made him come to the Cross again the next Sunday. And because the magistrates should now hear him, and be witnesses of this recantation, which was most blasphemous, which was to deny Christ's sacrifice not to be sufficient for penitent sinners, but the priests of Baal with their sacrifice of the mass was good, godly, and a holy sacrifice, propitiatory and available both for the quick and the dead: because (I say) that they would have the nobles to hear this blasphemous doctrine, the viperous generation had procured all the chief of the council to be there present.

Dr.  
Crome's  
sermonDr.  
Crome's  
recanta-  
tion.Caused to  
recant the  
second  
time.

Now to come to our matter, at this time, the same week, between his first sermon and the last, and while Dr. Crome was in durance, one Richard Wilmot, being prentice in Bow-lane, being of the age of eighteen years, and sitting at his work in his master's shop, the Tuesday, being the day of July, anno , one Lewes a Welshman, being one of the guard, came into the shop, having things to do for himself.

Richard  
Wilmot,  
appren-  
tice in  
Bow-lane.

(1) Of this statute read before. [Vol. iii. p. 239.—Ed.]

(2) From Edition 1563, p. 1682. See Appendix.—Ed.

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

Lewes  
one of the  
guard, a  
popish  
persecutor.  
Wilmot  
defendeth  
Crome's  
sermon.

One asked him, "What news at the court?" and he answered, that the old heretic Dr. Crome had recanted now in deed before the council, and that he should on Sunday next be at Paul's Cross again, and there declare it.

Then Wilmot, sitting at his master's work, and hearing him speak these words, and many other wicked and evil, and rejoicing in the same, began to speak unto him, saying, that he was sorry to hear these news; "for if Crome should say otherwise than he hath said, that then it is contrary to the truth of God's word, and contrary to his own conscience, which shall before God accuse him."

Lewes answered and said, that he had preached and taught heresy; and therefore it was meet that he should in such a place revoke it.

Wilmot told him that he would not so say, neither did he hear him preach any doctrine contrary to God's word written, but that he proved his doctrine, and that sufficiently, by the Scriptures.

Then he asked him how he knew that.

He answered, by the Scripture of God, wherein he shall find God's will and pleasure, what he willet all men to do, and what not to do; and also by them he should prove and try all doctrines, and the false doctrine from the true.

Lewes said, it was never merry since the Bible was in English; and that he was both an heretic and a traitor that caused it to be translated into English (meaning Cromwell), and therefore was rewarded according to his deserts.

He answered again, what his deserts or offences were to his prince, a great many do not know, neither doth it force whether they do or no: once he was sure that he lost his life for offending his prince, and the law did put it in execution; but this concerning that man he said, that he thought it pleased God to raise him up from a low estate, and to place him in high authority, partly unto this end, that he should do such a thing as all the bishops in the realm yet never did, and that it was to restore again God's holy word, which had been so long hid from the people in a strange tongue which they understood not, the which word now coming abroad and continuing amongst us, will bring our bishops and priests in less estimation amongst the people.

Lewes asked, Why so?

He said, Because their doctrine and living was not according to his word.

Lewes :—"I never heard but that all men should learn of the bishops and priests, because they are learned men, and have been brought up in the same all the days of their lives: wherefore they must needs know the truth. And our fathers did believe their doctrine and learning; and I think they did well, for the world was far better then, than it is now, \*I assure you.\*"

Wilmot :—"I will not say so; for we must not believe them because they are bishops, neither because they are learned, neither because our forefathers did follow their doctrine. For I have read in God's book, how that bishops and learned men have taught the people false doctrine, and likewise the priests from time to time; and indeed those people our forefathers did believe; and as they did think, so did the people think. But for all this, Christ calleth them false prophets, thieves, and murderers, blind leaders of the blind; willing the people to take heed of them, lest they both should fall into the ditch. Moreover we read, that the bishops, priests, and learned men have been always resisters of the truth from time to time, and did always persecute the prophets in the old law, as did their successors in like wise to our Saviour Christ and his disciples in the new law. We must take heed, therefore, that we credit them no further than God will have us, neither to follow them nor our forefathers otherwise than he doth command us. For Almighty God hath given to all people, as well to kings, princes, bishops, priests, learned men and unlearned men, a commandment and law, unto the which he willet all men to be obedient. Therefore if any bishop or priest preach or teach, or prince or magistrate command, anything contrary to this commandment, we must take heed how we obey them: for it is better for us to obey God than man."

Lewes :—"Marry, sir, you are a holy doctor indeed. By God's blood, if you were my man, I would set you about your business a little better, and not to look upon books; and so would your maister, if he were wise." And with that in came his maister, and a young man with him, which was servant with maister Daubney in Watling-street.

My maister asked, What the matter was.

Lewes said, that he had a knavish boy here to his servant; and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him, than keep him in his house.

The lord  
Cromwell  
wrong-  
fully ac-  
cused.  
His  
doings de-  
fended.

The rea-  
son why  
the Scrip-  
tures  
should  
not be in  
English.  
God's  
truth  
goeth not  
always by  
title and  
fame.

Learned  
men, how  
far they  
are to be  
credited.

Wilmot  
complains  
of to  
his  
master.

Then my maister, being somewhat moved, asked my fellows what the matter was.

They said, "We began to talk about Dr. Crome."

Then my maister asked him what he had said; swearing a great oath, that he would make him to tell him.

He said, that he trusted he had said nothing, whereby either he or maister Lewes might justly be offended. "I pray you," quod Wilmot, "ask him what I said."

Lewes:—"Marry sir, this he said, that Dr. Crome did preach and teach nothing but the truth, and how that if he recant on Sunday next, he would be sorry to hear it; and that if he do, he is made to do it against his conscience. And more he sayeth, that we must not follow our bishops' doctrine and preaching; for he sayeth they be hinderers of God's word, and persecutors of that: and how Cromwell did more good (that traitor!) in setting forth the Bible, than all our bishops hath done these hundred years:" thus gathering more of the matter.

Then said Wilmot, "In many things he made his tale." His maister hearing of this, was in a great fury, and rated him, saying, that either he would be hanged or burned; swearing that he would take away all his books, and burn them.

The young man (maister Daubney's servant) standing by, hearing this, began to speak on his part unto Lewes; and his talk confirmed all the sayings of the other to be true, which Lewes told his maister; with other talk also, for the space of half an hour: for this young man was learned: his name was Thomas Fairfax.

Thus Lewes, hearing his talk as well as of the other, went his way in a rage unto the court, and was never seen in that house since.

But on the morrow they heard news, for that the said Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax were sent for, to come to my lord mayor. The messenger was maister Smart, the swordbearer of London. They came before dinner to the mayor's house, and were therefore commanded to sit down at dinner in the hall; and when the dinner was done, they were both called into a parlour, where the mayor and sir Roger Cholmley was, who examined them severally, the one not hearing the other.

The effect of their talk with them was this; sir Roger Cholmley said unto the foresaid Wilmot, that my lord mayor and he had received a commandment from the council, to send for him and his companion, and to examine him of certain things which were laid unto his charge as they have doone already with his other fellow. Then said maister Cholmley to him, "Sirrah, what countryman art thou?" He answered, that he was born in Cambridgeshire, and in such a town. Then he asked him, how long he had been in the city. He told him. Then he asked what learning he had. He said, "Little learning and small knowledge."

Then deridingly he asked, how long he had known Dr. Crome. He said, But a while; about two years. He said that he was a lying boy, and said that he (the said Wilmot) was his son. The other said unto him, That that was unlike, for that he never see his mother, nor she him. Cholmley said, he lied. Wilmot said, he could prove it to be true. Then he asked him how he liked his sermon, that he made at St. Thomas of Acres' chapel in Lent. He said that in deed he heard him not. He said, Yea, and the other Nay. Then said he, "What say you to his sermon made at the Cross the last day? heard you not that?"

Wilmot:—"Yea, and in that sermon he deceived a great number of people."

Cholmley:—"How so?"

Wilmot:—"For that they looked that he should have recanted his doctrine that he taught before; but did not, but rather confirmed it."

Cholmley:—"Yea, sir, but how say you now to him? for he hath recanted before the council; and hath promised on Sunday next to be at the Cross again; how think ye in that?"

Wilmot:—"If he so did, I am the more sorry for to hear it;" and said, he thought he did it for fear and safeguard of his life.

Cholmley:—"But what say you? was his first sermon heresy or not?"

Wilmot:—"No, I suppose it was no heresy: for if it were, St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews was heresy, and Paul an heretic that preached such doctrine. But God forbid that any christian should so think of the holy apostle; for I do not so think."

Cholmley:—"Why, how knowest thou that St. Paul wrate these things that are in English now to be true, whereas Paul never wrate English nor Latin?"

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

*See  
Appendix.*

Fairfax  
taketh  
Wilmot's  
part.

Wilmot  
and Fair-  
fax sent  
for to the  
lord  
mayor.

Wilmot  
and Fair-  
fax ex-  
amined  
before the  
lord  
mayor  
and  
Cholmley

St. Paul's  
doctrine  
made he-  
resy with  
the pa-  
pists

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.

*Wilmot* :—" I am certified that learned men of God, that did seek to advance his word, did translate the same out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and English, and that they durst not presume to alter the sense of the Scripture of God and last will and testament of Christ Jesus."

*See  
Appendix.*

Then the lord mayor, being in a great fury, asked him what he had to do to read such books, and said that it was pity that his maister did suffer him so to do, and that he was not set better to work; and in fine said unto him, that he had spoken evil of my lord of Winchester and Bonner, and those reverend and learned fathers and councillors of this realm; for the which our fact he seeth no other but we must suffer as due to the same. And Cholmley said, "Yea my lord, there is such a sort of heretics and traitorly knaves taken now in Essex by my lord Riche, that it is too wonderful to hear. They shall be sent up to the bishop shortly, and they shall be hanged and burnt all."

*Wilmot* :—" I am sorry to hear that of my lord Riche, for that he was my godfather, and gave me my name at my baptism."

Cholmley asked him when he spake with him. He said, Not these twelve years.

Then said Cholmley, If he knew that he were such a one, he would do the like by him; and that in so doing he did God great service.

*Wilmot* :—" I have read the same saying in the gospel, that Christ said to his disciples, 'The time shall come,' saith he, 'that whosoever killeth you, shall think that he shall do God high service.'"

"Well, sir," said he, "because ye are so full of your Scripture, and so well learned, we consider you lack a quiet place to study in: therefore you shall go to a place where you shall be most quiet; and I would wish you to study how you will answer to the council of those things which they have to charge you with, for else it is like to cost you your best joint. I know my lord of Winchester will handle you well enough, when he heareth you thus."

*Wilmot  
and Fairfax  
committed to  
prison.*

Then was the officer called in, to have him to the Counter in the Poultry, and the other to the other Counter, not one of them to see another. And thus remained eight days; in the which time their maisters made great labour unto the lord mayor and to Sir Roger Cholmley to know their offences, and that they might be delivered.

*Suit made  
by the  
company  
of Drapers  
for  
Wilmot  
and Fairfax.*

At length they procured the wardens of the worshipful company<sup>1</sup> to labour with them in their suit to the mayor. The mayor went with them to the council; but at that time they could find no grace at Winchester's hand, and sir Anthony Browne's, but that they had deserved death, and that they should have the law.

At length through entreatance he granted them thus much favour, that they should not die as they had deserved, but should be tied to a cart's tail, and be whipped three market days through the city. Thus they came home that day, and went another day; and the mayor and the wardens of the company kneeled before them to have this open punishment to be released, forasmuch as they were servants of so worshipful a company, and that they might be punished in their own hall before the wardens and certain of the company. At length it was granted them, but with a condition, as some said, as shall be hereafter declared.

*Master  
Broke  
master of  
the  
company of  
Drapers.*

Then were they sent before the maisters the next day to the hall, both their maisters being also present, and there were laid to their charges the heinous offences and crimes that they had committed, and that they were both heretics and traitors, and had deserved death for the same. And this was declared with a long process by the maister of the company, whose name was maister Broke, declaring what great labour and suit the mayor and the wardens had for them, to save them from death, which they (as he said) had deserved, and from open shame, which they should have had, being judged by the council to

(1) "Of Drapers," is added in all the Editions after 1563.—Ed.



have been whipped three days through the city at a cart's tail; and from these two dangers had they laboured to deliver them from, but not without great suit and also charge. "For," saith he, "the company hath promised unto the council for this their mercy and favour showed towards them, being of such a worshipful company, a hundred pounds: notwithstanding we must see them punished in our hall, within ourselves, for those their offences." After these and many other words, he commanded them to prepare themselves to have their punishment.

Then were they put asunder, and were stripped from the waist upward one after the other, and had into the hall; and in the midst of the hall, where they use to make their fire, there was a great ring of iron, to the which there was a rope tied fast, and one of their feet thereto fast tied. Then came two men down, disguised in mummers' apparel, with visors on their faces, and they bet us with great rods until the blood did follow in our bodies. As concerning this Wilmot, he could not lie in his bed six nights after, for Broke played the tyrant with them.

So it was, that with the beating, and the flight, and fear, they were never in health since, as the said Wilmot with his own mouth hath credibly ascertained us thereof, and we can no less but testify the same. Thus have we briefly rehearsed this little tragedy, wherein ye may note the malice of the enemies at all times to those which profess Christ, and take his part, of what estate or degree soever they be of, according to the apostle's saying, "It is given unto you not only to believe, but also to suffer with him." To whom be honour and glory, Amen.

Next after these two above specified followeth the beating of one Thomas Green; who, in the time of queen Mary, was caused likewise to be scourged and beaten by Dr. Story. What the cause was, here followeth in his story and examination to be seen, which he penned with his own hand, as the thing itself will declare to the reader thereof. The copy and words of the same, as he wrote them, here follow; wherein as thou mayst note, gentle reader, the simplicity of the one, so, I pray thee, mark again the cruelty of the other.\*

#### THE SCOURGING OF THOMAS GREEN.

In the reign of queen Mary, I Thomas Green being brought before Dr. Story by my master, whose name is John Wayland a printer, for a book called "Antichrist," which had been distributed to certain honest men, he asked me where I had the book, and said, I was a traitor. I told him I had the book of \*a stranger,\* a Frenchman. Then he asked me more questions, but I told him I would tell him no more, nor could not. Then he said, It was no heresy, but treason; and that I should be hanged, drawn, and quartered. And so he called for Cluney, the keeper of the Lollards' Tower, and bade him set me fast in the stocks.

I was not in the Lollards' Tower two hours, but Cluney came and took me out, and carried me to the coalhouse; and there I found a Frenchman lying in the stocks; and he took him out, and put on my right leg a bolt and a fetter, and on my left hand another, and so he set me cross-fettered in the stocks, and took the Frenchman away with him: and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after he came and said, "Let us shift your hand and leg, because you shall not be lame;" and he made as though he pitied me, and said, "Tell me the truth, and I will be your friend."

And I said, I had told the truth, and would tell no other. \*And he remembered himself and\* put no more but my leg in the stocks, and so went his way; and there I remained six days, and could come to no answer.

Mary.

A. D.  
1558.

Wilmot  
and Fairfax  
scourged  
in Drapers' Hall.

Brooke a  
cruel  
tyrant.

The master  
promoted  
the ser-  
vant.

Green put  
in the  
stocks.



*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.Green ex-  
amined  
before  
Dr. Story.Dr. Story  
scoffeth at  
Christ's  
servants.

Then Dr. Story sent for me, and asked whether I would tell him the truth, where I had the book. I said I had told him, of a Frenchman. He asked me where I came acquainted with the Frenchman, where he dwelt, and where he delivered me the book. I said, "I came acquainted with him in Newgate. I, coming to my friends which were put in for God's word and truth's sake, and the Frenchman coming to his friends also, there we did talk together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eat and drink together there with our friends, in the fear of God."

Then Story •mocked• me, and said, "Then there was 'brother in Christ,' and 'brother in Christ,'" and •mocked• me, and called me heretic, and asked me if I had the book of him in Newgate. I said, Nay; and I told him, as I went on my business in the street I met him, and he asked me how I did, and I him also: so we fell in communication, and he showed me that book, and I desired him that he would let me have it, •and he sayde, Nay. •<sup>1</sup>

In this examination Story said, it was a great book, and asked me whether I bought it, or had it given me. I told him I bought it. Then said he, I was a thief, and had stolen my master's money. And I said, "A little money served, for I gave him but fourpence; but I promised him that, at our next meeting, I would give twelvence more." And he said that was boldly done, for such a book as spake both treason and heresy.

Then Story required me to bring him two sureties, and watch for him that I had the book of, and I should have no harm. I made him answer, I would bring no sureties, nor could I tell where to find them. Then said he, "This is but a lie;" and so called for Cluney, and bade him lay me fast in the coalhouse, saying, he would make me tell another tale at my next coming. And so I lay in the stocks day and night, but only when I eat my meat; and there remained ten days before I was called for again.

Then Story sent for me again, and asked me if I would yet tell him the truth. And I said, I could tell him no other truth than I had, nor would. And while I stode yet there, there were two brought, which I took to be prisoners.

Then mistress Story fell in a rage, and swore a great oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of these heretic knaves in a house, "and I myself," said she, "would set it on fire." So I was committed to prison again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no answer.

Then Story sent for me again, and called me into the garden, and there I found with him my lord of Windsor's chaplain, and two gentlemen more; and he told them all what I had said and done. They said, The book was a wondrous evil book, and had both treason and heresy in it. Then they asked me what I said by the book. And I said, "I know no evil by it."

At which words Story chafed, and said, he would hang me up by the hands with a rope; and said also, he would cut out my tongue, and mine ears also from my head. After this they alleged two or three things unto me out of the book. And I answered, I had not read the book throughout, and therefore I could give no judgment of the book.

Then my lord of Windsor's chaplain and the other two gentlemen took me aside, and entreated me very gently, saying, Tell us where you had the book, and of whom, and we will save you harmless. I made them answer, I had told all that I could to Dr. Story: and began to tell it them again, but they said, they knew that already. So they left that talk, and went again to Story with me.

Then Story burdened me with my faith, and said I was a heretic: whereupon the chaplain asked me how I did believe. Then I began to rehearse the articles of my belief, but he bade me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Christ. I made him answer, that I believed in Christ which died and rose again the third day, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, "What is the right hand of God?" I made him answer, "I thought it was his glory." Then said he, "So they say all." And he asked me when he would be weary of sitting there. Then inferred my lord of Windsor's chaplain, asking me what I said by the mass. I said, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant; for I understood it not, because I never learned any Latin. And since the time that I had any knowledge I have been brought up in nothing but in reading of English, and with such men as have taught the same; with many more questions, which I cannot rehearse.

Another  
examina-  
tion of  
Green  
before  
Story.Mrs.  
Story  
showeth  
her cha-  
ritable  
heart.Green ex-  
amined  
before  
Story.Green ex-  
amined  
of his  
belief.Story's  
blasphe-  
mous  
scolding  
in mat-  
ters of  
our faith.

Moreover he asked me if there were not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood and bone in the mass, after the priest had consecrated it. And I made him answer, "As for the mass, I cannot understand it; but in the New Testament I read, that as the apostles stood looking after the Lord when he ascended up into heaven, an angel said to them, 'Even as you see him ascend up, so shall he come again.'" And I told them another sentence, where Christ saith, "The poor shall you have always with you, but me ye shall not have always."

Then master chaplain put to me many questions more, to the which I could make him no answer. Among all others, he brought Chrysostome and St. Jerome for his purpose. To whom I answered, that I neither minded nor was able to answer their doctors, neither knew whether they alleged them right, or no; but to that which is written in the New Testament I would answer. Here they laughed me to scorn, and called me fool, and said, they would reason no more with me.

Then Dr. Story called for Cluney, and bade him take me away, and set me fast, and let no man speak with me. So I was sent to the coalhouse, where I had not been a week, but there came in fourteen prisoners: but I was kept still alone without company, in a prison called the Salthouse, having upon my leg a bolt and a fetter, and my hands manacled together with irons; and there continued ten days, having nothing to lie on, but bare stones or a board.

On a time, while I lay there in prison, the bishop of London coming down a pair of stairs on the backside untrussed, in his hose and doublet, looked in at the grate, and asked wherefore I was put in, and who put me in.

I made him answer, that I was put in for a book called Antichrist, by Dr. Story. And he said, "You are not ashamed to declare wherefore you were put in;" and said it was a very wicked book, and bade me confess the truth to Story. I said, I had told the truth to him already; and desired him to be good unto me, and help me out of prison, for they had kept me there long. And he said, he could not meddle with it; Story hath begun it, and he must end it.

Then I was removed out of the Salthouse to give place to two women, and carried to the Lollards' Tower, and put in the stocks; and there I found two prisoners, one called Lion a Frenchman, and another with him: and so I was kept in the stocks more than a month both day and night, and no man to come to me, or to speak with me, but only my keeper which brought me meat.

Thus we three being together, Lyon the Frenchman sang a psalm in the French tongue, and we sang with him, so that we were heard down into the street; and the keeper, coming up in a great rage, swore that he would put us all in the stocks; and so took the Frenchman, and commanded him to kneel down upon his knees, and put both his hands in the stocks, where he remained all that night till the next day.

After this, I being in the Lollards' Tower a vii. days, at my last being with Story, he swore a great oath, that he would rack me, and make me tell the truth. Then Story sending for me, commanded me to be brought to Walbrook, where he and the commissioners dined; and by the way my keeper told me that I should go to the Tower, and be racked. So when they had dined, Story called for me in, and so there I stood before them; and some said, I was worthy to be hanged for having such heretical books. After I had stood a little while before them, Story called for the keeper, and commanded him to carry me to the Lollards' Tower again; and said, "I have other matters of the queen's to do with the commissioners, but I will find another time for him." Whilst I lay yet in the Lollards' Tower, the woman which brought the books over,<sup>1</sup> being taken, and her books, was put in the Clink in Southwark, by Hussey, one of the Arches; and I Thomas Green testify before God, now, that I neither desried the man nor the woman, the which I had the books of.

Then I, lying in the Lollards' Tower, being sent for before master Hussey, he required of me, wherefore I was put into the Lollards' Tower, and by whom: to whom I made answer, that I was put there by Dr. Story, for a book called Antichrist. Then he made as though he would be my friend, and said he knew my friends, and my father and mother; and bade me tell him of whom I had the book, and said, "Come on, tell me the truth." I told him as I had told Dr. Story before.

Mary.

A.D.  
1558.

The  
mass.

See  
Appendix.

Green  
sent  
again to  
the coal-  
house.

Talk  
between  
Green  
and Bon-  
ner.

Two pri-  
soners  
brought  
to Bon-  
ner's Salt-  
house.

Cruelty  
showed  
upon pri-  
soners for  
singing  
psalms.

Green  
brought  
before  
Dr. Story  
and the com-  
missioners.

Green ex-  
amined  
before  
master  
Hussey.

(1) This woman was one Young's wife.

Mary.

A. D.  
1558.

Dixon in  
Birchin-  
lane.

Then he was very angry, and said, "I love thee well, and therefore I sent for thee:" and looked for a further truth, but I would tell him no other; whereupon he sent me again to the Lollards' Tower. At my going away, he called me back again, and said that Dixon gave me the books, being an old man, dwelling in Birchin-lane; and I said, he knew the matter better than I. So he sent me away to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained a vii. days and more.

Then master Hussey sent for me again, and required of me to tell him the truth. I told him I could tell him no other truth than I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he began to tell me of Dixon, of whom I had the books, the which had made the matter manifest afore; and he told me of all things touching Dixon and the books, more than I could myself, insomuch that he told me how many I had, and that he had a sack full of the books in his house, and knew where the woman lay, better than I myself. Then I saw the matter so open and manifest before my face, that it profited not me to stand in the matter. He asked me where I had done the books; and I told him I had but one, and that Dr. Story had. He said I lied, for I had three at one time, and he required me to tell him of one.

John  
Beane,  
prentice  
with mas-  
ter Tottle.

Then I told him of one that John Beane had of me, being prentice with master Tottle. So he promised me before and after, and as he should be saved before God, that he should have no harm. And I, kneeling down upon my knees, desired him to take my blood, and not to hurt the young man. Then he said, "Because you have been so stubborn, the matter being made manifest by others and not by you, being so long in prison, tell me if you will stand to my judgment." I said, "Yea; take my blood, and hurt not the young man."

Green  
adjudged  
to be  
whipped.  
Green  
brought  
to the  
Grey  
Friars.

Then he made me answer, I should be whipped like a thief and a vagabond; and so I thanked him, and went my way with my keeper to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained two or three days; and so was brought by the keeper, Cluney, by the commandment of the commissioners, to Christ's hospital, sometime the Grey-Friars; and accordingly had there, for the time, the correction of thieves and vagabonds; and so was delivered to Trinian the porter, and put into a stinking dungel.

Then in few days I, finding friendship, was let out of the dungel, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yard by the dounge in the daytime, and so remained prisoner a month and more.

Green  
again ap-  
peareth  
before Dr.  
Story and  
two gen-  
tlemen.

Thither at length Dr. Story came, and two gentlemen with him, and called for me; and so I was brought into a counting-house before them. Then he said to the gentlemen, "Here cometh this heretic, of whom I had the book called Antichrist:" and began to tell them how many times I had been before him, and said, "I have entreated him very gently, and he would never tell me the truth, till that it was found out by others." Then said he, "It were a good deed to cut out thy tongue, and thy ears off thy head, to make thee an example to all other heretic knaves." And the gentlemen said, "Nay, that were pity." Then he asked, if that I would not become an honest man; and I said, "Yes, for I have offended God many ways." Whereupon he burdened me with my faith. I told him that I had made him answer of my faith before my lord Windsor's chaplain, as much as I could.

The  
scourging  
of Green  
before  
Dr. Story.

So in the end he commanded me to be stripped, he standing by me, and called for two of the beadles and the whips to whip me; and the two beadles came with a cord, and bound my hands together, and the other end of the cord to a stone pillar. Then one of my friends, called Nicholas Priestman, hearing them call for whips, hurried in a bundle of rods, which seemed something to pacify the mind of his cruelty; and so they scourged me with rods. But as they were whipping of me, Story asked me, if I would go unto my master again; and I said, Nay. And he said, "I perceive now he will be worse than ever he was before: but let me alone," quoth he, "I will find him out, if he be in England." And so with many other things which I cannot rehearse, when they had done whipping of me, they bade me pay my fees, and go my ways.

Dr. Story commanded that he should have a hundred stripes, but the gentlemen so entreated, that he had not so many; Story saying, "If I might have my will, I would surely cut out his tongue."

Of the scourging of master Bartlet Green, also of John Milles.

See  
Appendix.

and of Thomas Hinshaw, ye heard before. In like manner was ordered Stephen Cotton, burnt before at Brentford, who testifieth himself to be twice beaten by Bonner, in a letter of his written to his brother, as by the same, here following, for the more evidence may appear.

Mary.

A. D.

1558.

The Copy of Stephen Cotton's Letter, written to his Brother, declaring how he was beaten of Bishop Bonner.

Brother, in the name of the Lord Jesus I commend me unto you; and I do heartily thank you for your godly exhortation and counsel in your last letter declared to me. And albeit I do perceive by your letter, you are informed, that as we are divers persons in number, so we are of contrary sects, conditions, and opinions, contrary to the good opinion you had of us at your last being with us in Newgate; be you most assured, good brother, in the Lord Jesus, we are all of one mind, one faith, one assured hope in the Lord Jesus, whom I trust we all together, with one spirit, one brotherly love, do daily call upon for mercy and forgiveness of our sins, with earnest repentance of our former lives; and by whose precious blood-shedding we trust to be saved only, and by no other means. Wherefore, good brother, in the name of the Lord, seeing these impudent people, whose minds are altogether bent to wickedness, envy, uncharitableness, evil speaking, do go about to slander us with untruth, believe them not, neither let their wicked sayings once enter into your mind. And I trust one day to see you again, although now I am in God's prison, which is a joyful school to them that love their Lord God, and to me being a simple scholar most joyful of all.

Good brother, once again I do, in the name of our Lord Jesus, exhort you to pray for me, that I may fight strongly in the Lord's battle, to be a good soldier to my Captain, Jesus Christ our Lord, and desire my sister also to do the same. And do not ye mourn or lament for me, but be ye glad and joyful of this my trouble; for I trust to be loosed out of this dungeon shortly, and to go to everlasting joy, which never shall have end. I heard how ye were with the commissioners \*for<sup>1</sup> me, and how you were suspected to be one of our company: \* I pray you sue no more for me, good brother. But one thing I shall desire you, to be at my departing out of this life, that you may bear witness with me that I shall die, I trust in God, a true Christian, and (I hope) all my companions in the Lord our God: and therefore believe not these evil-disposed people, who are the authors of all untruth.

I pray you provide me a long shirt against the day of our deliverance: for the shirt you gave me last, I have given to one of my companions, who had more need than I; and as for the money and meat you sent us, the bishop's servants delivered none to us, neither he whom you had so great trust in. Brother, there is none of them to trust to, for "qualis magister, talis servus." Cotton twice beaten by Bonner. I have been twice beaten, and threatened to be beaten again, by the bishop himself. I suppose we shall go into the country to Fulham, to the bishop's house, and there be arraigned. I would have you to hearken as much as you can: for when we shall go, it shall be suddenly done. Thus fare you well.

From the Coalhouse, this present Friday.

Your brother, Stephen Cotton.

#### THE SCOURGING OF JAMES HARRIS.

In this society, of the scourged professors of Christ, was also one James Harris, of Billericay in Essex, a stripling of the age of seventeen years; who, being apprehended and sent up to Bonner, in the company of Margaret Ellis, by sir John Mordant, knight, and Edmund Tyrrel, justices of peace (as appeareth by their own letters before mentioned), was by Bonner divers times straitly examined; in the which examinations he was charged not to have come to his parish-church by the space of one year or more. Whereunto he

Harris scourged.

(1) Omitted after the Edition of 1576.—Ed.



*Mary.* granted, confessing therewithal, that once, for fear, he had been at the church, and there had received the popish sacrament of the altar ; for the which he was heartily sorry, detesting the same with all his heart.

*A. D.* After this and such like answers, Bonner (the better to try him) 1558. persuaded him to go to shrift. The lad, somewhat to fulfil his request, consented to go, and did. But when he came to the priest, he stood still, and said nothing. "Why," quoth the priest, "sayest thou nothing?" "What should I say?" said Harris. "Thou must confess thy sins," said the priest. "My sins," saith he, "be so many, that they cannot be numbered." With that the priest told Bonner what he had said ; and he, of his accustomed devotion, took the poor lad into his garden, and there, with a rod, gathered out of a cherry-tree, did most cruelly whip him.

Harris  
repenteth  
his com-  
ing to the  
popish  
church.  
The cause  
of John  
Harris's  
scourging.

#### THE SCOURGING OF ROBERT WILLIAMS, A SMITH.

Over and besides these above mentioned, was one Robert Williams, who, being apprehended in the same company, was also tormented after the like manner with rods, in Bonner's armour, who, there subscribing and yielding himself by promise to obey the laws, after being let go, refused so to do ; whereupon he was earnestly sought for, but could not be found, for that he kept himself close, and went not abroad but by stealth. And now in the mean time of this persecution, this Robert Williams departed this life, and so escaped the hands of his enemies. The Lord therefore be honoured for ever, Amen.

And forasmuch as I have begun to write of Bonner's scourging, by the occasion thereof cometh to mind to infer by the way, his beating of other boys and children, and drawing them naked through the nettles, in his journey rowing toward Fulham. The story although it touch no matter of religion, yet because it toucheth something the nature and disposition of that man, and may refresh the reader, wearied percase with other doleful stories, I thought not here to omit.

#### BONNER CAUSETH CERTAIN BOYS TO BE BEATEN.

Bonner, passing from London to Fulham by barge, having John Milles and Thomas Hinshaw above mentioned with him, both prisoners for religion, by the way as he went by water, was saying evensong with Harpsfield his chaplain in the barge, and being about the middle of their devout orisons, they espied a sort of young boys swimming and washing themselves in the Thames over against Lambeth, or a little above : unto whom he went, and gave very gentle language and fair speech, until he had set his men a land. That done, his men ran after the boys to get them, as the bishop commanded them before, beating some with nettles, drawing some through bushes of nettles naked ; and some they made leap into the Thames to save themselves, that it was marvel they were not drowned.

Bonner's  
pitiful  
heart.

Now as the children for fear did cry, and as this skirmishing was between them, immediately came a greater lad thither, to know what the matter meant, that the boys made such a noise ; whom when the bishop espied, he asked him whether he would maintain them in their doings or no. Unto whom the young fellow made answer stoutly, Yea. Then the bishop commanded him to be taken also ; but he ran away with speed, and thereby avoided the bishop's blessing. Now



when the bishop saw him to flee away, and another man sitting upon a rail in the way where he ran, he willed him likewise to stop the boy; and because he would not, he commanded his men to fetch that man to him also: but he, hearing that, ran away as fast as he could, and by leaping over the ditch, escaped the bishop in like manner.

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

Then the bishop, seeing the success of his battle to prove no better, cried to a couple of ferry-boys to run, and hold him that last ran away. And for that they said they could not (as indeed it was true), therefore he caused his men by and by to take and beat them. The boys, hearing that, leapt into the water to save themselves; notwithstanding they were caught, and in the water by the bishop's men, were holden and beaten.

Now, after the end of this great skirmish, the bishop's men returned to their master again into the barge, and he, and Harpsfield his chaplain, went to their evensong afresh, where they left; and so sayd forth the rest of their service, as clean without malice, as an egg without meat. The Lord give him repentance (if it be his will), and grace to become a new man! Amen.

Bonner's  
devout  
orisons.

*See  
Appendix.*

#### THE WHIPPING OF A BEGGAR AT SALISBURY.

Unto these above specified, is also to be added the miserable whipping of a certain poor starved sely beggar, who, because he would not receive the sacrament at Easter in the town of Collingborough, was brought to Salisbury with bills and gleives to the chancellor, Dr. Jeffery, who cast him into the dongeon, and after caused him miserably to be whipped of two catch-poles; the sight whereof made all godly hearts to rue it, to see such tyranny to be showed upon such a simple and sely wretch: for they which saw him have reported, that they never saw a more simple creature. But what pity can move the hearts of merciless papists?

A poor  
beggar  
whipt for  
not re-  
ceiving  
with the  
papists at  
Easter.

Besides these above named, divers others also suffered the like scourgings and whippings in their bodies, for their faithful standing in the truth; of whom it may be said, as it is written of the apostles in the Acts: "Which departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus."<sup>1</sup>

\* Si fas cædendo cælestia scandere cuiquam est,  
Papicolis cæli maxima porta patet.<sup>2</sup>\*

#### ANOTHER TREATISE OF SUCH AS BEING PURSUED IN QUEEN MARY'S TIME, WERE IN GREAT DANGER; AND YET, THROUGH THE GOOD PROVIDENCE OF GOD, MERCIFULLY WERE PRESERVED.

Although the secret purpose of Almighty God, which disposeth all things, suffered a great number of his faithful servants, both men and women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemies' hands, and to abide the brunt of this persecution, to be tried with rods, with whips, with racks, with fetters, famine, with burning of hands, with plucking off beards, with burning also both hand, beard, and body, etc.; yet notwithstanding some there were again, and that a great number, who miraculously, by the merciful

(1) Acts v.

(2) See the Second Edition, p. 2265; "Ex Epigrammate Ennii apud Ciceronem allusio." See also Lactant. "Institut." lib. i. cap. 18; and Senecæ Epist. 108.—Ed.

*Mary.*A.D.  
1558.

providence of God, against all men's expectation, in safety were delivered out of the fiery rage of this persecution, either by voiding the realm, or shifting of place, or the Lord so blinding the eyes of the persecutors, or disposing the opportunity of time, or working some such means or other for his servants, as not only ought to stir them up to perpetual thanks, but also may move all men both to behold and magnify the wondrous works of the Almighty.

About what time it began to be known that queen Mary was sick, divers good men were in hold in divers quarters of the realm; some at Bury, some at Salisbury: as John Hunt and Richard White, of whom we have storied before, and some at London, amongst whom were William Living with his wife, and John Lithal, of whom something remaineth now compendiously to be touched.

THE TROUBLE AND DELIVERANCE OF WILLIAM LIVING WITH  
HIS WIFE, AND OF JOHN LITHAL, MINISTERS.

About the time of the latter end of queen Mary, she then being sick, came one Cox a promoter, to the house of William Living, about six of the clock, accompanied with one John Launce of the Grey-hound. They being not ready, they demanded for buttons, saying they should be as well paid for them, as ever was any; and he would come again, about three hours after, for them. In the mean while he had gotten the constable, called master Dean, and George Hancock the beadle of that ward, and searching his books, found a book of astronomy, called "The work of Johannes de Sacro Bosco, 'de Sphæra,'" with figures, some round, some triangle, some quadrate; which book, because it was gilted, seemed to him the chiefest book there; and that he carried open in the street, saying, "I have found him at length. It is no marvel \*though\* the queen be sick, seeing there be such conjurers in \*so\* privy corners; but now, I trust, he shall conjure no more:" and so brought him and his wife from Shoe-lane, through Fleet-street, into Paul's church-yard, with the constable, the beadle, and two other following them, till they were entered into Darbishire's house, who was Bishop Bonner's chancellor: and after the constable and they had talked with Darbishire, he came forth, and walked in his yard, saying these words:

*Darbishire* :—"What is your name?"

*Living* :—"William Living."

*Darbishire* :—"What are you? a priest?"

*Living* :—"Yea."

*Darbishire* :—"Is this your wife, that is come with you?"

*Living* :—"That she is."

*Darbishire* :—"Where were you made priest?"

*Living* :—"At Aubourn."

*Darbishire* :—"In what bishop's days?"

*Living* :—"By the bishop of Lincoln, that was king Henry's ghostly father in cardinal Wolsey's time."

*Darbishire* :—"You are a schismatic and a traitor."

*Living* :—"I would be sorry that were true. I am certain I never was traitor, but always have taught obedience, according to the tenor of God's word; and when tumults and schisms have been stirred, I have preached God's word, and suaged them, as in the time of king Edward."

*Darbishire* :—"What, you are a schismatic. You be not in the unity of

Dean  
constable,  
George  
Hancock,  
beadle,  
persecutors.  
See  
Appendix.

the catholic church : for you pray not as the church of Rome doth. You pray in English." Mary.

*Living* :—" We are certain we be in the true church."

*Darbishire* :—" There be that doubt thereof, forsomuch as there is but one true church. Well, you will learn against I talk with you again, to know the church of Rome, and to be a member thereof."

*Living* :—" If the church of Rome be of that church whereof Christ is the head, then am I a member thereof; for I know no other church but that."

*Darbishire* :—" Well, Cluney, take him with thee to the coalhouse."

Then called he Cluney again, and spake secretly to him; what, I know not.

Then said Cluney, " Wilt thou not come?" and so plucked me away violently, and brought me to his own house in Paternoster-row, where he robbed me of my purse, my girdle, and my Psalter, and a New Testament of Geneva; and then brought me to the coalhouse, to put me in the stocks, saying, " Put in both your legs and your hands also; and except you fine with me, I will put a collar about your neck." " What is the fine?" quoth I. " Forty shillings," quoth he: " I am never able to pay it," said I.

Cluney playeth the thief. See Appendix.

" Then," said he, " you have friends that be able." I denied it; and so he put both my legs into the stocks till supper-time, which was six of the clock; and then a cousin of my wife's brought me meat, who, seeing me to sit there, said, " I will give you forty pence, and let him go at liberty." And he took her money, and presently let me forth in her sight, to eat my supper.<sup>1</sup> And at seven of the clock, he put me into the stocks again; and so I remained till two of the clock the next day, and so he let me forth till night. This woman above mentioned, was Griffin's first wife, a brother dwelling then in Aldermanbury, and yet alive in Cheapside.

The Thursday following at afternoon was I called to the Lollards' Tower, and there put in the stocks, having the favour to put my leg in that hole that master John Philpot's leg was in; and so lay all that night, nobody coming to me, either with meat or drink.

Living laid in the Lollard's-tower.

At eleven of the clock on the Friday, Cluney came to me with meat, and let me forth, and about one of the clock he brought me to Darbishire's house, who drew forth a scroll of names, and asked me if I knew none of them: I said, I know none of them but Foster. And so I kneeled down upon my knees, and prayed him that he would not inquire thereof any further. And with that came forth two godly women, which said, " Master Darbishire, it is enough;" and so became sureties for me, and paid to Cluney fifteen shillings for my fees, and bade me go with them.

Living delivered.

And thus much concerning William Living. After this came his wife to examination, whose answers to Darbishire the chancellor, here likewise follow.

### The Examination of Julian Living, Wife to William Living.

*Darbishire* :—" Ah sirrah; I see by your gown, you be one of the sisters."

*Julian* :—" I wear not my gown for sisterhood, neither for nunnery, but to keep me warm." Talk between Darbishire and Living's wife.

*Darbishire* :—" Nun! No, I dare say you be none. Is that man your husband?"

*Julian* :—" Yea."

*Darbishire* :—" He is a priest."

*Julian* :—" No, he saith no mass."

*Darbishire* :—" What then? he is a priest. How darest thou marry him?" Then he showed me a roll of certain names of citizens. To whom I answered, I knew none of them.

Then said he, " You shall be made to know them."

Then said I, " Do no other but justice and right; for the day will come, that you shall answer for it."

*Darbishire* :—" Why, woman, thinkest thou not that I have a soul?"

*Julian* :—" Yes, I know you have a soul: but whether it be to salvation or damnation, I cannot tell."

(1) Note the covetous dealing of these papists.

Mary.

A. D.  
1558.Living's  
wife com-  
manded  
to the  
Lollards'  
Tower.Dale a  
promoter.Mark the  
hope  
of the  
papists.  
*See*  
*Appendix.*The con-  
stable  
of St.  
Bride's  
surety for  
Julian  
Living.Living  
and his  
wife de-  
livered by  
the death  
of queen  
Mary.

*Darbishire* :—"Ho, Cluney! have her to the Lollards' Tower." And so he took me, and carried me to his house, where was one Dale, a promoter, which said to me, "Alas, good woman, wherefore be you here?" "What is that to you?" said I.

"You be not ashamed," quoth Dale, "to tell wherefore you came hither."

"No," quoth I, "that I am not; for it is for Christ's testament."

"Christ's testament!" quoth he, "it is the devil's testament." "O Lord," quoth I, "God forbid that any man should speak any such word."

"Well, well," quoth he, "you shall be ordered well enough. You care not for burning," quoth he, "God's blood! there must be some other means found for you." "What," quoth I, "will you find any worse than you have found?"

"Well," quoth he, "you hope, and you hope: but your hope shall be aslope. For though the queen fail, she that you hope for shall never come at it: for there is my lord cardinal's grace, and many more between her and it." "Then," quoth I, "my hope is in none but God."

Then said Cluney, "Come with me:" and so went I to the Lollards' Tower. On the next day *Darbishire* sent for me again, and inquired again of those citizens that he inquired of before. I answered, I knew them not.

"Where were you," quoth he, "at the communion on Sunday was fortnight?" And I said, "In no place."

Then the constable of St. Bride's being there, made suit for me; and *Darbishire* demanded of him, if he would be bound for me. He answered, Yea, and so he was bound for my appearance betwixt that and Christmas.

Then *Darbishire* said, "You be constable, and should give her good counsel."

"So do I," quoth he, "for I bid her go to mass, and to give as you say. For, by the mass, if you say the crow is white, I will say so too."

And thus much concerning the examination of William Living and his wife, whom although thou seest here delivered, through the request of women, his sureties; yet it was no doubt, but that the deadly sickness of queen Mary abated and bridled then the cruelty of those papists, which otherwise would never have let them go.

\*But<sup>2</sup> yet the archdeacon of Canterbury would remit nothing of his extreme tyranny, in burning those five, above named, at Canterbury.

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, through the merciful aid and supportation of Christ our Lord most favourably assisting us in the same, the full history and discourse, with the names and places, of all the godly martyrs who suffered, both in the time of queen Mary, and also before, for the true reformation of Christ's church; which, after the blood of so many saints, the Lord at length hath given us, to whom there-for be praise for ever, Amen.

This done, next followeth consequently now to be seen, the general and ordinary certificatory of the bishops, which they used to send up to the prince, at their condemning of Christ's innocent servants to death; whereunto we have annexed also the writ, given down from the prince to the sheriffs and officers, for the burning of the same.

(1) If any worse punishment could have been found, it would, it appears, have been inflicted. "Consuetudo hæc, ut non aliâ poenâ hæretici puniantur quam igne, originem duxit ex Vet. Test. 4. Reg. xxiii. ubi Ozias jussit ossa hæreticorum sacerdotum comburi:—et ex N. Test. verbis scilicet Christi Domini Joan. xv.: *Si quis in me, etc.* Si poena aliqua occurreret combusione atrocior, utique ea esset hæreticis imponenda, tum quia hoc modo peritius deletur de memoria hominum hæreticus et ejus delictum," etc. "Carenæ tractatus de officio Inquis." (Lugduni, 1669) pars 3, tit. 13. § 1. 7; and this opinion is seconded in the "Aphorismi Inquis. auct. Ant. de Sousa." (Turnoni, 1633) lib. 3. cap. 6.—Ed.

(2) For these remarks and the two documents following, see the First Edition, pp. 1675-6.—Ed.



## A Certificate [from the Bishop to the Sovereign].

Mary.

A.D.

1558.

Excellentissimis et illustrissimis in Christo principibus, Philippo et Mariæ, Dei gratiâ regi et reginæ Angliæ, Franciæ, Neapolis, Hierusalem, et Hiberniæ, fidei defensoribus, principibus Hispaniarum et Siciliæ, archiducibus Austriæ, ducibus Mediolani, Burgundiæ, et Brabantiæ, comitibus Haspurgi, Flandriæ, et Tyrolis, vester humilis et devotus, permissione divinâ episcopus N., reverentiam, obedientiam, ac salutem in Eo, per quem reges regnant et principes dominantur. Quia per acta inactitata coram nobis in quodam hereticæ pravitatis negotio contra N. [nostrarum] diœcesis et jurisdictionis, nuper, et per suas confessiones, in hâc parte in judicio respectivè habita, facta, et emissâ, comperimus et invenimus luculenter eundum fuisse et esse hereticum et hereticæ pravitatis scelere innodatum et involutum, eò præsertim quòd contra veram Christi corporis in eucharistiâ præsentiam multipliciter et sæpe damnata dogmata tenuisset et defendisset, ac in eodem scelere pertinaciter stetisset et continuasset, nulla pœnitentiæ signa in eâ parte aliquo modo ostendendo; ac ob id eundem manifestum, obstinatum et pertinacem, incorrigibilem et impœnitentem hæreticum fuisse et esse, ac pœnâ hæresis puniendum et seculari potestati tradendum fore, inter cætera, per nostram sententiam diffinitivam in eâ parte judicialiter in scriptis latam et promulgatam pronuntiavimus et declaravimus; necnon ipsum provido viro N., uni vicecomitum vestræ civitatis N., ad hoc una nobiscum et cum majore dictæ vestræ civitatis N. in judicio personaliter presenti, juxta juris exigentiam reliquimus et tradidimus:—vestræ igitur Regiæ Majestati excellentissimæ tenore præsentium significamus, innotescimus, et certificamus, omnia et singula præmissa sic per nos fuisse et esse gesta et facta, et veritatem in se omnino habere et continere: supplicantes nihilominus, et in visceribus Jesu Christi obsecrantes, ut severitatis ultio et severa executio, quæ ex legibus et more regni vestri in hoc casu fieri et haberi solet et consuevit, sic mitigetur, ut idem charitativè reformetur, et ejus delicta (quatenus fieri potest) cum omni mansuetudine et lenitate corrigantur; sic quòd rigor non sit valdè rigidus, et quòd clementia omnino sit ad salutem, metumque aliis incutiat à similibus sceleribus abstinendi, potius quàm fiduciam præbeat dicta scelera perpetrandi. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus apponi fecimus. Datum N. die mensis , anno Domini secundum computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, etc.

## A NOTE OR SCHOLIE UPON THIS CERTIFICATE ABOVE MENTIONED.

Note, good reader, in this certificate above written, the crafty and cruel hypocrisy and hypocritical cruelty of these dissembling prelates. First, by their sentence they condemn the poor innocents, and give them to the secular power; then, by their canon they themselves prescribe the secular power to burn them: and yet here, in this certificate, before the king and queen they put on a visor of clemency, making us they, from the inward bowels of their heart, would make intercession for their lives, when they mean nothing else indeed but their death. If the pope, with his popelings, would not the rigour of the law to be showed, why doth he so charge them in his canon to burn them? why be the prelates so busy to attach them? so inquisitive to entrap them? so hasty to condemn them? so insulting and insolent upon them being condemned, as Bonner was to Tankerfield and to a jerkin-maker—bidding one of them now go make pies, the other to make jerkins, when he had condemned them?

Contrary, if the pope with his papists do (as they do indeed), and mean nothing else than to make havoc of God's people, why then would they have the world believe as though they wrought all with clemency and pity, desiring the superior powers to remit the rigour and sharpness of their swords?—when, in very deed, they themselves thrust them violently upon the sword, for them to chop off their necks.



*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.*See  
Appendix.*

## Breve Regium, directum pro Hæreticis comburendis.

Philippus et Maria, Dei gratiâ rex et regina Angliæ, Hispaniarum, Franciæ, utriusque Siciliæ, Hierusalem, et Hiberniæ, fidei defensores, archiduces Austriæ, duces Burgundiæ, Mediolani, et Brabantïæ, comites Haspurgi, Flandriæ, et Tyrolis, vicecomiti M. salutem. Cum reverendus in Christo pater, Edmundus London. episcopus, S. T. R. D. et R. P., suæ diocesis, in causâ hæreticæ pravitatis ex officio suo legitime procedens, hæreticos manifestos pronunciaverit et declaraverit, ipsosque foro seculari relinquendos fore decreverit et realiter reliquit, juxta leges et sanctiones in hac parte editas, prout per literas suas nobis inde directas plenius apparet et continetur:—nos, igitur, ut zelatores justitiæ et fidei catholicæ defensores, considerantes quòd sancta mater ecclesia non habet ulterius quod faciat in præmissis, volentes ipsam sanctam matrem ecclesiam ac jura et libertates ejusdem manutenere et defendere, ac hujusmodi hæreses et errores de regno nostro Angliæ, quantum in nobis est, radicitus extirpare, ac hæreticos, sic convictos, animadversione condignâ punire; attendentesque hujusmodi hæreticos, sic convictos ac damnatos, juxta legem et consuetudinem regni nostri Angliæ ignis incendio comburi debere; tibi præcipimus (firmiter injungentes) quòd præfatos etc., statim post receptionem præsentium, apud villam nostram de B., infra comitatum prædictum, ubi magis expedire videris, coram populo igni committi, et in eodem igne realiter comburi facias, in hujusmodi criminis detestationem, aliorumque Christianorum exemplum manifestum; et hoc sub periculo incumbente nullatenus omittas. Testibus nobismetipsis, apud Westmonasterium, 13 die [Julii], annis regnorum nostrorum quarto et sexto.

Marten.

Inscriptio Vicecomiti M., de hæreticis comburendis.\*

**The Trouble and Deliberance of John Lithall.**John  
Lithall  
brought  
to exami-  
nation by  
John  
Avales.

At the taking of William Living, it happened that certain of his books were in the custody of one John Lithall; which known, the constable of the ward of Southwark, with other of the queen's servants, were sent to his house, who, breaking open his doors and chests, took away not only the books of the said William Living, but also all his own books, writings, and bills of debts, which he never had again. All this while Lithall was not at home.

The next Saturday after, as he was returned, and known to be at home, John Avales and certain of the queen's servants beset his house all the night with such careful watch, that as he in the morning issued out of doors, thinking to escape their hands, John Avales, suddenly bursting out upon him, cried, "Stop the traitor! stop the traitor!" whereat Lithall being amazed, looked back.

And so John Avales came running to him, with other that were with him, saying, "Ah, sirrah! you are a pretty traitorly fellow indeed; we have had somewhat to do to get you." To whom he answered, that he was a truer man to the queen's majesty than he: "for you," said he, "are commanded by God to keep holy the sabbath-day, and you seek to shed your neighbour's blood on the sabbath-day. Remember that you must answer there-for to God." But he said, "Come on, you villain! you must go before the council." So was Lithall brought into Paul's church-yard to the bishop's chancellor, by John Avales, saying, that he had there caught the captain of these fellows; and so caused him to be called to examination before Dr. Darbshire, who entered talk with him in this wise:

Lithall  
brought  
before  
Dr. Dar-  
bshire,  
chancel-  
lor.*Bishop's Chancellor*:—"What countryman are you?"*Lithall*:—"I am an Englishman, born in Staffordshire."*Chancellor*:—"Where were you brought up?"

*Lithall* :—" In this our country of England."

*Chancellor* :—" In what university?"

*Lithall* :—" In no university, but in a free-school."

*Chancellor* :—" We have had certain books from your house, and writings, wherein are both treason and heresy."

*Lithall* :—" Sir, there is neither treason nor heresy in them."

Then he asked for certain other men that I knew.

*Lithall* :—" If you have aught to lay to my charge, I will answer it: but I will have no other man's blood upon my head."

*Chancellor* :—" Why come you not to the church? Of what church be you, that you come not to your own parish-church?"

*Lithall* :—" I am of the church of Christ, the fountain of all goodness."

*Chancellor* :—" Have you no ministers of your church, but Christ?"

*Lithall* :—" We have others."

*Chancellor* :—" Where be they?"

*Lithall* :—" In the whole world, dispersed, preaching and professing the gospel and faith only in our Saviour Jesus, as he commanded them."

*Chancellor* :—" You boast much, every one of you, of your faith and belief; let me hear therefore the effect, how you believe."

*Lithall* :—" I believe to be justified freely by Christ Jesus, according to the saying of St. Paul to the Ephesians, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by man."

Justification by faith only.

*Chancellor* :—" Faith cannot save without works."

*Lithall* :—" That is contrary to the doctrine of the apostles."

*Chancellor* :—" John Auales! you and the keeper have this fellow to prison."

Then John Auales and Cluney the keeper had me into Paul's, and would have had me to have seen the apostles' mass.

*Lithall* :—" I know none the apostles had, and therefore I will see none."

*Cluney and John Auales* :—" Come and kneel down before the rood, and say a Pater-noster, and an Ave in the worship of the five wounds."

*Lithall* :—" I am forbidden by God's own mouth to kneel to any idol or image: therefore I will not."

Lithall denies to kneel before the rood.

Then they pulled me with great extremity, the one having me by one arm, and the other by the other; but God gave me at that present time more strength than both these, his name be praised for it.

Then, when they could not make me to kneel before the rood, neither to see the mass, there gathered a great company about us, and all against me. Some spat on me, and said, "Fie on thee, heretic!" and others said, It was pity I was not burned already.

Then they carried me to Lollards' Tower, and hanged me in a great pair of stocks, in which I lay three days and three nights, till I was so lame that I could neither stir nor move.

Then I offered the keeper certain money and gold that I had about me, to release me out of the stocks: and he said, I would not be ruled by him, either to see mass, or to kneel before the rood, and therefore I should lie there still. But I said, I would never do the thing that should be against my conscience: and though you have lamed my body, yet my conscience is whole, I praise God for it. So, shortly after, he let me out of the stocks, more for the love of my money (as it may be thought), than for any other affection; and within four or five days my wife got leave of master chancellor to come to me, to bring me such things as were needful for me; and there I lay five weeks and odd days, in the which time divers of my neighbours and friends made suit to the chancellor for my deliverance: the bishop, as they said, at that time being at Fulham, sick. So my neighbours being there, about twenty of them, the chancellor sent for me out of the Lollards' Tower to his own house, and said as followeth:

Lithall's neighbours make suit for him.

*Chancellor* :—" Lithall! here be of thy neighbours which have been with me to entreat for thee; and they have informed me, that thou hast been a very honest and quiet neighbour among them, and I think it be God's will that I should deliver thee before my lord come home. For if he come, and thou go home again, I will be burned for thee: for I know his mind already in that matter."

*Lithall* :—" I give you hearty thanks for your gentleness, and my neighbours for their good report."

*Mary.* Chancellor :—"Lithall, if thy neighbours will be bound for thy forthcoming whensoever thou shalt be called for; and also if thou wilt be an obedient subject, I shall be content to deliver thee."

*A. D. 1558.* Neighbours :—"If it please your worship, we will be bound for him in body and goods."

Chancellor :—"I will require no such bond of you, but that two of you will be bound in twenty pounds a piece, that he shall come to answer when he shall be called."

Lithall :—"Where find you, master chancellor, in all the Scriptures, that the church of God did bind any man for the profession of his faith? which profession you have heard of me, that all our justification, righteousness, and salvation, cometh only and freely by the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and all the inventions and works of men, be they never so glorious, be altogether vain, as the wise man saith."

Chancellor :—"Lo, where he is now! I put no such matter to you; for in that I believe as you do: but yet St. James saith, that a man is justified by works."

St. James expounded.

Lithall :—"St. James spake to them that boasted themselves of faith; and showed no works of faith: but, O master chancellor! remember, I pray you, how all the promises and prophecies of the holy Scripture, even from the first promise that God made to Adam, and so even to the latter end of the Revelation of St. John, do testify that in the name of Jesus, and only by his merits, all that believe shall be saved from all their sins and offences. Esaias saith, 'I am found of them that sought me not, and am manifest to them that asked not after me:'<sup>1</sup> but against Israel he saith, 'All day long have I stretched out my hand to a people that believe not.' And when the jailer asked St. Paul, what he should do to be saved, the apostle said, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, and all thy household.'<sup>2</sup> Again, St. John saith in the Revelation, that there was none, neither in heaven nor in earth, neither under the earth, that was able to open the book or the seals thereof, but only the Lamb Jesus, our only Saviour. And St. Paul saith, 'With one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified.'<sup>3</sup>"

Chancellor :—"With vain glory you rehearse much Scripture, as all the sort of you do: but you have no more understanding than a many of sheep. But to the purpose: Will you that your neighbours shall enter into bonds for you, or not?"

Lithall refuseth to put in bond.

Lithall :—"By my mind, they shall not. Wherefore I desire you that you would not bind me, but let me serve God with my conscience freely; for it is written, 'They that lead into captivity, shall go into captivity; and they that strike with the sword shall perish with the sword.'<sup>4</sup> Also it is written in the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 'That whoso doth offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the depth of the sea,'<sup>5</sup> of the which I am assured by his Holy Spirit that I am one. Wherefore be you well assured that such mercy as you show, unto you shall be showed the like."

Chancellor :—"You are a mad man. I would not bind you, but that I must needs have somewhat to show for your deliverance." Then he called two of my neighbours, Thomas Daniel and Saunders Maybe, which offered themselves to be bound; and called me before them, and said, "I have a letter of his own hand-writing, with his name and seal at it, with a book also against the regiment of women, for the which I could make him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but, on my faith, I will him no more hurt, than I mean to my own soul."

Lithall :—"I desire you that be my neighbours and friends, that you will not enter into bonds for me; for you know not the danger thereof, neither I myself. It goeth against my conscience that ye should so do."

Chancellor :—"Why, I will not bind you to do any thing against your conscience."

Then they made the bond and sealed to it, and willed me that I should seal to it also; and I said that I would not, neither could I observe the bond, and therefore I would not set to my hand.

His neighbours enter into bond for him.

(1) Chap. ix.

(2) Acts. xvi.

(3) Heb. ix.

(4) Rev. xiii.

(5) Matt. xviii.

*Chancellor* :—"It is pity that thou hast so much favour showed thee: yet for these honest men's sakes I will discharge thee."

*Mary.*

Notwithstanding all these dissembling words of master Darbshire, pretending for favour of his sureties, to set him at liberty, it was no such thing, nor any zeal of charity that moved him so to do; but only fear of the time, understanding the dangerous and unrecoverable sickness of queen Mary, which then began somewhat to assuage the cruel proceeding of these persecutors, whereby they durst not do that they would: for else, Lithall was not like to have escaped so easily.

A. D.  
1558.

EDWARD GREW, A PRIEST.

Moreover, there was one Edward Grew, priest, and Appline, his wife, compelled to fly from their dwelling at a town called Broke;<sup>1</sup> and the man being very aged, travelled abroad to keep a good conscience.

At the last, he was taken and laid in Colchester Castle, where he remained till queen Elizabeth came to her regal seat, and by the alteration of religion he was delivered. His wife (good woman) was in great care for him, and to her power did what she could to succour him.

WILLIAM BROWNE, PARSON OF LITTLE STONHAM.

William Browne, parson of Little Stonham, \*or<sup>2</sup> *alias* Stanham Jerningham,\* in the county of Suffolk, made a sermon in the said town \*continently\* after the burial of our good king Edward, and in his sermon he said, "There goeth a report that our good king is buried with a mass by the bishop of Winchester, he having a mitre upon his head. But if it were so," saith he, "they are all traitors that so do; because it is both against the truth, and the laws of this realm; and it is great idolatry and blasphemy, and against the glory of God; and they are no friends neither to God, the king, nor yet unto the realm, that so do." For this his preaching, one Robert Blomefield, an adversary to the truth, being then constable of the said town, and bailiff unto sir John Jerningham knight (the chief lord of that town), immediately rode forth, and brought home with him one Edward Golding, which was then under-sheriff, sir Thomas Cornwallis being then high-sheriff.

Robert  
Blome-  
field, per-  
secutor.  
Golding  
under-  
sheriff.  
Cornwal-  
lis, high-  
sheriff

So the said Golding and Blomefield sent for certain men of the said town, and examined them for the sermon; whereunto they made but a small answer. Then the sheriff made a bill, and so feared the men, that two or three of them set to their hands, and one of them never joyed after, but it was a grief to him till he died.

Then did they take men with them unto the parson's house, and in the night they took him, and with watchmen kept him until it was day. Then should he have been carried the next day to the council; but the said Robert Blomefield was taken so sick, that he was like to die, so that he could not carry him for his life. Then the said sheriff sent him to Ipswich again, and there he was for a time. Then he was sent to Bury prison, and from thence to the council, and then into the Fleet: and so he lay in prison from the beginning of harvest till it was nigh Christmas, and said, God gave him such answers to make when he was examined, that he was delivered with quietness of

Master  
Browne  
persecut-  
ed and  
taken.

Browne  
delivered.

(1) This must have been Broke in Norfolk, as this case is placed under "the persecuted in Norfolk," in p. 1678, Edit. 1563. See Appendix.—ED.

(2) Edition 1563, p. 1676.—ED.



*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.Example  
of God's  
punish-  
ment up-  
on a per-  
secutor.

conscience. And having his liberty, he came again unto the aforesaid town; and because he would not go to mass, his living was taken away, and he and his wife were constrained to fly here and there for life and conscience. In the last year of queen Mary's reign God did take him out of this life in peace.

Where moreover is to be noted, that this Robert Blomefield above-named, \*continently\* after he had apprehended the said Browne, fell very sick; and though at that time he was a wealthy man and of a great substance (beside his land, which was better than twenty pound a year), after this time God so plagued his household, that his eldest son died, and his wife had a pining sickness till she departed this life also.

Then married he another, a richer widow; but all would not help, and nothing would prosper: for he had a sore pining sickness, being full of botches and sores, whereby he wasted away both in body and goods, till he died.

So when he died, he was above ninescore pounds in debt, and it was never heard of any repentance he had. But a little before his death he bragged, and threatened a good man, one Simon Harlston, to put him forth to the officers, because he did wear no surplice when he said service: wherefore it is pity such baits of popery are left to the enemies, to take Christians in. God take them away, or else us from them! for God knoweth they be the cause of much blindness and strife amongst men.

*See  
Appendix.*

Furthermore, out of the said town were constrained to fly Robert Boele and John Trapne, because they would not go to mass and receive their sacrament of the altar.

## ELIZABETH YOUNG.

Ye heard before, in the treatise of the scourging of Thomas Green, how he was troubled and beaten by Dr. Story, for a certain book called "Antichrist" which he received of a woman, because in no case he would detect her. This woman was one Elizabeth Young, who, coming from Embden to England, brought with her divers books, and sparsed them abroad in London; for the which she, being at length espied and laid fast, was brought to examination thirteen times before the catholic inquisitors of heretical pravity: of the which her examinations, nine have come to our hands; wherein how fiercely she was assaulted, how shamefully she was reviled, how miserably handled, and what answers she made unto the adversaries in her own defence; and finally, after all this, how she escaped and passed through the pikes (being yet, as I hear say, alive), as I thought to give the reader here to see and understand.

## The First Examination of Elizabeth Young, before Master Hussey.

Master Hussey examined her of many things: first, where she was born, who was her father and mother.

*Elizabeth Young*:—"Sir, all this is but vain talk, and very superfluous. It is to fill my head with phantasies, that I should not be able to answer unto such things as I came for. Ye have not (I think) put me in prison to know who is my father and mother. But I pray you go to the matter that I came hither for."

*Hussey*:—"Wherefore wentest thou out of the realm?"



*Elizabeth* :—" To keep my conscience clean."

*Hussey* :—" When wast thou at mass?"

*Elizabeth* :—" Not these three years."

*Hussey* :—" Then wast thou not there three years before that?"

*Elizabeth* :—" No, sir, nor yet three years more before that: for and if I were, I had evil luck."

*Hussey* :—" How old art thou?"

*Elizabeth* :—" Forty and upwards."

*Hussey* :—" Twenty of those years thou wentest to mass."

*Elizabeth* :—" Yea and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wise as I went thither first; for I understand it not."

*Hussey* :—" Why wilt thou not go to the mass?"

*Elizabeth* :—" Sir, my conscience will not suffer me; for I had rather all the world should accuse me, than mine own conscience."

*Hussey* :—" What if a louse or a flea stick upon thy skin, and bite thy flesh? thou must make a conscience in taking her off: is there not a conscience in it?"

*Elizabeth* :—" That is but an easy argument to displace the Scriptures, and especially in such a part as my salvation dependeth upon: for it is but an easy conscience, that a man can make."

*Hussey* :—" But why wilt thou not swear upon the evangelists before a judge?"

*Elizabeth* :—" Because I know not what a book-oath is."

Then he began to teach her the book-oath.

*Elizabeth* :—" Sir, I do not understand it, and therefore I will not learn it."

Then said he, "Thou *wilt* not understand it:" and with that he rose up and went his way.

*Mary.*

A. D.

1558.

*Elizabeth*  
Young  
refuseth  
to go to  
mass.

*Denieth*  
to swear,  
and why.

### The Second Examination, before Dr. Martin.

Dr. Martin said to her, "Woman, thou art come from beyond the sea, and hast brought with thee books of heresy and treason, and thou must confess to us, who translated them, printed them, and who sent the mover (for once I knew thee to be but a messenger), and in so doing the queen's highness will be good to thee (for she hath forgiven greater things than this), and thou shalt find as much favour as is possible. But if thou be stubborn, and wilt not confess, thou wilt be wondrous evil handled; for we know the truth already: but this we do, only to see whether thou wilt be true of thy word or no."

*Elizabeth* :—" Sir, ye have my confession, and more than that I cannot say."

*Martin* :—" Thou must say more, and shalt say more. Dost thou think that we will be fully answered by this examination that thou hast made? Thou rebel whore and traitor heretic! thou dost refuse to swear upon the evangelists before a judge, I hear say. Thou shalt be racked inch-meal, thou traitorly whore and heretic! but thou shalt swear before a judge before thou go: yea, and thou shalt be made to confess how many books thou hast sold, and to whom."

Troubled  
for bring-  
ing over  
books.

*Dr. Mar-  
tin threat-  
eneth her  
with the  
rack.*

*Elizabeth* :—" Sir, I understand not what an oath is, and therefore I will take no such thing upon me. And no man hath bought any books of me as yet, for those books that I had, your commissioners have them all."

*Martin* :—" Thou traitorly whore! we know that thou hast sold a number of books, yea, and to whom; and how many times thou hast been here, and where thou liest, and every place that thou hast been in. Dost thou think that thou hast fools in hand?"

*Elizabeth* :—" No, sir, ye be too wise for me; for I cannot tell how many places I have been in myself. But if it were in Turkey, I should have meat and drink and lodging for my money."

*Martin* :—" Thou rebel whore! thou hast spoken evil words by the queen, and thou dwellest amongst a sort of traitors and rebels, that cannot give the queen a good word."

*Elizabeth* :—" I am not able to accuse any man thereof, neither yet is there any man that can prove any such things by me, as ye lay unto my charge. For I know by God's word, and God's book hath taught me, what is my duty to God, and unto my queen, and therefore (as I said) I am assured that no man living upon the earth, can prove any such things by me."

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.

*Martin* :—"Thou rebel and traitorly whore, thou shalt be so racked and handled, that thou shalt be an example to all such traitorly whores and heretics; and thou shalt be made to swear by the holy evangelists, and confess to whom thou hast sold all and every one of these heretical books that thou hast sold: for we know what number thou hast sold and to whom; but thou shalt be made to confess it in spite of thy blood."

*Elizabeth* :—"Here is my carcase: do with it what you will. And more than that, you cannot have, master Martin; ye can have no more but my blood."

See  
Appendix.

Then fared he as though he had been stark mad, and said, "Martin! why callest thou me Martin?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, I know you well enough: for I have been before you ere now. Ye delivered me once at Westminster."

*Martin* :—"Where didst thou dwell then?"

*Elizabeth* :—"I dwelt in the Minories."

Elizabeth Young and her husband had been delivered by Dr. Martin.

*Martin* :—"I delivered thee and thy husband both; and I thought then, that thou wouldest have done otherwise than thou dost now. For if thou hadst been before any bishop in England, and said the words that thou didst before me, thou hadst fried a faggot: and though thou didst not burn then, thou art like to burn or hang now."

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, I promised you then, that I would never be fed with an unknown tongue, and no more will I yet."

*Martin* :—"I shall feed thee well enough. Thou shalt be fed with that (I warrant thee) which shall be smally to thine ease."

*Elizabeth* :—"Do what God shall suffer you to do: for more ye shall not." And then he arose, and so departed, and went to the keeper's house, and said to the wife, "Whom hast thou suffered to come to this vile traitorly whore and heretic, to speak with her?" Then said the keeper's wife, "As God receive my soul, here came neither man, woman, nor child, to ask for her."

*Martin* :—"If any man, woman, or child, come to ask for her, I charge thee, in pain of death, that they be laid fast; and give her one day bread, and another day water."

*Elizabeth* :—"If ye take away my meat, I trust that God will take away my hunger."

And so he departed and said, "that was too good for her:" and then was she shut up under two locks in the Clink where she was before.

### The Third Examination before Dr. Martin again.

Martin seeketh to know how many were fled over the sea.

Then was she brought before him in his chamber, within my lord chancellor's house, who asked her, saying, "Elizabeth, wilt thou confess these things that thou hast been examined upon? for thou knowest that I have been thy friend; and in so doing, I will be thy friend again:" giving her many fair words, and then demanding of her how many gentlemen were beyond the seas.

*Elizabeth* :—"It is too much for me to tell you how many are on the other side."

*Martin* :—"No, I mean but in Frankfort and Emden, where thou hast been."

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, I did never take account of them; it is a thing that I look not for."

*Martin* :—"When shall I hear a true word come out of thy mouth?"

*Elizabeth* :—"I have told you the truth; but because that it soundeth not to your mind, therefore ye will not credit it."

Elizabeth Young again threatened with the rack.

*Martin* :—"Wilt thou yet confess? and if thou wilt, that that I have promised, I will do: and if thou wilt not, I promise thee thou must go even hence to the rack; and therefore confess."

*Elizabeth* :—"I can say no more than I have said."

*Martin* :—"Well, forasmuch as she will confess no more, have her away to the rack, and then she will be marred." Then answered a priest that sat there, and said, "Woman, take an oath, and confess. Wilt thou be hurt for other men?"

She again refuseth to swear to accuse others.

*Elizabeth* :—"I can confess no more than I have. Do with my carcase what ye will."

*Martin* :—"Did ye ever hear the like of this heretic? What a stout heretic is this? We have the truth, and we know the truth, and yet look whether she

will confess. There is no remedy but she must needs to the rack, and therefore away with her:" and so commanded her out of the door, and called her keeper unto him, and said to him, "There is no remedy but this heretic must be racked;" and talked with him more, but what it was she heard not.

Then he called her in again, and said, "Wilt thou not confess, and keep thee from the rack? I advise thee so to do: for if thou wilt not, thou knowest not the pain thereof yet, but thou shalt do."

*Elizabeth* :—"I can confess no more. Do with my carcase what ye will."

*Martin* :—"Keeper, away with her; thou knowest what I said: let her know the pain of the rack!" And so she departed, thinking no less, but that she should have gone to the rack, till she saw the keeper turn toward the Clink again.

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

Com-  
manded  
again to  
the Clink.

And thus did God alienate their hearts, and diminish their tyrannous power, unto the time of further examinations; for she was brought before the bishop, the dean, and the chancellor, and other commissioners, first and last, thirteen times.

The Fourth Examination, before the Bishop of London, Sir Roger Cholmley, Dr. Cooke the Recorder of London, Dr. Roper of Kent, and Dr. Martin.

First she, being presented by Dr. Martin before the bishop of London, Dr. Martin began to declare against her, saying, "The lord chancellor hath sent you here a woman, which hath brought books over from Embden, where all these books of heresy and treason are printed, and hath therewith filled all the land with treason and heresy, neither yet will she confess who translated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who sent them over: wherefore my lord chancellor committeth her unto my lord of London, he to do with her as he shall think good. For she will confess nothing, but that she bought these said books in Amsterdam, and so brought them over to sell for gain."

The  
fourth ex-  
amina-  
tion of  
Elizabeth  
Young, as  
concern-  
ing her  
faith, etc.

*Dr. Cooke* :—"Let her head be trussed in a small line, and make her to confess."

*Martin* :—"The book is called 'Antichrist,' and so may it be well called; for it speaketh against Jesus Christ and the queen. Besides that, she hath a certain spark of the Anabaptists, for she refuseth to swear upon the four evangelists before a judge: for I myself and master Hussey have had her before us four times, but we cannot bring her to swear. Wherefore my lord chancellor would that she should abstain and fast, for she hath not fasted a great while: for she hath lien in the Clink a good while, where she had too much her liberty."

The book  
called  
Anti-  
christ.  
Elizabeth  
Young a  
great  
while in  
the Clink.

Then said the bishop, "Why wilt thou not swear before a judge? That is the right trade of the Anabaptists."

*Elizabeth* :—"My lord, I will not swear that this hand is mine."

"No!" said the bishop, "and why?"

Refuseth  
to swear,  
and why.

*Elizabeth* :—"My lord, Christ saith, that whatsoever is more than yea, yea, or nay, nay, it cometh of evil. And moreover, I know not what an oath is; and therefore I will take no such thing upon me."

Then said Cholmley, "Twenty pounds, it is a man in a woman's clothes! twenty pounds, it is a man!"

Thought  
to be no  
woman.

*Bonner* :—"Think you so, my lord?"

*Cholmley* :—"Yea, my lord," etc.

*Elizabeth* :—"My lord, I am a woman."

*Bishop* :—"Swear her upon a book, seeing it is but a question asked."

Then said Cholmley, "I will lay twenty pounds, it is a man."

Then Dr. Cooke brought her a book, commanding her to lay thereon her hand.

*Elizabeth* :—"No, my lord, I will not swear; for I know not what an oath is. But I say that I am a woman, and have children."

*Bishop* :—"That know not we: wherefore swear."

*Cholmley* :—"Thou ill-favoured whore, lay thy hand upon the book; I will lay on mine:" and so he laid his hand upon the book.

*Elizabeth* :—"So will not I mine."

- Mary.* Then the bishop spake a word in Latin, out of St. Paul, as concerning swearing.
- A. D. 1558.* *Elizabeth* :—"My lord, if you speak to me of St. Paul, then speak English, for I understand you not."
- Bishop* :—"I dare swear that thou dost not."
- Elizabeth* :—"My lord, St. Paul saith, that five words spoken in a language that may be understood, are better than many in a foreign or strange tongue, which is unknown."
- Dr. Cooke* :—"Swear before us, whether thou be a man or a woman."
- Elizabeth* :—"If ye will not believe me, then send for women into a secret place, and I will be tried."
- Cholmley* :—"Thou art an ill-favoured whore."
- Sacrament of the altar.* Then said the bishop, "How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar?"
- Elizabeth* :—"My lord, if it will please you that I shall declare mine own faith, I will."
- The Bishop* :—"Tell me, how believest thou in the sacrament of the altar?"
- Elizabeth* :—"Will it please you that I shall declare my faith? And if it be not good, then teach me a better, and I will believe it."
- Dr. Cooke* :—"That is well said: declare thy faith."
- The confession and faith of Elizabeth Young.* *Elizabeth* :—"I believe in God the Father Almighty, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God. I believe all the articles of my Creed. I believe all things written in the holy Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghost unto the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ. I believe that Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, that immaculate Lamb, came into the world to save sinners; and that in him, by him, and through him, I am made clean from my sins; and without him I could not. I believe that in the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which he did institute and ordain, and left among his disciples that night before he was betrayed, when I do receive this sacrament in faith and spirit, I do receive Christ."
- The sacrament to be received in spirit and faith.* *Bishop* :—"No more, I warrant you, but the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, received but in spirit and faith, with these heretics."
- Cholmley* :—"Ah whore! Spirit and faith, whore!"
- Elizabeth* :—"This sacrament never man could or did make, but only He, that did what no man could do."
- Martin* :—"Then thou must allow that grass is a sacrament; for who could make grass, but he only?"
- Institution of the sacrament by Christ only once for all.* *Elizabeth* :—"Sir, he hath suffered, and made a sufficient sacrifice once for all, and so hath he made his sacrament sufficient once for all; for there was never man that could say, 'Take, eat; this is my body, that is broken for you;' but only Jesus Christ, who had his body broken for the sins of the world; which sacrament he hath left here amongst us for a testimonial of his death, even to the world's end."
- Martin* :—"Who taught thee this doctrine? did Scory?"
- Elizabeth* :—"Yea, bishop Scory and others that I have heard."
- Bishop* :—"Why, is Scory bishop now?"
- Elizabeth* :—"If that do offend you, call him Dr. Scory, if ye will."
- Roper* :—"I knew when he was but a poor doctor."
- Martin* :—"What do ye call Scory?"
- Elizabeth* :—"Our superintendent."
- Bishop* :—"Lo! their superintendent."
- Martin* :—"And what are ye called?"
- Elizabeth* :—"Christ's congregation."
- Bishop* :—"Lo! Christ's congregation, I warrant you."
- Dr. Cooke* :—"What living hath Scory?"
- Elizabeth* :—"Sir, as far as I do know, he liveth by his own, for I know no man that giveth him aught."
- Recorder* :—"Yes, I warrant you, he hath enough sent him out of England."
- Elizabeth* :—"Sir, I know no such thing."
- Cholmley* :—"Hark! whore, hark! hark! how I do believe."
- Elizabeth* :—"My lord, I have told you my belief."
- Cholmley* :—"Hark, thou ill-favoured whore; how I do believe. When the



priest hath spoken the words of consecration, I do believe that there remaineth the very body that was born of the Virgin Mary, was hanged on the cross, was dead and buried, and descended into hell, and rose again on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God. The same body, when the priest hath spoken the words, cometh down, and when the priest lifteth up his body on this wise," he, lifting up his hands, said, "there it is."

*Elizabeth* :—"I have told you also, how I do believe."

*Martin* :—"Away with her."

*Cholmley* :—"Ah, evil-favoured whore! nothing but spirit and faith, whore!"

*Martin* :—"Away with her, we have more to talk withal."

Then was she carried into the coal-house, and searched for books, and then put into the stock-house, and her knife, girdle, and apron taken from her.

### The Fifth Examination before the Bishop of London's Chancellor.

Then was she brought out of the stock-house, and brought before the bishop's chancellor, who required of her, what age she was of.

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, forty years and upwards."

*The Bishop's Chancellor* :—"Why, thou art a woman of fair years; what shouldst thou meddle with the Scriptures? It is necessary for thee to believe, and that is enough. It is more fit for thee to meddle with thy distaff, than to meddle with the Scriptures. What is thy belief? I would hear it; for it cannot be good, in that thou art brought into prison."

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, if it will please you to hear, I will declare it unto you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it, and then examine it; and if ye find any thing therein that is not fit for a christian woman, then teach me better, and I will learn it."

*Chancellor* :—"Well said. But who shall judge between thee and me?"

*Elizabeth* :—"The Scripture."

*Chancellor* :—"Wilt thou stand by that?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Yea sir."

*Chancellor* :—"Well, go thy way out at the door a little while, for I am busy, and I will call for thee anon again."

Then he called me again, and said, "Now woman, the time is too long to write. Say thy mind, and I will bear it in my head."

Then *Elizabeth* began, and declared her faith to him, as she had done before the bishop.

*Chancellor* :—"Woman, spirit and faith I do allow; but dost not thou believe that thou dost receive the body of Christ, really, corporally, and substantially?"

*Elizabeth* :—"These words, really and corporally, I understand not; as for substantially, I take it, ye mean I should believe that I should receive his human body (which is upon the right hand of God, and can occupy no more places at once); and that believe not I."

*Chancellor* :—"Thou must believe this, or else thou art damned."

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, can ye give me belief or faith?"

*Chancellor* :—"No, God must give it thee."

*Elizabeth* :—"God hath given me no such faith or belief."

The chancellor then declared a text of St. Paul in Latin, and then in English, saying, I could make thee believe, but that thou hast a cankered heart, and wilt not believe. Who then can make thee to believe?"

*Elizabeth* :—"You said even now, that faith or belief cometh of God; and so believe I, and then may not I believe an untruth to be a truth?"

*Chancellor* :—"Dost thou not believe that Christ's flesh is flesh in thy flesh?"

*Elizabeth* :—"No, sir, I believe not that; for my flesh shall putrefy and rot."

*Chancellor* :—"Christ said, My flesh is flesh in flesh."

*Elizabeth* :—"Whoso receiveth him fleshly, shall have a fleshly resurrection."

*Chancellor* :—"Christ saith in the 6th of John, 'My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.'"

*Elizabeth* :—"Christ preached to the Capernaïtes, saying, 'Except ye eat the

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

Confession of  
Cholmley's  
faith.

*Elizabeth*  
Young  
offereth  
again to  
declare  
her be-  
lief.

Really,  
corporal-  
ly, sub-  
stantial-  
ly.

(1) Faith cometh of God: Ergo, no untruth ought to be believed  
(2) Christ is flesh of our flesh, but not in our flesh.

(3) John vi.



*Mary*A.D.  
1558.

flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you : ' and the Capernaïtes murmured at it. And his disciples also murmured, saying among themselves, ' This is a hard saying, and who can abide it ? ' Christ understood their meaning, and said, ' Are ye also offended ? will ye also go away ? What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up to heaven, from whence he came ? will that offend you ? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. ' I pray you, sir, what meaneth Christ by that ? "

*Chancellor* : — " O, God forbid. Would ye have me to interpret the Scriptures ? <sup>1</sup> We must leave that for our old ancient fathers, which have studied Scriptures a long time, and have the Holy Ghost given unto them. "

*Elizabeth* : — " Why sir, have you not the Holy Ghost given and revealed unto you ? "

*Chichester* : — " No, God forbid that I should so believe ; <sup>2</sup> but I hope, I hope. But ye say, ye are of the Spirit : will you say that ye have no profit in Christ's flesh ? "

The Capernaïtes' faith.

The place of John vi. expounded, how Christ's flesh is meat.

*Elizabeth* : — " Sir, we have our profit in Christ's flesh, but not as the Capernaïtes did understand it ; for they understood, that they must eat his flesh as they did eat ox-flesh and other, and drink his blood, as we drink wine or beer out of a bowl. But so we must not receive it. But our profit that we have by Christ, is to believe that his body was broken upon the cross, and his blood shed for our sins : that is the very meaning of Christ, that so we should eat his flesh, and drink his blood, when he said, ' My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. ' "

*Chancellor* : — " How doth thy body live, if Christ's flesh is not flesh in thy flesh ? "

*Elizabeth* : — " Sir, I was a body before I had a soul ; which body God had created, and yet it could not live, till God had breathed life into me, and by that life doth my body live. And when it shall please God to dissolve my life, my flesh will offer itself unto the place from whence it came ; and, through the merits of Christ, my soul will offer itself to the place from whence it came. "

*Chancellor* : — " Yea, but if thou do not believe that Christ's flesh is flesh in thy flesh, thou canst not be saved. "

*Elizabeth* : — " Sir, I do not believe that. "

Christ's flesh is flesh in our flesh, say the papists.

*Chancellor* : — " Why, doth not Christ say, ' My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed ? ' Canst thou deny that ? "

Christ's flesh is meat for our soul, say the Christians.

*Elizabeth* : — " I deny not that ; for Christ's flesh and blood is meat and drink for my soul, the food of my soul. For whosoever believeth that Jesus Christ the Son of God hath died and shed his blood for his sins, his soul feedeth thereon for ever. "

*Chancellor* : — " When thou receivest the sacrament of the altar, dost thou not believe that thou dost receive Christ's body ? "

In the sacrament ministered and received according to Christ's institution, we receive Christ.

*Elizabeth* : — " Sir, when I do receive the sacrament which Christ did institute and ordain the night before he was betrayed, and left among his disciples, as often ( I say ) as I receive it, I believe that spiritually, and by faith, I receive Christ. And of this sacrament, I know Christ himself to be the author, and none but he. And this same sacrament is an establishment to my conscience, and an augmenting to my faith. "

*Chancellor* : — " Why, did not Christ take bread, and give thanks, and break it, and give it to his disciples, and say, ' Take, eat ; this is my body that is given for you ? ' Did he give them his body, or no ? "

One question solved by another.

*Elizabeth* : — " He also took the cup, and gave thanks to his Father, and gave it unto his disciples, saying, ' Drink ye all hereof : for this is the cup of the New Testament in my blood, which shall be shed for many. ' Now I pray you, sir, let me ask you one question : Did he give the cup the name of his blood, or else the wine that was in the cup ? "

Then was he very angry, and said : ' Dost thou think that thou hast a hedge-priest in hand ? "

*Elizabeth* : — " No sir, I take you not to be a hedge-priest. I take you for a doctor. "

*Chancellor* : — " So methinketh. Thou wilt take upon thee to teach me. "

*Elizabeth* : — " No, sir ; but I let you know what I know ; and by argument,

(1) This man dare not expound the Scripture, yet he dare judge upon heresy.

(2) The papists dare not assure themselves to have the Holy Ghost.

one shall know more. Christ said, 'As oft as ye do this, do it in the remembrance of me : ' but a remembrance is not of a thing present, but absent. Also St. Paul saith, 'So oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's death till he come : ' then we may not look for him here, until his coming again at the latter day. Again, is not this article of our belief true, 'He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty ; from thence he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead ? ' But if he shall not come before he come to judgment, then how is he here present in your sacrament of the altar ? Wherefore I believe that the human body of Christ occupieth no more but one place at once ; for when he was here, he was not there."

Mary.

A. D.

1558.

Christ's  
body oc-  
cupieth  
but one  
place at  
once.

### The Sixth Examination, before the Bishop's Chancellor.

The bishop's chancellor said unto her, "Woman, the last time that thou wast before me, our talk was concerning the sacrament."

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, true it is, and I trust that I said nothing that ye can deny by the Scriptures."

*Chancellor* :—"Yes, thou wilt not believe that Christ's flesh is flesh in thy flesh."

The flesh-  
ly reason  
of the  
papists.

*Elizabeth* :—"No, sir ; God hath given me no such belief ; for it cannot be found by the Scriptures."

*Chancellor* :—"Wilt thou believe nothing but what is in the Scripture ? Why, how many sacraments dost thou find in the Scripture ?"

*Elizabeth* :—"The church of Christ doth set down twain."

*Chancellor* :—"I will as well find seven by the Scripture, as thou shalt find twain."

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, I talk not to you thereof ; but I say that the church of Christ setteth out twain, and I have been taught no more."

*Chancellor* :—"What are those twain ?"

*Elizabeth* :—"The sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and the sacrament of baptism."

Two sa-  
craments.

*Chancellor* :—"What sayest thou by the sacrament of wedlock ?"

Wedlock.

*Elizabeth* :—"I have not heard it called a sacrament, but the holy estate of matrimony, which ought to be kept of all men that take it upon them."

*Chancellor* :—"How sayest thou by priests ? Is it good that they should marry ? is it to be kept of them ?"

*Elizabeth* :—"I come not hither to reason any such matters, for I am no divine ; and also it is no part of my faith."

Priests'  
marriage.

*Chancellor* :—"Can ye not tell ? ye shall tell or ever you go."

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, then must ye keep me a good while : for I have not studied the Scriptures for it."

*Chancellor* :—"No ! why, ye will not be ashamed to flee unto the highest mystery, even to the sacrament, at the first dash ; and ye are not afraid to argue with the best doctor in the land."

*Elizabeth* :—"God's mysteries I will not meddle with ; but all things that are written, are written for our edification."

*Chancellor* :—"What say you by prayer for the dead ? Is it not meet that if a man's friend be dead, his friend commend his soul unto God ?"

Praying  
for the  
dead.

*Elizabeth* :—"There is no christian man that will commend his friend or his foe unto the devil. And whether it be good for him when he is dead or no, sure I am, that it is good when he is alive."

*Chancellor* :—"Then thou allowest not prayer to be good for them when they be dead, and lying in purgatory. Is it not meet that prayer be made unto God for them ?"

Oblation  
for the  
dead.

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, I never heard in the Scriptures of purgatory ; but in the Scriptures I have heard of heaven and hell."

Purga-  
tory.

*Chancellor* :—"Why, ye have nothing but the skimming of the Scriptures. Our ancient fathers could find out in the bottom of the Scriptures that there is a purgatory. Yea, they could find it in the New Testament, that a priest shall take the sacrament, and go to the altar, and make an oblation, and offer it up every day."

*Mary.* *Elizabeth* :—" Sir, that could never be found in the Bible, nor Testament, as far as I could hear."

*A.D.* *Chancellor* :—" Whom dost thou hear read either the Bible or Testament, but 1558. a sort of schismatics, bawdy bishops, and hedge-priests (which have brought into the church a stinking communion, which was never heard of in any place in the world, but here in England), which have deceived the king, and all the nobility, and all the whole realm?"

The holy communion blasphemed.

*Elizabeth* :—" Sir, It is a vile name that ye give them all."

*Chancellor* :—" Where are all the hedge-knaves become now, that they come not to their answer?"<sup>1</sup>

*Elizabeth* :—" Answer, sir? why, they have answered both with the Scriptures, and also with their blood. And then where were you, that ye came not forth to answer in their times? I never knew any of you that were troubled, but twain, and that was not for God's word; it was for their disobedience."

*Chancellor* :—" No, I pray you? did ye not know that we were killed, hanged, burnt, and headed?"

*Elizabeth* :—" Sir, I never knew that any of you ever were either hanged killed, burnt, or 'headed.'"

*Chancellor* :—" No! did ye never hear that the bishop of Rochester<sup>2</sup> lost his head, for the supremacy of the bishops of Rome?"

*Elizabeth* :—" Then he died not for God's word."

*Chancellor* :—" Well, thou wilt believe nothing but that which is written in God's word. Where canst thou find the Sabbath written in the Scripture, by the name of the Sabbath? for the right sabbath-day will I prove to be Saturday: or where canst thou find the articles of the Creed in the Scripture by the name of the articles? or where canst thou find in the Scripture, that Christ went down into hell?"

*Elizabeth* :—" What place or part in the Scripture can ye find to disprove any of these things?"

*Chancellor* :—" What priest hast thou lien withal, that thou hast so much Scripture? Thou art some priest's woman, I think, for thou wilt take upon thee to reason, and teach the best doctor in all the land, thou!"

*Elizabeth* :—" I was never yet priest's wife, nor yet priest's woman."

*Chancellor* :—" Have I touched your conscience?"

*Elizabeth* :—" No, sir, ye have not touched my conscience; but beware ye hurt not your own."

*Chancellor* :—" Thou hast read a little in the Bible or Testament, and thou thinkest that thou art able to reason with a doctor that hath gone to school thirty years; and, before God, I think if I had talked thus much with a Jew, as I have done with thee, he would have turned ere this time. But I may say by you, as Christ said by Jerusalem, saying, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! how oft would I have gathered thee together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens, but thou wouldest not.'<sup>3</sup> And so would we gather you together in one faith, but ye will not: and therefore your own blood be upon your own heads; for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rankest heretics that ever I heard; for thou believest nothing but what is in the Scripture: and therefore thou art damned."

*Elizabeth* :—" I do believe all things written in the Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghost unto the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ; and shall I be damned because I believe the truth, and will not believe an untruth?"

Then the chancellor called the keeper, saying, "Cluney, take her away! thou knowest what thou hast to do with her."

And so she departed, and was brought again to the stock-house, and there she lay certain days, and both her hands manacled in one iron; and afterward she was removed into the Lollards' Tower, and there she remained with both her feet in the stocks and irons, till the next time of examination.

Elizabeth Young had to the Lollards' Tower.

(1) So many martyrs have been slain, yet the papists brag as though none will come forth to answer them.

(2) Fisher, bishop of Rochester.

(3) But we read not that Christ did draw them into prisons, and condemned them to be burnt that would not come.

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.

## The Seventh Examination, before the Chancellor and the Bishop's Scribe.

When she was brought before the said chancellor and the scribe, the chancellor said unto her; "Woman, thou hast been twice before me, but thou and I could not agree; and here be certain articles that my lord the bishop of London would that thou shouldest make answer unto, which are these: First, how many sacraments thou dost allow."

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, as many as Christ's church doth allow, and that is twain." Two sacraments.

Then said the scribe, "Thou wast taught seven, before king Edward's days."

*Chancellor* :—"Which two sacraments be those that thou dost allow?"

*Elizabeth* :—"The sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and the sacrament of baptism."

*Chancellor* :—"Dost thou not believe that the pope of Rome is the supreme head of the church, immediately under God in earth?"

*Elizabeth* :—"No sir, no man can be the head of Christ's church; for Christ himself is the head, and his word is the governor of all that be of that church, wheresoever they be scattered abroad." Head of the church.

*Chancellor* :—"Dost thou not believe that the bishop of Rome can forgive thee all thy sins, heretical, detestable, and damnable, that thou hast done from thine infancy unto this day?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, the bishop of Rome is a sinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my sins, but he only that is without sin; and that is Jesus Christ, which died for my sins." Bishop of Rome.

*Chancellor* :—"Dost thou not know that the pope sent over his jubilees, that all that ever would fast and pray, and go to the church, should have their sins forgiven them?"

*The Scribe* :—"Sir, I think that she was not in the realm then."

*Chancellor* :—"Hast thou not desired God to defend thee from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities?" From the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, etc.

*Elizabeth* :—"Yes, that I have."

*Chancellor* :—"And art thou not sorry for it?"

*Elizabeth* :—"No, sir, not a whit."

*Chancellor* :—"Hast thou not said, that the mass was wicked, and the sacrament of the altar most abominable?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Yes, that I have."

*Chancellor* :—"And art thou not sorry for it?"

*Elizabeth* :—"No sir, not a whit."

*Chancellor* :—"Art thou not content to go to the church, and hear mass?"

*Elizabeth* :—"I will not go to the church, either to mass or matins, till I may hear it in a tongue that I can understand: for I will be fed no longer in a strange language." And always the scribe did write every of these articles, as they were demanded, and answered unto.

Then the scribe asked her from whence she came.

The chancellor said, "This is she that brought over all these books of heresy and treason."

Then said the scribe to her, "Woman, where hadst thou all these books?"

*Elizabeth* :—"I bought them in Amsterdam, and brought them over to sell, thinking to gain thereby."

Then said the scribe, "What is the name of the book?"

*Elizabeth* :—"I cannot tell."

*The Scribe* :—"Why wouldst thou buy books, and know not their names?"

Then said Cluney the keeper, "Sir, my lord bishop did send for her by name, that she should come to mass, but she would not."

*Chancellor* :—"Yea, did my lord send for her by name, and would she not go to mass?"

*Elizabeth* :—"No sir, I will never go to mass, till I do understand it, by the leave of God." Elizabeth Young refused to go to mass.

*Chancellor* :—"Understand it! Why, who the devil can make thee to understand Latin, thou being so old?"

Then the scribe commanded her to set her hand to all the said things.

*Elizabeth* said, "Sir, then let me hear it read first."



*Mary.*

Then said the scribe, "Master Chancellor! shall she hear it read?"

*A. D.**Chancellor* :—"Yea, let the heretic hear it read."

1558.

Then she heard it read, and so she set to her hand.

## The Eighth Examination, before the Bishop.

When she was brought before the bishop, he asked the keeper, "Is this the woman that hath the three children?" And the keeper said, "Yea, my lord."

*Bishop* :—"Woman, here is a supplication put unto my hands for thee. In like case there was another supplication put up to me for thee afore this, in the which thou madest as though that I should keep thy children."

The dean  
made suit  
for Eliza-  
beth  
Young.

*Elizabeth* :—"My lord, I did not know of this supplication, nor yet of the other."

Then said the bishop, "Master dean, is this the woman you have sued so earnestly for?"

*Dean* :—"Yea, my lord."

*Dean* :—"Woman, what remaineth in the sacrament of the altar, when and after that the priest hath spoken the words of consecration?"

*Elizabeth* :—"A piece of bread. But the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which he did institute and leave amongst his disciples the night before he was betrayed, ministered according to his word, that sacrament I do believe."

*Dean* :—"How dost thou believe concerning the body of Christ? where is his body, and how many bodies hath he?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, in heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of God."

*Dean* :—"From whence came his human body?"

*Elizabeth* :—"He took it of the Virgin Mary."

*Dean* :—"That is flesh, blood, and bones, as mine is. But what shape hath his spiritual body? hath it face, hands, and feet?"

*Elizabeth* :—"I know no other body that he hath, but that body whereof he meant when he said, 'This is my body which is given for you: and this is my blood which shall be shed for you.' Whereby he plainly meaneth that body, and no other, which he took of the Virgin Mary, having the perfect shape and proportion of a human body."

Story.

Then said Story, "Ye have a wise body: for ye must go to the stake."

*Dean* :—"Art thou content to believe in the faith of Christ's church? But to ask of thee what Christ's church is, or where it is, I let it pass."

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, to that church I have joined my faith, and from it I purpose never to turn by God's help."

*Dean* :—"Wouldst thou not be at home with thy children with a good will?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, if it please God to give me leave."

The belief  
of the pa-  
pists fol-  
loweth the  
multitude.

*Dean* :—"Art thou content to confess thyself to be an ignorant and foolish woman, and to believe as our holy father the pope of Rome doth, and as the lord cardinal's grace doth, and as my lord the bishop of London thine ordinary doth, and as the king's grace, and the queen's grace, and all the nobility of England do; yea, and the emperor's grace, and all the noble princes of Christendom?"

True be-  
lief de-  
pendeth  
not upon  
men, but  
upon the  
rule of  
God's  
word.

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, I was never wise, but in few words I shall make you a brief answer how I do believe. I do believe all things that are written in the Scriptures given by the Holy Ghost unto the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ. Hereon I ground my faith, and on no man."

Then said Story, "And who shall be judge?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, the Scripture."

*Story* :—"And who shall read it?"

*Elizabeth* :—"He unto whom God hath given the understanding."

*Bishop* :—"Woman, be reformable; for I would thou wert gone; and master dean here hath earnestly sued for thee."

*Dean* :—"Woman, I have sued for thee indeed, and I promise thee, if thou wilt be reformable, my lord will be good unto thee."

*Elizabeth* :—"I have been before my lord bishop, and before master chancellor three times, and have declared my faith."

*Dean* :—"And yet I know that master chancellor will say, that thou art a rank heretic."

*Story* :—"Away with her."

*Bishop* :—"Master dean, ye know that I may not tarry, nor you neither."



Let her keeper bring her home to your own chamber soon, at four o'clock at afternoon; and if that ye find her reasonable, then let her go, for I would that she were gone." Then said the dean, "With a good will, my lord."

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

And so she was sent unto the place from whence she came, until it was four of the clock at afternoon.

Elizabeth  
Young  
commit-  
ted to the  
dean.

The Ninth Examination, before the Dean, by whom it pleased God to deliver her.

When it was four of the clock at afternoon, as the hour was appointed, and the dean was set, he asked her, "Art thou a fool now, as thou wast to-day?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, I have learned but small wisdom since."

*Dean* :—"Dost thou think that I am better learned than thou?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Yes, sir, that I do."

*Dean* :—"Thinkest thou that I can do thee good?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Yea, sir, and if it please God that ye will."

*Dean* :—"Then I will do thee good indeed. What dost thou receive, when thou receivest the sacrament which Christ left among his disciples the night before he was betrayed?"

Talk  
about re-  
ceiving  
the sacra-  
ment.

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, that that his disciples did receive."

*Dean* :—"What did they receive?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, that that Christ gave them, they received."

*Dean* :—"What answer is this? was Christ there present?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, he was there present; for he instituted his own sacrament."

*Dean* :—"He took bread; and he brake it, and he gave it to his disciples, and said, 'Take, eat; this is my body which shall be broken for you.' When thou receivest it, dost thou believe that thou receivest his body?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, when I receive, I believe that through faith I do receive Christ."

*Dean* :—"Dost thou believe that Christ is there?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, I believe that he is there to me, and by faith I do receive him."

Christ not  
absent  
from his  
sacra-  
ments.

*Dean* :—"He also took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to his disciples, and said, 'Drink ye all hereof; this is the cup of the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' When thou dost receive it after the institution that Christ ordained among his disciples, the night before he was betrayed, dost thou believe that Christ is there?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, by faith I believe that he is there, and by faith I do believe that I do receive him."

*Dean* :—"Now thou hast answered me. Remember that thou sayest, that when thou dost receive according to the institution of Christ, thou dost receive Christ."

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, I believe Christ not to be absent from his own sacrament."

*Dean* :—"How long wilt thou continue in that belief?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, as long as I do live, by the help of God; for it is, and hath been, my belief."

*Dean* :—"Wilt thou say this before my lord?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Yea, sir."

*Dean* :—"Then I dare deliver thee. Why, thou calf! why wouldst thou not say so to-day?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, ye asked me no such question."

*Dean* :—"Then ye would stand in disputation how many bodies Christ had."

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, indeed that question ye did ask me."

*Dean* :—"Who shall be thy sureties that thou wilt appear before my lord of London and me upon Friday next?"

*Elizabeth* :—"Sir, I have no sureties, nor know not where to have."

Then spake the dean unto two women that stood there, who had earnestly sued for her, saying, "Women, will ye be her sureties, that she shall appear before my lord of London and me upon Friday next?"

Two wo-  
men sure-  
ties for  
Elizabeth  
Young.

*The Women* :—"Yea, sir, and it please you."

*Dean* :—"Take heed that I find you no more a brabblers in the Scripture."

*Mary.* *Elizabeth* :—" Sir, I am no brabblor in the Scripture, nor yet any man can burden me therewith."

*A. D.* *Dean* :—" Yes, I have heard of you well enough, what ye are."

1558. Then said he to the two women, " What if a man should touch your conscience ; do ye not smell a little of heresy also ?"

*The Women* :—" No, sir."

*Dean* :—" Yes, a little of the frying-pan, or else wherefore have ye twain so earnestly sued for her ?"

The one woman answered, " Because that her children were like to perish, and therefore God put me in mind to sue for her."

Then said the other woman, " And I gat her child a nurse, and I am threatened to stand to the keeping of her child ; and therefore it standeth me in hand to sue to have her out."

*Elizabeth* *Dean* :—" Woman, give thanks unto these honest women, who have so earnestly sued for thee, and I promise thee so have I. These great heretics will receive nothing but in spirit and faith." And so he rose and departed.

*Elizabeth* :—" Sir, God be praised, and I thank you for your goodness and theirs also."

And so he went away ; and upon the Friday next, because she was acrased, her two sureties went thither, and were discharged.

See  
Appendix.

#### ELIZABETH LAWSON.

*Elizabeth* In the town of Bedford, and in the county of Suffolk, was dwelling *Lawson* an ancient godly matron, named Elizabeth Lawson, about the age of *confessor.* sixty years. This Elizabeth was apprehended as a heretic by the *Kitrich* constables of the same town, named Robert Kitrich, and Thomas *and Elas,* *persecu-* Elas, in the year of our Lord 1556, because she would not go to church to hear mass, and \*believe in the sacrament and worship\* it. First, they laid her in a dungeon ; and, after that, she was carried unto Norwich, and from thence to Bury gaol, where at last she was condemned to be burnt. In the mean time sir John Sylliard had her home unto his house, he being high sheriff that year ; where she was hardly kept, and wrapped in irons, till at length, when they by no means could move her to recant, she was sent to prison again with shameful revilings.

*Sir John*  
*Sylliard*  
*sheriff.*

*Lawson* Thus she continued in prison the space of two years and three *in prison* quarters. In the mean time there was burnt her son, and many more, *two years* whereby she would often say, " Good Lord ! what is the cause that *and three* I may not yet come to thee with thy children ? Well, good Lord ! *quarters.* thy blessed will be done, and not mine."

*Bailed*  
*upon*  
*sureties.*

Not long after this (most happily) followed the death of queen Mary, after whom succeeded our queen that now is ; at which time this Elizabeth Lawson remained yet still in Bury prison, till at last she was bailed upon sureties, or else she could not be delivered. For she being a condemned person, neither the temporalty, nor yet spiritual authority, would discharge her without sureties.

Now, she being abroad, and her sureties made afraid by wicked men, they said, they would cast her again in prison, except she would see them discharged.

Then she got a supplication to go unto the queen's majesty, and came to a friend of hers, to have his counsel therein ; who willed her to stay a while, because she was old, the days short, and the expenses great, and winter foul (for it was a little before Christmas), and to tarry until summer. In the mean time God brake the bond, and

shortened her journey ; for he took her home to himself out of this life in peace.

This good old woman, long before she went to prison, had the falling-sickness, and told a friend of hers, one Simon Harlston, after she was apprehended, that she never had it more, but lived in good health and joy of heart, through our Lord Christ.

She had a very unkind man to her husband, who while she was in prison, sold away her raiment, and would not help her ; and after she was out of prison, she returned home unto him, yet would he show her no kindness, nor help her neither ; and yet the house and land that he dwelt in, he had by her : wherefore as long as she lived, she was found of the congregation.

The said Elizabeth Lawson also had a sister, wife to one Robert Hollon in Mickfield in the same county of Suffolk, which likewise was persecuted and driven out from house to house, and a young man her son with her, because they would not go to the church to hear mass, and receive the sacrament of the altar.

*Mary.*

A.D.  
1558.

Lawson, troubled with the falling sickness ; but after her persecution never felt it more.

*See  
Appendix.*

#### THOMAS CHRISTENMASS AND WILLIAM WATS.

In this perilous rage of queen Mary's reign were two men persecuted, one called Thomas Christenmass, the other William Wats, of Tunbridge in Kent. As these travelled from place to place, not resting two nights together in one place, it happened them on a time to come to Rochester in Kent, \*wheras, in entring into the town, even at the town's end, they met\* a little damosel of eight years of age ; but whither she went, they knew not. It was then night, and they weary ; and therefore fain would have lien in the same town, but could not tell where, they feared so the bloody catholics.<sup>1</sup> At the last they devised to ask the damosel, whether there were any heretics in the town, or no ? and she said, Yea. They asked her, Where ? She answered them, At such an inn : telling them the name, and where the inn was. Shortly after, as they were gone from her, they bethought themselves better, and God so moving their hearts, they went to the child again, and asked her how she knew that the innkeeper (of whom she spake before) was a heretic. " Marry," quoth she, " well enough, and his wife also." " How knowest thou, pretty maiden ?" said they : " I pray thee tell us." " How know I ?" said she ; " marry, because they go to the church ; and those that will not hold up their hands there, they will present them. And he himself goeth from house to house, to compel them to come to church." When these two men heard this, they gave God praise, and avoided that house, taking the warning of that maid (of good bringing-up, as it should seem), to be God's marvellous providence towards them.

God's providence upon Thomas Christenmass and William Wats.

#### ANOTHER ESCAPE OF WILLIAM WATS.

The foresaid William Wats, dwelling in queen Mary's days at Seal in Kent, the last year of her reign save one, was apprehended by his enemies, and brought by the constables before the bishop and justices at Tunbridge, where the bishop and justices would have persuaded him all they could, to turn from the truth ; howbeit in

William Wats apprehended, and brought before the bishop.

(1) " Persecuting Papists," Edit. 1563, p. 1695.

*Mary.* vain, for they could not remove him, although they spent all the forenoon thereabout, with many flattering words; so merciful was the Lord unto him.

*A.D.*  
1558.

Now when dinner-time was come, as they should rise, they committed the prisoner to the constables again, and so rose up to go to dinner. The constables took Wats. and led him to a victualling-house, where, after they had well filled themselves, they fell asleep, supposing their prisoner to be sure enough under their hands. Wats's wife being then in the house with her husband, and very careful for his well doing, seeing the constables thus fast asleep, desired her husband to depart and go thence, forsomuch as the Lord had made such a way for him; unto which her words he would not consent, although she persuaded him all that she could.

Another notable example of the Lord's providence.

At the last (they replying one against another), a stranger heard them, and asked her what the matter was, that she was so earnest with her husband. The wife told him. Then said the stranger unto Wats these words, "Father! go thy ways in God's name, and tarry no longer: the Lord hath opened the way unto thee." Whereupon the said Wats went his way, and his wife departed from him, and went home to her house at Seal, thinking her husband had gone another way. Now as she was going in at her door, telling her friends of his deliverance, immediately came the said Wats in also, and they all being \*abashed\* thereat, willed him in all haste to get him away; for they thought there would be search for him immediately.

*See Appendix.*

Wats delivered out of his enemies' hands.

Then Wats said, he would eat meat first, and also pray; which he did, and afterward departed thence. So soon as he was out of the doors, and had hid himself in a holly-bush, immediately came the said constables with thirty persons into the said house to search for him, where they pierced the featherbeds, broke up his chests, and made such havoc, that it was wonderful. And ever among as they were searching, the constables cried, "I will have Wats, I will have Wats; I tell thee, I will have Wats." But (God be thanked) Wats could not be found. And when they saw it booteth not to search for him, in the end they took his wife, and set her in a pair of stocks, where she remained two days; and she was very bold in the truth, and at the last delivered, through the providence of God; whose name be glorified in all his works, Amen.

Sought for again.

His wife set in the stocks.

#### JOHN GLOVER OF MANCETTER, GENTLEMAN.

Of God's providence in delivering master John Glover, read before.

What a fatherly and manifest providence of the Lord likewise did appear in the preserving of master John Glover of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, in the town of Mancetter: first, at the taking of Robert his brother: at which time, although the commission came down for him, yet so God ordered the matter, that his brother being sick was apprehended, and yet he, being whole, escaped, whereof mention is made before.

And again, another time how miraculously the merciful providence of the Lord wrought his escape out of his enemies' hands, they being at his chamber-door, and drawing the latch to search for him; and how his wife the same time was taken and sent to Lichfield, read before.<sup>1</sup>

(1) See vol. vii. p. 384. See also an interesting notice of the Glovers in "Notes and Queries," for March 26th, 1862, 3rd S. i. p. 182.—Ed.



## ONE DABNEY, A PAINTER.

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.

There was at London a certain honest godly person, a painter, named Dabney, whom John Avaless, in the time of queen Mary, had brought before Bonner, to be examined for his faith. It happened the same time, as the said Dabney was there, that the bishop was occupied with the examination of others, so that he was bid to stand by, and to wait the bishop's leisure. Upon the same, or not long after, suddenly cometh word to the bishop to prepare him in all speed; the general procession tarried for him. The bishop hearing that, setting all business apart, \*buscleth\* himself with all speed possible to the church, there to furnish the procession; by reason whereof Dabney, who newly came to the house, was there left alone, while every man else was busied in preparing and setting themselves forward, according as the case required.

*See  
Appendix.*

To be short, as the time called on, Bonner with his household maketh haste so fast as they can, out of the doors to the procession. Dabney, being left alone, cometh down to the outward court next the gate, there walking with himself all heavy, looking for nothing less than to escape that danger. The porter, who was only left at home, seeing the man to walk alone, supposing he had been some citizen there left behind and waiting for opening the gate, went and opened the wicket, asking if he would go out. "Yea," said he, "with a good will, if ye will let me out." "With all my heart," quoth the porter, "and I pray you so do."

*God's  
secret  
working  
in the  
deliver-  
ance of  
Dabney.*

And thus the said Dabney, taking the occasion offered of God, being let out by the porter, escaped out of the wolf's mouth. The procession being done, when the bishop returned home, Dabney was gone, and could not be found: whereupon search was made. But especially John Avaless laid much privy wait for him; who, after long searching, when he could not get him, at length received fifteen crowns of his wife, to let him alone when he should see him; and so that good man escaped.

## ALEXANDER WIMSHURST, MINISTER.

A like example of God Almighty's goodness towards his afflicted servants in that dangerous time of persecution, may also appear evidently in one Alexander Wimbushurst, a priest sometime of Magdalen college in Oxford, and then the pope's own knight, but since, an earnest enemy to antichrist, and a man better instructed in the true fear of God. It happened that one had promoted him to Bonner for religion, upon what occasion I do not understand. According to the old manner in such cases provided, he sent forth Robin Caly, otherwise called Robin Papist, one of his whelps, to bring in the game, and to cause this silly poor man to appear before him. Little Robin, like a proper man, bestirreth him in his business, and smelleth him out; and when he had gotten him, bringeth him along by Cheapside, not suffering him to talk with any of his acquaintance by the way, though there were of his old friends of Oxford that offered to speak unto him.

*Alex-  
ander  
Wims-  
hurst de-  
livered by  
God's pro-  
vidence  
from his  
enemies.**Wims-  
hurst  
taken by  
Robin  
Caly.*

When they came into Paul's, it happened this Alexander to espy



*Mary* Dr. Chedsey, there walking up and down; to whom, because he was  
*A. D.* able in such a case to do pleasure, and for that he had been of his old  
*1558.* acquaintance in Oxford, he was very desirous to speak to him or he  
 went through. Chedsey, perceiving that Robin Caly did attend upon  
 him, said that he durst not meddle in the matter. "Yes," saith little  
 Robin, "you may talk with him if it please you, master doctor!" To  
 be short, Alexander openeth his case, and in the end desireth, for old  
 acquaintance' sake, that he would find means he might be rather  
 brought before Dr. Martin to be examined, than any other. "Nay,"  
 saith he (alleging the words of Christ unto Peter in the last chapter  
 of St. John), "you remember, brother, what is written in the gospel:  
 'When thou wast young, thou didst gird thyself, and wentest whither  
 thou wouldest: but being aged, other men shall gird thee, and lead  
 thee whither thou wouldest not.'" Thus abusing the Scripture to  
 his private meaning, whereas notwithstanding he might easily have  
 accomplished so small a request, if it had liked him.

Thence was he carried to Story and Cook, commissioners, there to  
 learn what should become of him: before them he did use himself boldly  
 and stoutly, as they on the other side did urge him with captious  
 questions very cruelly. When they had baited the poor man their  
 fill, they asked him where his whore was. "She is not my whore,"  
 said he, "but my lawful wife." "She is thy whore," said they. "She  
 is not my whore," said he again, "but my wife, I tell you." So when  
 they perceived that he would not give place unto them, nor attribute  
 to them so much as they looked for at his hand, according to the ordi-  
 nary manner, they commanded him to prison.

And now mark well the providence of God in his preservation. He  
 was brought into Cluney's house at Paternoster-row, thence to be car-  
 ried to Lollards' Tower out of hand, but that Cluney (as it happened),  
 his wife, and his maid, were so earnestly occupied about present business,  
 that as then they had not leisure to lock up their prisoner. In the  
 hall where Alexander sat, was a strange woman, whose husband was  
 then presently in trouble for religion, which perceived by some one  
 occasion or other, that this man was brought in for the like cause.  
 "Alack, good man," saith she, "if you will, you may escape the cruel  
 hands of your enemies, forasmuch as they be all away, that should look  
 unto you. God hath opened the way unto you for a deliverance, and  
 therefore lose not the opportunity thereof, if you be wise." With those  
 and such like words being then persuaded, he gat out of the doors,  
 and went away without any haste-making at all; so that if any had  
 followed, he might have been easily recovered again. But undoubt-  
 edly, it was God's will that he should so escape the fury of his  
 adversaries, and be preserved from all dangers of death and imprison-  
 ment.

#### THE STORY OF ONE BOSOME'S WIFE.

As the works of the Lord are not to be kept secret, whatsoever the  
 persons be in whom it pleaseth him to work; so cometh to remem-  
 brance the story of one Bosome's wife, not unworthily to be considered.  
 This good woman, being at Richmond with her mother, was greatly  
 called upon, and urged to come to church. At length, through

Wims-  
hurst  
brought  
to com-  
mission-  
ers.

Wims-  
hurst  
com-  
manded  
to prison.

See  
Appendix.

Good  
counsel  
sent of  
God.

A way  
made by  
God's  
provi-  
dence to  
Alex-  
ander  
Wims-  
hurst to  
escape.

importunate crying and calling upon, she granted unto them, and came. Being in the church, and sitting with her mother in the pew, contrary in all things to the doings of the papists, she behaved herself: to wit, when they kneeled she stood; when they turned forward she turned backward, etc.

*Mary.*A.D.  
1558.

This being notorious in the church, at length the constable, and churchwarden named Sanders, attached her in the queen's name, charging her with her mother, the next day to appear at Kingston, who, at their commandment, so did.

Bosome's  
wife sum-  
moned to  
appear at  
Kingston.

The next day, according as they were assigned, they came to Kingston to appear before the foresaid officers, who, at the same time (as it chanced), were going over the ferry, and meeting them by the way, saluted them by their names; but at that time had no further power to speak unto them. Afterward, as they were in the boat going over, they knocked their hands, stamped and stared, lamenting that they had let them so pass their hands. This the ferry-man declared unto them, and what they said in the boat. Whereupon the good woman, taking her journey to London, escaped their cruelty, through the secret working (no doubt) of the Lord, who in all his works, and evermore, be praised; Amen.

Bosome's  
wife  
through  
God's help  
escapeth.

#### THE LADY KNEVET, OF WYMONDHAM IN NORFOLK.

Among the number of the godly, that were kept under the providence of the Lord in those perilous days, I may not forget an ancient good lady of much worship, called lady Anne Knevet, who, till her death, dwelt in Norfolk, in a town named Wymondham, six miles from Norwich; which said good lady, in queen Mary's days, being judged by the common people to be more than a hundred years of age, and by her own estimation well toward a hundred, kept herself from their popish church, or having any papistical trash ministered in her house, but only the service that was used in the latter days of king Edward the sixth, which daily she had said before her, either by one master Toilin<sup>1</sup>, who was then by God's providence preserved in her house, or else by one of her gentlewomen or household servants, that could serve the place in the said master Tollin's absence.

Now this worshipful lady continuing in this manner of true serving of God, she and her family were many times threatened by messengers, that the bishop would visit her there-for. Unto which messengers she would always answer, that if his lordship sent word before what day he would come, he should thereafter be entertained at her hand. But God, whose providence ruleth the raging seas, never suffered them all that toiling time to molest her: although oftentimes, when she had service before her, there were very great enemies to the truth, and of much authority, that came in, and kneeled to prayer among them, and yet had no power to trouble her there-for.

The lady  
Knevet  
threaten-  
ed by the  
bishop.

This good lady, gentle reader, kept good hospitality, as any in that country, of her living. She also succoured many persecuted, that came to her house in the said queen Mary's days. Were they never so simple, they were esteemed of her as the friends of the gospel, and departed not from her without money and meat. Born she was long before king Edward the fourth died, and ended her life in the Lord

The great  
age of the  
lady Kne-  
vet.

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

*Mary.* Jesus's peace, about the beginning of the second year of our most sovereign lady queen Elizabeth's reign, as one in blessed peace, falling into a most sweet sleep.<sup>1</sup> Unto whom not unworthily may be compared the lady Elizabeth Vane, who likewise, being a great harbourer and supporter of the afflicted martyrs and confessors of Christ, was in great hazards and dangers of the enemies, and yet notwithstanding, through the merciful providence of the Lord, remained still untouched. But of this lady Vane thou hast read before.

The lady Elizabeth Vane a great reliever of God's people.  
*See Appendix.*

#### JOHN DAVIS, A CHILD UNDER TWELVE YEARS OF AGE.

John Davis, a child under the age of twelve years, cast to be burnt for the Six Articles, and yet, by God's providence, preserved.

Anno Domini 1546, and the last year of king Henry the eighth, John Davis, a child of twelve years and under, who, dwelling in the house of master Johnson, apothecary, in the town of Worcester, his uncle (using sometimes to read of the Testament and other good English books), was complained of by Alice Johnson his mistress; which Alice, being an obstinate person, consulted with one Thomas Parton, and one Alice, wife to Nicholas Brooke, organ-maker, with certain of the canons, and master Johnson, chancellor to Dr. Heath, their bishop. The means whereby he was entrapped were wrought by the foresaid Alice Brooke, who procured Oliver her son, school-fellow with the said John Davis, to feign friendship with him, and, under pretence to be instructed, to see his English books, and especially to get something of his writing against the Six Articles; which being had, was soon brought to the canons of the church, and the chancellor. Whereupon Thomas Parton, whether being sent, or of his own mind, came to apprehend him, and his uncle was forced against his will, to bind the poor boy's arms behind him; and so he was brought to the officers of the town, where he lay from the 14th of August, till the last of September. Then was he commanded to the freeman's prison, where one Richard Hawborough, coming to persuade him from burning, willed him to prove first with a candle; who then holding his finger, and the other a candle under it, a good space, yet (as the party himself to me assureth) felt no burning thereof; neither would the other that held the candle believe him a great while, till he had looked, and saw no scorching of the candle at all appeared.

*See Appendix.*

Then was the child removed from thence to an inner prison, called Peephole, where the low bailiff, called Robert Youle, laid upon him a pair of bolts, so that he could not lift up his small legs, but leaning on a staff, slipt them forward upon the ground; the coldness of which irons he feelth yet in his ancles, and shall so long as he liveth: with these bolts his lying was upon the cold ground, having not one lock of straw nor cloth to cover him, save only two sheep-skins; neither durst father or mother, or any of his friends come at him. Besides this, and many great threats of the papists, there was a mad-man put to him in the prison, with a knife about him, wherewith he oftentimes, in his frantic rage, proffered to thrust him in.

After this came to him one Joyliff and R. Yewer, two canons, which had his writings against the Six Articles, and his ballad, called, "Come down, for all your shaven crown," to see whether he would

(1) Thus she saw eight monarchs, exclusive of the lady Jane, in about ninety years.—Ed

stand to that he had written. Which done, with many great raging words, not long after sat master Johnson, the chancellor, in the Guildhall, upon the poor lad; where first were brought in his accusers, and sworn. Then were sworn also twenty-four men which went on his quest, and found him guilty; but he never came before the chancellor. Upon this he was sent to the common gaol among thieves and murderers, there to tarry the coming of the judges, and so to be had straight to execution. But the mighty mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the desolate and miserable when all other help is past, so provided for this silly condemned lad, that the purpose of all his hard-hearted enemies was disappointed; for before the judges came, God took away Henry the eighth out of this life, by reason whereof the force of the law was then stayed. Howbeit he was nevertheless arraigned, being holden up in a man's arms at the bar before the judges, who were Portman and Marven; who, when they perceived that they could not burn him, would have him presently whipped; but master John Bourne, esquire, declared to the judges, how he had whipping enough. After that he had lain a week more in prison, he had him home to his house, his wife anointed his legs herself with ointment, which then were stiff and numbed with irons, till at length, when master Bourne and his wife saw they could not win him to the belief of their sacrament, they put him away, lest he should infect their son Anthony, as they thought, with heresy.

Thus John Davis, of the age aforesaid, in what damage he was for the gospel ye see, and how the Lord preserved him, ye understand. He endured in prison from the 14th day of August, till within seven days of Easter, who is yet alive, and a profitable minister this day in the church of England: blessed be the Lord, "*qui facit mirabilia solus.*" [Ps. lxxii. 18.]

#### MISTRESS ROBERTS, OF HAWKHURST, IN SUSSEX.

Furthermore, to both these may be also associate another gentlewoman, to make the third, named Mrs. Roberts,<sup>1</sup> yet living and dwelling (as I understand) in the town of Hawkhurst, in Sussex. She, being earnestly addicted to the truth of Christ's gospel, and no less constant in that which she had learned therein, so kept herself during all the brunt of queen Mary's time, that she never came to their popish service, nor would pollute her conscience with hearing their idolatrous mass. There dwelt the same time not far off a justice, called sir John Guilford, who being as fervent on the contrary side to set forward the proceedings of queen Mary, thought to prove masteries with this gentlewoman, in forcing her into the church. And first, sending his wife, he attempted her by fair words and gentle persuasions to conform herself to the prince's laws, and to come, as other christian people did, to the church. Notwithstanding she, constantly persisting in the sincerity of the truth, would by no persuasions be won to do therein against her conscience; and so kept at home a certain space, till again, the second time, master Guilford, thinking not to give her over so, sent his officers and servants to her, by force and power to hale her out of her house to the church; and

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

The miraculous deliverance of mistress Roberts.

Sir John Guilford a troubler of mistress Roberts.

(1) This gentlewoman was a great succourer of the persecuted that came to her house, and specially of good Woodman, whom ye heard of before; and to her he wrote a letter. [See p. 347.—Ed.]



*Mary.* so did: where, by the way, she for grief of conscience swooned, and so of necessity was brought home again, and falling into an ague, was for that time dispensed withal.

*Sir John Guilford stopped of his purpose by God's working.*

The third time, yet the unquiet spirit of master Guilford being not content, after the time that she recovered health again, he would needs come in his own person to compel her, wil'd she, nil'd she, to the church. But, as the proverb goeth, "Who can let that, God would have done?" for when master Guilford had purposed as pleased him, the Lord so disposed for his servant, that as the said master Guilford was coming up the stairs toward her chamber, suddenly his old disease the gout so took him, and terribly tormented him, that he could go no further. And so he, that purposed to carry her to the church against her will, was fain himself to be carried home to his house to his pain; protesting and swearing that he would never from henceforth trouble that gentlewoman more; and no more he did.

#### MISTRESS ANNE LACY, A WIDOW IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

*Mistress Anne Lacy.*

In this number of good gentlewomen being in trouble and danger for God's word, is not to be omitted the memory of one mistress Anne Lacy, widow in Nottinghamshire, who was in great danger in queen Mary's time, insomuch that the process was forth against her, and she ready to have been apprehended, being so nearly pursued, that she was driven to hide her Bible and other books in a dunghill. Master Lacy her brother was then justice of peace; but to whom (as I have heard) she was but smally beholden. Nevertheless, where kindred faileth, yet God's grace never faileth such as stick to him; for in this mean time, as the process came out against her, queen Mary died, and so she escaped.

#### CROSMAN'S WIFE, OF TIBENHAM, IN NORFOLK.

*Barber of Tibenham, constable, persecutor.*

One Crosman's wife, of Tibenham Long-row in Norfolk, in queen Mary's time, for not going to church, was sought for at her house by one Barbour of the said town, then constable of the hundred, who when he came to her house, she being at home, with a child sucking in her arms, stepped into a corner on the one side of the chimney; and they seeking the chambers, the child never cried (although before they came it did) as long as they were there: and so by this means the Lord preserved her.

*Example of God's gracious providence.*

#### THE CONGREGATION AT STOKE IN SUFFOLK.

*The story of a congregation at Stoke in Suffolk.*

There were some likewise which avoided the violent rage of the adversaries by means only of their number, and mutual concord in godliness, wherein they did so hold together, that without much ado, none well could be troubled: whereof we have example in a certain town of Suffolk called Stoke. After the three sharp years of queen Mary's persecution being past, yet notwithstanding, the inhabitants of the town aforesaid, especially the women, came not to their church to receive, after the popish manner, the sacrament; who, if they had been but few, they could by no means have escaped imprisonment, but because there were so many, the papists thought it best not to lay

hands upon them: only they appointed them sixteen days' respite after Easter, wherein as many as would, should receive the sacrament; those that would not, should stand to the peril that would follow. Of this company, which were many, giving their hands together, the chiefest doers were these: Eve, an old\*mother\*of sixty years; Alice Coker, her daughter; Elizabeth Foxe, Agnes Cutting, Alice Spencer, Henry Cauker, Joan Fouke, Agnes Spaulding, John Steyre and his brother, and John Foxe, confessors.

These, after the order was taken for their not coming to the church, took advisement among themselves what was best to be done, and at length concluded by promise one to another, that they would not receive at all. Yet some of them afterward, being persuaded with fair promises that the communion should be ministered unto them according to king Edward's book, gat them unto the parish priest (whose name was Cotes), and asked him after which sort he would minister the sacrament. He answered to such as he favoured, that he would give it after the right sort; the rest should have it after the papistical manner.

To be short, none did communicate so, but only John Steyre and John Foxe; of whom the one gave his wife leave to do as she thought best, the other went about with threats to compel his wife, saying, that otherwise he would divorce himself from her. As for the rest, they did withdraw themselves from church, resorting to their wonted company. Only Foxe's wife tarried still at home, all in her dumps and heaviness, whose husband practised with the curate in the mean time, that, the next day after, he should give her the sacrament, which was the 17th day after Easter. But the very same day, unknown unto her husband, she gat herself secretly to her company, and with tears declared, how violently her husband had dealt with her. The other women bade her notwithstanding to be of a good cheer, and said, that they would make their earnest prayers unto the Lord, both for her and her husband. And indeed when they had so done, the matter took very good success; for the next day after, goodman Foxe came of his own accord unto them, a far other man than he was before, and bewailed his own headiness and rashness, praying them that they would forgive him, promising ever after to be more strong in faith, to the great rejoicing both of them and his wife.

About half a year after this, the bishop of Norwich sendeth forth certain of his officers or apparitors thither, which gave them warning every one to come to the church the next Sunday following. If they would not come, they should appear before the commissary out of hand, to render account of their absence. But the women, having secret knowledge of this before, kept themselves out of the way for the nonce, to avoid the summons or warning. Therefore, when they were not at the church at the day appointed, the commissary did first suspend them, according to the bishop of Rome's law, and within three weeks after, did excommunicate them. Therefore, when they perceived that an officer of the town was set to take some of them, they, conveying themselves privily out of the town, escaped all danger.

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

Cotes,  
parish  
priest at  
Stoke.

John  
Steyre  
and John  
Foxe re-  
volt.

The  
christian  
constancy  
of Eliz.  
Foxe.

The effect  
of chris-  
tian  
prayer.  
John Foxe  
recovered  
again to  
the truth  
by prayer.

The  
women of  
Stoke  
summon-  
ed by the  
bishop.

How the  
women of  
Stoke  
escaped.

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.

## THE PRESERVATION OF THE CONGREGATION AT LONDON.

No less marvellous was the preservation of the congregation in London, which from the first beginning of queen Mary, to the latter end thereof, continued, notwithstanding whatsoever the malice, device, searching, and inquisition of men, or strictness of laws, could work to the contrary. Such was the merciful hand of the Lord, according to his accustomed goodness, ever working with his people. Of this great bountiful goodness of the Lord, many and great examples appeared in the congregation which now I speak of. How oft, and in what daungers did he deliver them !

The con-  
gregation  
at master  
Carden's  
house.

First, at the Black-friars, when they should have resorted to sir Thomas Carden's house, privy watch was laid for them ; but yet, through the Lord's vigilant providence, the mischief was prevented, and they delivered.

The con-  
gregation  
again de-  
livered.

Again, how narrowly did they escape about Aldgate, where spies were laid for them ; and had not Thomas Simson the deacon espied them, and bid them disperse themselves away, they had been taken. For within two hours the constable coming to the house after they were gone, demanded of the wife what company had been there. To whom she, to excuse the matter, made answer again, saying, that half a dozen good fellows had been there at breakfast, as they went a Maying.

Again de-  
livered.

Another time also, about the great Conduit, they, passing there through a very strait alley into a clothworker's loft, were espied, and the sheriffs sent for : but before they came, they, having privy knowledge thereof, immediately shifted away out of the alley, John Auales standing alone in the Mercers' chapel staring at them.

In a ship  
at Bil-  
linggate.

Another like escape they made in a ship at Billingsgate, belonging to a certain good man of Ley, where in the open sight of the people they were congregated together, and yet, through God's mighty power, escaped.

In a ship  
betwixt  
Ratcliffe  
and Ro-  
therhithe.

Betwixt Ratcliffe and Rotherhithe, in a ship called Jesus ship, twice or thrice they assembled, having there closely, after their accustomed manner, both sermon, prayer, and communion ; and yet, through the protection of the Lord, they returned, although not unespied, yet untaken.

In a  
cooper's  
house in  
Pudding-  
lane.

Moreover, in a cooper's house in Pudding-lane, so near they were to perils and dangers, that John Auales, coming into the house where they were, talked with the goodman of the house, and after he had asked a question or two, departed ; God so working, that either he had no knowledge of them, or no power to apprehend them.

In a  
house in  
Thames-  
street.

But they never escaped more hardly, than once in Thames-street in the night-time, where the house being beset with enemies, yet, as the Lord would, they were delivered by the means of a mariner, who being at that present in the same company, and seeing no other way to avoid, plucked off his slops and swam to the next boat, and so rowed the company over, using his shoes instead of oars ; and so the jeopardy was despatched.

I have heard of one, who being sent to them to take their names, and to espy their doings, yet, in being amongst them, was converted, and cried them all mercy.

What should I speak of the extreme and present danger which that godly company was in at the taking of master Rough their minister, and Cutbert Symson their deacon, had not the Lord's providence given knowledge before to master Rough in his sleep, that Cutbert Symson should leave behind him at home the book of all their names, which he was wont to carry about him; whereof mention is made before.

In this church or congregation there were sometimes forty, sometimes a hundred, sometimes two hundred, sometimes more and sometimes less. About the latter time of queen Mary it greatly increased. From the first beginning, which was about the first entry of queen Mary's reign, they had divers ministers; first, master Scamler, then Thomas Foule, after him master Rough, then master Augustine Bernher, and last master Bentham; concerning the deliverance of which master Bentham (being now bishop of Coventry and Lichfield), God's mighty providence most notably is to be considered. For how is it possible, by man's estimation, for the said master Bentham to have escaped, had not the present power of the Lord, passing all men's expectation, been prest and ready to help his servant in such a strait! The story and case is this:

At what time the seven last burnt in Smithfield, mentioned in this book before, were condemned and brought to the stake to suffer, came down in the name of the king and queen a proclamation, being twice pronounced openly to the people (first at Newgate, then at the stake where they should suffer), straitly charging and commanding, that no man should either pray for them, or speak to them, or once say, God help them.

It was appointed before, of the godly there standing together, which was a great multitude, that so soon as the prisoners should be brought, they should go to them to embrace and to comfort them; and so they did. For as the said martyrs were coming towards the place in the people's sight, being brought with bills and glaves (as the custom is), the godly multitude and congregation with a general sway made toward the prisoners, in such manner that the bill-men and the other officers, being all thrust back, could nothing do, nor anything come nigh. So the godly people meeting and embracing, and kissing them, brought them in their arms (which might as easily have conveyed them clean away) unto the place where they should suffer.

This done, and the people giving place to the officers, the proclamation with a loud voice was read to the people, containing (as is before said) in the king and queen's name, that no man should pray for them, or once speak a word unto them, etc. Master Bentham, the minister then of the congregation, not sparing for that, but as zeal and christian charity moved him, and seeing the fire set to them, turning his eyes to the people, cried and said, "We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish well to them, and say, God strengthen them:" and so boldly he said, "Almighty God, for Christ's sake, strengthen them!" With that all the people, with a whole consent and one voice, followed and said, "Amen, Amen!" The noise whereof was so great, and the cries thereof so many, that the officers could not tell what to say, or whom to accuse. And thus much concerning the congregation of the faithful assembling together at London, in the time of queen Mary.

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

Another notable example of God's merciful providence.

The ministers of this congregation  
*See*  
*Appendix.*

A story of master Bentham.

The queen's proclamation, no man to pray for the martyrs, nor to speak unto them.

The congregation embracing the martyrs, contrary to the proclamation.

Master Bentham minister of the congregation. He speaketh and prayeth for the martyrs without danger.



*Mary.*A.D.  
1558.Another  
delivery  
of master  
Bentham  
out of  
great  
peril.Master  
Bentham  
forced  
against  
his will to  
sit in the  
coroner's  
office.He refus-  
eth to  
swear  
upon a  
popish  
primer.Means  
wrought  
whereby  
Bentham  
escaped.*See  
Appendix.*

The said master Bentham another time, as he passed through St. Katherine's, intending to walk and take the air abroad, was enforced by two or three men, approaching upon him, needs to go with them to a place whither they would lead him. Master Bentham, astonished at the suddenness of the matter, and marvelling what the thing should be, required what their purpose was, or whither they would have him. They answered, that by the occasion of a man there found drowned, the coroner's quest was called, and charged to sit upon him, of the which quest he must of necessity be one, etc. He again, loth to meddle in the matter, excused himself, alleging that in such kind of matters he had no skill, and less experience: if it would please them to let him go, they should meet with others more meet for their purpose. But when with this they would not be satisfied, he alleged further, that he was a scholar of Oxford, and thereby was privileged from being of any inquest. The coroner demanded the sight of his privilege. He said, if he would give him leave, he would fetch it. Then said the coroner, the queen must be served without all delay; and so constrained him notwithstanding to be with them in hearing the matter.

Being brought to the house where the coroner and the rest of the quest were sitting, as the manner is, a book was offered to him to swear upon. Master Bentham, opening the book, and seeing it was a papistical primer, refused to swear thereupon, and declared moreover what superstition in that book was contained. "What!" said the coroner; "I think we shall have here a heretic among us." And upon that, after much reasoning amongst them, he was committed to the custody of an officer, till further examination: by occasion whereof, to all men's reason, hard it had been and inevitable for master Bentham to have escaped, had not the Lord helped, where man was not able. What followed? Incontinent as they were thus contending and debating about matters of heresy, suddenly cometh the coroner of the admiralty, disannulling and repealing the order and calling of that inquest, for that it was (as he said) pertaining to his office; and therefore the other coroner and his company in that place had nothing to do. And so the first coroner was discharged and displaced; by reason whereof master Bentham escaped their hands, having no more said unto him.

#### ENGLISHMEN PRESERVED AT THE TAKING OF CALAIS.

The worthy works of the Lord's mercy toward his people be manifold, and cannot be comprehended, so that who is he living in the earth almost, who hath not experienced the helping hand of the Lord at some time or other upon him? Amongst many others, what a piece of God's tender providence was showed of late upon our English brethren and countrymen, what time Calais was taken by the tyrant Guise, a cruel enemy both to God's truth and our English nation! and yet, by the gracious provision of the Lord, few, or none at all, of so many that favoured Christ and his gospel, in that terrible spoil, miscarried. In the number of whom there was a godly couple, one John Thorp and his wife, which feared the Lord, and loved his truth, who, being sick the same time, and cast out in the wild fields

John  
Thorp  
and his  
wife.

harbourless, desolate, and despairing of all hope of life, having their young infant moreover taken from them in the said fields, and carried away of the soldiers; yet the Lord so wrought, that the poor woman, being almost past recovery of life, was fet and carried the space well nigh of a mile, by strangers whom they never knew, into a village, where both she was recovered for that night, and also the next day, coming toward England, they chanced into the same inn at the next town, where they found their young child sitting by the fire-side.

Mary.

A. D.

1558.

## EDWARD BENET.

One Edward Benet, about the second year of the reign of queen Mary, then dwelling at Queenhithe with one Grynocke a baker, was desired of one Tingle, prisoner then in Newgate,<sup>1</sup> to bring him a New Testament. He, procuring one of master Coverdale's translation, wrapped it in a handkerchief, saying to George the keeper, which asked him what he had, that it was a piece of powdered beef. "Let me see it," said he. Perceiving what it was, he brought him to sir Roger Cholmley, who examined him why he did so, saying that book was not lawful; and so committed him to the Compter in Woodstreet, where he continued twenty-five weeks.

A story of Edward Benet, now dwelling in St. Bride's parish.

Benet imprisoned for bringing a New Testament.

Dr. Story coming to the prison to examine other prisoners, this Benet, looking out at the grate, spake to him, desiring him to be good unto him, and to help him out; for he had lien long in prison. To whom Dr. Story then answering: "What!" said he, "wast thou not before me, in Christ's-church?" "Yes, forsooth," said Benet. "Ah," said Story, "thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar! Marry, I will help thee out. Come," said he to the keeper, "turn him out, I will help him:" and so took Benet with him, and brought him to Cluney in Paternoster-row, and bade him bring him to the coalhouse, and there he was in the stocks, a week.

Dr. Story's words to Benet.

Then the bishop sent for him to talk with him, and first asked him if he were shriven? "No," said Benet. He asked him if he would be shriven? "No," said he. Then he asked him if the priest could take away his sins? "No," said Benet, "I do not so believe." Then he and Harpsfield laughed at him, and mocked him, asking him if he did not believe that whatsoever the priest here bound in earth, should be bound in heaven, and whatsoever he looseth in earth, should be loosed in heaven. "No," quoth Benet, "but I believe that the minister of God, preaching God's word truly, and ministering the sacraments according to the same, whatsoever he bindeth in earth, should be bound in heaven, and whatsoever he looseth," etc. Then the bishop, putting him aside, said, he should go to Fulham and be whipped.

Benet brought to Bonner, and examined.

Then came to him master Buswell a priest, lying in the coalhouse, in the stocks, and brought Cranmer's recantation, saying that he had recanted. "My faith," saith the other, "lieth in no man's book, but in him which hath redeemed me." The next Saturday, Benet with five others, was called for to come to mass in the chapel. The mass being done, and they coming out, five of them went to prison, and were after burnt. Benet being behind, and coming toward the gate,

How he escaped out of his house.

(1) He afterwards died in prison, and was buried on a dunghill.

*Mary.*

*A. D.*

*1558.*

the porter, opening to a company going out, asked if there were no prisoners there. "No," said they. Benet, standing in open sight before him, with other serving-men which were there by reason that Bonner made many priests that day (having one of his sleeves and half the forepart of his coat burnt off in the prison, being more like a prisoner than any of the others), when the gates were opened, went out amongst them, and so escaped.

Another  
escape of  
Benet.  
Eight  
of the  
twenty-  
four  
taken at  
Islington  
escaped,  
and how.

Again, in the last year of queen Mary, the same Benet being taken again with the twenty-four beyond Islington, and brought to sir Roger Cholmley's, the people coming very thick did cut off some of them, to the number of eight, which were behind, among whom was Benet. Then he knocking at the gate to come in, the porter said, that he was none of the company. He said, "Yes," and knocked again. Then there stood one by of the congregation, named Johnson, dwelling now at Hammersmith, which said, "Edward, thou hast done well, do not tempt God: go thy way." And so, he taking the warning as sent of God, with a quiet conscience eschewed burning.

#### JEFFERY HURST, BROTHER-IN-LAW TO GEORGE MARSH THE MARTYR.

In the town of Shakerley in Lancashire dwelled one Jeffery Hurst, the son of an honest yeoman, who had, besides him, eleven children, the said Jeffery being the twelfth and eldest of the rest: and for that their father was willing to bring them up, so that they should be able another day to help themselves, he did bind this Jeffery prentice unto the craft of nailing, to make all kind of nails, which occupation he learned, and served out the time of seven years; the which years being expired, he gave himself at times to learn of his other brethren which went to school; and as he was very willing to the same, so God sent him knowledge, wherein he did persevere and go forwards in such sort, that he could write and read indifferently; and in longer continuance came by more knowledge; and so, having the Bible and divers other books in his house, did come by pretty knowledge in the Scripture. After this he took unto him a wife, being the sister of master George Marsh, of whose martyrdom mention is made before; and being much familiar with him, did mend his knowledge not a little. Now when queen Mary was entered the first year of her reign, he kept himself away from their doings, and came not at the church; whereupon he was laid in wait for, and called heretic, and Lollard: and so, for fear of further danger, he was compelled to leave his wife and child, and all, and fled into Yorkshire; and there, being not known, did lead his life, returning sometimes by night to his house, to comfort his wife, and bringing with him some preacher or other, who used to preach unto them so long as the time would serve; and so departed by night again. The names of the preachers were master Reneses, master Best, master Brodbanke, master Russel: and every time they came thither they were about twenty or twenty-four sometimes, but sixteen at least, who had there also sometimes a communion. And thus in much fear did he with others lead his life, till the last year of the reign of queen Mary. Then it chanced that the said Jeffery Hurst, after the death of his father, came home, and kept himself close for seven or eight weeks.

Jeffery  
Hurst,  
brother to  
George  
Marsh  
the  
martry.

Jeffery  
Hurst  
leaveth  
wife,  
child, and  
house for  
persecu-  
tion.  
Preach-  
ers using  
Jeffery  
Hurst's  
house.

There dwelt not far off, at Morless, a certain justice of peace, and of the quorum, named master Thomas Lelond, who, hearing of him, appointed a time to come to his father's house, where he then dwelt, to rifle the house for books, and to search for him also; and so did Jeffery and his company, having knowledge of his coming, took the books which were in the house, as the Bible, the communion-book, and the New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and divers others, and threw them all underneath a tub or fat, conveying also the said Jeffery under the same, with a great deal of straw underneath him; for, as it chanced, they had the more time, because that when the justice came almost to the door, he staid and would not enter the house till he had sent for Hurst's mother's landlady, mistress Shakerley; and then, with her consent, intended to go forwards. In the mean time, Jeffery, by such as were with him, was willed to lay in his window the Testament of Tyndale's translation, and a little book containing the third part of the Bible, with the Book of Ecclesiasticus, to try what they would say unto them.

This done, mistress Shakerley came; unto whom eftsoons the justice declared the cause of his coming, and how he was sorry to attempt any such thing against any of her tenants for her sake, but, notwithstanding, he must needs execute his office. "And again you must," said he, "note this, that a scabbed sheep is able to infect a great number; and especially having, as he hath, so many brethren and sisters, he is able to mar them all, if he be not looked unto in time." And thus concluding, master Lelond entered into the house; and being come in, set himself in a chair in the middle of the house; and, sending sir Ralph Parkinson his priest, and one of his men, and one of mistress Shakerley's men about the house, to search and rifle the chests for books (who so did), in the mean time he talked with Hurst's mother, being of the age almost of sixty years: and chiding with her that she would suffer her son so to order and behave himself like a heretic, said, "Thou old fool, I know myself that this new learning shall come again; but for how long?—even for three months or four months, and no longer. But I will lay thee, old fool, in Lancaster dungeon, for this gear; and well worthy."

Now as concerning the searchers, they found nothing but Latin books, as grammar, and such like. "These be not they that we look for," said they, "we must see further:" and so looked into Hurst's chamber, where they found the foresaid books. Then sir Ralph, taking up the Testament, looked on it, and smiled. His master seeing that, said, "Now, sir Ralph, what have we here?" "Forsooth," saith he, "a Testament of Tyndale's translation, plain heresy, and none worse than it." "Then are all their goods," saith he, "lost to the queen, and their bodies to prison:" and was wonderfully hasty; notwithstanding, through mistress Shakerley, for a space, he was content to see farther.

Then the priest looked on the other book: "What say ye to that, sir Ralph; is that as evil as the other?" "No," said he, "but it is not good that they should have such English books to look on; for this and such others may do much harm." Then he asked his mother where her eldest son was, and her daughter Alice. She answered, she could not tell: they were not with her of long time

*Mary.*

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Master  
T. Lelond  
justice of  
peace at  
Morless,  
in Lanca-  
shire, a  
cruel per-  
secutor.

Jeffery  
Hurst  
conveyed  
under a  
dry fat.

Mrs.  
Shaker-  
ley,  
Hurst's  
landlady.

Master  
Lelond  
entereth  
to search  
Hurst's  
house.

Ralph  
Parkin-  
son.

False pro-  
phesies of  
the gospel  
to come  
again  
for four  
months.

Tyndale's  
New Tes-  
tament  
made  
heresy.

Search  
made for  
Hurst  
and his  
sister  
Alice.



*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.

The mother threatened and bound for Hurst's forthcoming.

Master Lelond's maker. Talk between Jeffery Hurst and the justice. Hurst denieth to come to mass.

Examination after mass.

Jeffery Hurst and his sister let go under sureties.

Released by the death of queen Mary.

Jeffery Hurst, in queen Elizabeth's time put in authority to see the proceeding of religion.

The popish justice would not come to the church, and yet continued justice. A catholic father of the popish church.

before. And he swore by God's body, he would make her tell where they were, or he would lay her in Lancaster dungeon; and yet he would have them notwithstanding too. To be short, for fear, he had his brother John Hurst and his mother bound in a hundred pounds, to bring the parties before him within fourteen days. And so departed he; and the priest put both the books in his bosom, and carried them away with him. Then John Hurst went after them, desiring that he might have the book which the priest found no fault with: but he said, they should answer to them both; and which-soever was the better, was not good.

As this passed on, when the time was come that Jeffery Hurst and his sister should be examined, the justice sent for them betimes in the morning, and had prepared a mass to begin withal, asking Jeffery Hurst if he would first go and see his maker, and then he would talk further with him. To whom when Jeffery answered and said; "Sir, my Maker is in heaven, and I am assured in going to your mass I shall find no edification thereby; and therefore I pray you hold me excused." "Well, well," said he, "I perceive I shall find you a heretic, by God! But I will go to mass, and I will not lose it, for all your prattling."

Then into his chapel he went; and when mass was done he sent for them, and caused his priest to read a scroll unto them, as concerning the seven sacraments. And ever as he spake of the body and blood of Christ, he put off his cap, and said, "Lo! ye may see, you will deny these things, and care not for your prince; but you shall feel it ere I have done with you, and all the faculty of you:" with other talk more between them, I know not what. But in the end they were licensed to depart under sureties to appear again before him within three weeks, and then to go to Lancaster. Howbeit, in the mean while it so pleased God, that within four days of the day appointed, it was noised that the queen was dead, and within fourteen days after, the said Jeffery Hurst had his two books sent home, and nothing was said unto him.

It followed after this, that God's word began to take place, and the queen's visitors came down into that country, who did choose four men in the parish, to wit, Simon Smith, Jeffery Hurst, Henry Brown, George Eccersly, which four were protestants, to see the queen's proceedings to take place; who, according to their power, did the same. Notwithstanding it did little prevail; and therefore the said Jeffery, being sore grieved with the office, fell sick; in which sickness it pleased God to call him, making a very godly end—God have the praise for it!

Now to return to the foresaid Thomas Lelond again, he, continuing in his office still, did very few times come to the church, but said he was aged, and might not labour: and there kept with him sir Ralph Parkinson his priest, which could (as it was said) minister the communion unto the people, and sing mass unto his master: yes, and (as fame reported) did a prettier feat than all that; for he begat two children by a servant in a house, his master knowing it, and saying nothing, for that he would not lose his good mass-priest.

Furthermore, this was noted in the same justice Lelond's behaviour at service-time, that he had a little dog which he would play with all

service-time, and the same dog had a collar full of bells, so that the noise of them did molest and trouble others, as well as himself, from hearing the service. Also, in the same justice it was noted and observed, that as he sat in his chapel at service-time, his manner was on a willow-bark to knit knots, for that he could not be suffered to have his beads, and to put the same upon a string also.—Witness hereof Edward Hurst, with others.

*Mary.*

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—  
Note a catholic knack of a popish justice.

Furthermore, as concerning Henry Brown, one of the four chosen men above mentioned, this is also to be added, that the said Henry Brown, dwelling in the town of Pennington in the same parish, A.D. 1564, had a little boy, who, as he was playing in the town, one Glave's wife gave unto the boy a pair of beads made of wood, for him to play withal. The little boy, being glad thereof to have such a trim thing, went home and showed his father of them. His father, seeing the beads, took them and burnt them; and when he had so done, went forth and asked who had given unto his little boy that pair of beads.

The trouble and escape of Henry Brown out of his enemies' hands.

"That did I," said Glave's wife. "Well," said he, "I have burnt them." "Hast thou so?" said she, and thrust him from her. "They shall be the dearest beads that ever thou sawest;" and incontinent went and complained unto the said justice, how Brown had burnt her beads.

Glave's wife maintain-er of popery and a persecutor.

This matter the justice took sore to snuff, and was very angry, and did direct his letter unto the constables of the same town, by his own hand subscribed; the title of which superscription on the back side was this; "To the Constables of Pennington give this."

Lelond writeth to apprehend Brown.

This done, the constables, according to this their charge, did bring him afore the justice at the time appointed; and when the justice came to talk with him, he was in such a heat, that he called him "thief;" and said, that he had robbed his neighbour in burning of her beads, and that there were rings and other jewels on them, and that he might as well have picked her purse; "wherefore," said he, "I will lay thee in Lancaster dungeon, for this gear."

Brown troubled for burning of beads in queen Elizabeth's time.

Whilst they were thus talking, there came all his servants about them from their work, saying, "Is this master Dr. Brown, that will burn beads? I pray you, sir, let us have him here and preach." "I will give you a quarter's wages," saith one: "and I will give money," saith another: "and he shall be master doctor;" with much derision and scoffing at this poor man.

Like master like men.

He, hearing this, spake again boldly, and said; "Did you send for me to make a laughing-stock of me? You be in office, and ought rather to come to the church, and see such papistry abolished yourself, than thus to trouble me for doing my duty: but, I tell you plainly, that you do not come to church as you ought to do, and therefore (with more things that I have to charge you withal) I say, you do not well." When all this misdemeanour of the justice laid to his charge, would not prevail, and also witness came in of the papists, which did know the beads, and testified that they were plain, and cost but a halfpenny, he then went into his parlour in a chafe, and one master Exberston a papist with him; which Exberston turned back, and said, "Is it you, Henry Brown, that keepeth this stir? You are one of them that pulled down crosses in the church, and pulled down

A lamentable thing, when such justices bear rule over christian congregations.

*Mary.* the rood-sollor,' and all the saints; you were best now to go paint a black devil, and set him up and worship him, for that will serve well for your religion." And thus, under suretiship, he did depart till July following, and then he said he should go to Lancaster prison; and so came he away.

*A.D.*  
1558.

God's  
stroke  
upon an  
obstinate  
persecu-  
tor.

The time drew on that he should appear, but God stayed the matter, and in July, as the foresaid Thomas Lelond sat in his chair talking with his friends, he fell down suddenly dead, not much moving any joint. And thus was his end: from such God us defend!

#### EXAMINATION OF WILLIAM WOOD OF KENT.

Examina-  
tion of  
William  
Wood.

The examination of William Wood baker, dwelling in the parish of Stroud, in the county of Kent, before Dr. Kenall chancellor of the diocese of Rochester, Dr. Chedsey, the mayor of Rochester, and master Robinson the scribe, the 19th day of October, and in the second year of queen Mary, in St. Nicholas' church in Rochester.

Wood  
charged  
for not  
coming to  
church.

*Robinson* :—" William Wood! you are presented, because you will not come to the church, nor receive the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you? have you received, or have you not?"

*Wood* :—" I have not received it, nor dare I receive it, as you now minister it."

*Kenall* :—" Thou heretic! what is the cause that thou hast not received the blessed sacrament of the altar?" And at this word, all they put off their caps, and made low obeisance.

Three  
causes  
why he  
durst not  
receive  
the sacra-  
ment of  
the altar.

*Wood* :—" There be three causes that make my conscience afraid, that I dare not receive it. The first; Christ did deliver it to his twelve apostles, and said, 'Take, eat, and drink ye all of this,' etc.; and ye eat and drink up all alone. The second cause is, you hold it to be worshipped, contrary to God's commandment, 'Thou shalt not bow down nor worship.' The third cause is, you minister it in a strange tongue, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, 'I had rather have five words with understanding, than ten thousand with tongues:' by reason whereof the people be ignorant of the death of Christ."

*Kenall* :—" Thou heretic, wilt thou have any plainer words than these: 'Take, eat, this is my body?'<sup>2</sup> Wilt thou deny the Scripture?"

*Wood* :—" I will not deny the holy Scriptures, God forbid! but with my heart I do faithfully believe them. St. Paul saith, 'God calleth those things that are not, as though they were:' and Christ saith, 'I am a vine, I am a door.' St. Paul saith, 'The rock is Christ:' all which are figurative speeches, wherein one thing is spoken, and another thing is understood."

*Robinson* :—" You make a very long tale of this matter: learn, Wood, learn."

*Kenall* :—" Nay, these heretics will not learn: look how this heretic glorieth in himself. Thou fool! art thou wiser than the queen and her council, and all the learned men of this realm?"

*Wood* :—" And please you, master chancellor, I think you would be loth to have such glory, to have your life and goods taken away, and to be thus called upon, as you rail upon me: but the servant is not greater than his Master. And whereas you do mock me, and say that I am wiser than the queen and her council, St. Paul saith, 'The wisdom of the wise of this world, is foolishness before God; and he that will be wise in this world, shall be accounted but a fool.'"

*Kenall* :—" Dost not thou believe that after these words spoken by a priest, 'This is my body,'<sup>3</sup> there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very flesh and blood of Christ, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, really and substantially, in quantity and quality, as he did hang upon the cross?"

See  
Appendix.

(1) "Rood-sollor," that is the rood-loft, or the chamber (solarium) where the rood was kept.—Ed.

(2) "Hoc est corpus meum."

(3) "Hoc est corpus meum."

*Wood* :—" I pray you, master chancellor, give me leave, for my learning, to ask you one question, and I will answer you after."

*Kenall* :—" It is some wise question, I warrant you."

*Wood* :—" God spake to the prophet Ezekiel, saying, ' Thou son of man, take a razor, and shave off the hair of thy head and of thy beard. And take one part, and cast into the air; take the second part, and put it into thy coat-lap; and take the third part, and cast it into the fire: and this is Jerusalem.'<sup>1</sup> I pray you, master chancellor, was this hair that the prophet did cast into the fire, or was it Jerusalem?"

*Kenall* :—" No; it did signify Jerusalem."

*Wood* :—" Even so in this word of Christ, ' This is my body,' is not to be understood, that Christ's carnal, natural, and real body is in the same, in quantity and quality, as it was born of the Virgin Mary, and as he was crucified upon the cross, is present or enclosed in the sacrament: but it doth signify Christ's body, as St. Paul saith, ' So oft as ye do eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's death till he come.' What should the apostle mean by this word, ' till he come,' if he were here carnally, naturally, corporally, and really, in the same quantity and quality as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and as he did hang on the cross, as you say? But St. Paul saith, ' You shall show the Lord's death till he come.' This doth argue, that he is not here, as you would have us to believe."

*Chedsey* :—" I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of bread: but not in quantity and quality."

Dr. Kenall said, " Yes, he is present in quantity and quality."

*Chedsey* :—" He is here present under a form, and not in quantity and quality."

" Yes!" said Kenall.

" No!" said Chedsey.

" I will prove him here in quantity and quality!" said Kenall.

" I will prove the contrary," said Chedsey.

And these two doctors were so earnest in this matter, the one to affirm, the other to deny, contending and raging so sore one at the other, that they foamed at the mouth, and one was ready to spit in another's face; so that in great fury and rage the two doctors rose up from the judgment-seat, and Dr. Kenall departed out of the church in great rage and fury immediately.

*Wood* :—" Behold, good people, they would have us to believe, that Christ is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, present in the sacrament; and yet they cannot tell themselves, nor agree within themselves, how he is there!"

At these words the people made a great shout, and the mayor stood up, and commanded the people to be quiet, and to keep silence. And the God that did deliver St. Paul out of the hands of the high priests, by the contention that was between the Pharisees and Sadducees, did even so deliver me at that time out of the mouths of the bloody papists, by the means of the contention of these two doctors. Blessed be the name of the Lord, which hath promised to lay no more upon his, than he will make them able to bear, and in the midst of temptation he can make way for his (how, and when it pleaseth him), to escape out of all dangers.

Many other like examples of God's helping hand have been declared upon his elect saints and children, in delivering them out of danger by wonderful and miraculous ways, some by one means, some by another. What a notable work of God's mighty hand was seen in Simon Grinæus, mentioned in the commentary of Melancthon upon Daniel; who, having a sudden warning by a certain old man, who was not seen after, nor known then of any what he was, avoided

*Mary.*

*A. D.*

1558.

William Wood's question pronounced to the doctors.

The natural quantity of Christ not in the sacrament.

The papists could not agree in their own doctrine.

Wood delivered, as was St. Paul by the contention of the Pharisees and Sadducees.



*Mary.* the peril of taking and burning, as by the relation of Melancthon,  
*A.D.* writing and witnessing the same, may appear in the words of his own  
*1558.* story here following.

THE HISTORY OF SIMON GRINÆUS, COLLECTED OUT OF MELANCTHON'S COMMENTARIES UPON THE TENTH CHAPTER OF DANIEL.<sup>1</sup>

John Faber, bishop of Vienna persecutor.

When I was, saith he, at the assembly holden at Spire, in the year of our Lord 1529, by chance Simon Grinæus came thither unto me from the university of Heidelberg, where he heard Faber, the bishop of Vienna, in a sermon, defend and maintain certain detestable errors. When the sermon was done, he followed Faber going out of the church, and saluted him reverently, declaring unto him that he was moved of a goodly zeal and intent, somewhat to say unto him. Faber was contented to talk with him.<sup>2</sup>

Then Grinæus said unto him, that he was very sorry that a man of such learning and authority should openly maintain such errors as were both contumelious against God, and also might be refuted by the manifest testimonies of the Scriptures. "Ireneus writeth," said he, "that Polycarp was wont to stop his ears, whensoever he heard any erroneous and wicked doctrine. With what mind then (think you) would Polycarp have heard you argue and reason what it is that the mouse eateth, when he gnaweth the consecrated host? Who would not bewail such ignorance and blindness of the church?" With this Faber brake off his talk, as he was about to say more, and asked his name. This man, dissembling nothing, gently told him that his name was Grinæus.

Faber gently admonished of Grinæus for his sermon.

This Faber, as many well know, was always timorous and fearful in the company of learned men. Wherefore he, fearing the learning, eloquence, and fervent zeal of Grinæus, specially in such a matter as this was, feigned as though he had been sent for by the king, and that he had no leisure now to reason upon this matter. He pretended that he was very desirous of acquaintance and longer talk with Grinæus, entreating him, that both for his own private cause, and also for the commonwealth, he would come again the next day unto him; and so showed him his lodging, and appointed him an hour when he should come. Grinæus, thinking that he had spoken unfeignedly, promised so to do.

Godly warning sent by an old man to Grinæus.

When he was departed from Faber, he came straightway unto us, and was scarcely set at the table (for it was supper time), reciting a part of his talk with Faber unto me and others there present, when I, sitting with my company, was suddenly called out of the parlour by a certain ancient fatherly man, who, showing a singular gravity in his countenance, words, and behaviour, spake unto me, and said, that the sergeants would by and by come unto our lodging, being sent by the king's commandment, to carry Grinæus to prison, whom Faber had accused to the king: commanding that Grinæus should straightways depart out of the town; and exhorted me, that we should in no case delay the time. And so, bidding me farewell, departed. But what old man this was, neither did I know then, nor afterward could I understand. I, returning again unto my company, bade them rise, and told them what the old man had said unto me.

Warned to fly, escapeth.

By and by, we, taking Grinæus in the midst of us, carried him through the street to the river Rhine, where after we had staid upon the hither bank awhile, until Grinæus with his companion were carried over in a small boat, returning again to our lodging, we understood that the sergeants had been there, when we were but a little way gone out of the house. Now in what great danger Grinæus should have been, if he had been carried to prison by this cruelty of Faber, every man easily may conjecture: wherefore we judged, that that most cruel intent and purpose of him, was disappointed by God's merciful providence. And as I cannot say what old man it was, that gave me that warning, even so likewise the sergeants made such quick speed, that except Grinæus had been covered and defended by the angels, through the marvellous providence of God, he could never have escaped.

God's merciful providence in defeating the cruel purpose of persecutors.

(1) See Melancthon's Works, folio, Witebergæ. 1601. vol. ii. p. 477.—Ed.

(2) "Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit."

Concerning the truth of this matter, there be many good men yet alive, which know both the same, and also were present at the doing thereof. Therefore let us give thanks unto God, which hath given us his angels to be our keepers and defenders, whereby with more quiet minds we may fulfil and do the office of our vocation.

*Mary.*  
A. D.  
1558.

With such like examples of God's mighty and merciful custody, the church of Christ in all ages doth abound, as by manifold experiences may appear as well among the Germans, as also in other places and ages; but in no place more, nor in any time more plentiful, than in this persecuting time of queen Mary, in this our realm of England, as partly hath been already historied, and part yet remaineth (the Lord willing), moreover, hereunto to be added.

#### THE LADY KATHERINE, DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK.

Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, surmising the lady Katherine, baroness of Willoughby and Eresby, and duchess dowager of Suffolk, to be one of his ancient enemies, because he knew he had deserved no better of her, devised, in the holy time of the first Lent in queen Mary's reign, a holy practice of revenge, first touching her in the person of her husband, master Richard Bertie esquire, for whom he sent an attachment (having the great seal at his devotion) to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, with a special letter commanding most straitly the same sheriff to attach the said Richard immediately, and without bail to bring him up to London, to his great lordship. Master Bertie her husband, being clear in conscience, and free from offence toward the queen, could not conjecture any cause of this strange process, unless it were some quarrel for religion, which he thought could not be so sore as the process pretended.

The old hatred of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, against the duchess of Suffolk. The husband of the duchess, attached by Winchester.

The sheriff, notwithstanding the commandment, adventured only to take the bond of Master Bertie, with two sureties in a thousand pounds, for his appearance to be made before the bishop on Good Friday following, at which day master Bertie appeared, the bishop then lying at his house by St. Mary Overy's. Of whose presence when the bishop understood by a gentleman of his chamber, in a great rage he came out of his gallery into his dining-chamber, where he found a press of suitors, saying he would not that day hear any, but came forth only to know of master Bertie, how he, being a subject, durst so arrogantly set at light two former processes of the queen.

Bertie appeared before Gardiner.

[March 23rd, A. D. 1554.]

Master Bertie answered, that albeit my lord's words might seem to the rest somewhat sharp toward him, yet he conceived great comfort of them. For whereas he, before, thought it extremity to be attached, having used no obstinacy or contumacy, now he gathered of those words, that my lord meant not otherwise but to have used some ordinary process; albeit indeed none came to his hands.

Talk between Gardiner and Bertie.

"Yea marry," quoth the bishop, "I have sent you two subpoenas, to appear immediately: and I am sure you received them, for I committed the trust of them to no worse man but to master solicitor. And I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire, for your obstinacy!"

Master Bertie denying the receipt of any, humbly prayed his lordship to suspend his displeasure and the punishment till he had good trial thereof; and then, if it please him, to double the pain for the fault, if any were.

"Well," quoth the bishop, "I have appointed myself this day (according to the holiness of the same) for devotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I enjoin you in a thousand pounds not to depart without leave, and to be here again to-morrow at seven of the clock."

Devotion of Gardiner to Good Friday.

*Mary.**A.D.*  
*1558.**See*  
*Appendix.*

Master Berty well observed the hour, and no jot failed; at which time the bishop had with him master sergeant Stampford, to whom he moved certain questions of the said master Berty, because master sergeant was towards the lord Wriothesley, late earl of Southampton and chancellor of England, with whom the said master Berty was brought up. Master sergeant made very friendly report of master Berty, of his own knowledge, for the time of their conversation together. Whereupon the bishop caused master Berty to be brought in, and first making a false train (as God would, without fire) before he would descend to the quarrel of religion, he assaulted him in this manner:

Berty at-  
tached for  
a debt.

"The queen's pleasure is," quoth the bishop, "that you shall make present payment of four thousand pounds, due to her father by duke Charles, late husband to the duchess your wife, whose executor she was."

"Pleaseth it your lordship," quoth master Berty, "that debt is estalled, and is according to that estallment truly answered."

Kett cap-  
tain of the  
rebels in  
king  
Edward's  
time.

"Tush!" quoth the bishop, "the queen will not be bound to estallments in the time of Kett's government: for so I esteem the late government."

"The estallment," quoth master Berty, "was appointed by king Henry the eighth: besides, the same was by special commissioners confirmed in king Edward's time; and the lord treasurer, being an executor also to the duke Charles, solely and wholly took upon him, before the said commissioners, to discharge the same."

"If it be true that you say," quoth the bishop, "I will show you favour. But of another thing, master Berty, I will admonish you, as meaning you well. I hear evil of your religion; yet I hardly can think evil of you, whose mother I know to be as godly and catholic as any within this land; yourself brought up with a master, whose education if I should disallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Besides, partly I know you myself, and understand of my friends enough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you. But, I pray you, if I may ask the question of my lady your wife, is she now as ready to set up the mass, as she was lately to pull it down, when she caused in her progress, a dog in a rochet to be carried, and called by my name? or doth she think her lambs now safe enough, which said to me, when I vailed my bonnet to her out of my chamber-window in the Tower, that it was merry with the lambs, now the wolf was shut up? Another time, my lord her husband, having invited me and divers ladies to dinner, desired every lady to choose him whom she loved best, and so place themselves. My lady your wife, taking me by the hand, for that my lord would not have her to take himself, said, that forasmuch as she could not sit down with my lord whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom she loved worst."

A dog  
clothed in  
a rochet,  
under the  
name of  
Gardiner.

It is  
merry  
with  
lambs  
when  
wolves  
be tied  
up.

"Of the device of the dog," quoth master Berty, "she was neither the author, nor the allower. The words, though in that season they sounded bitter to your lordship, yet if it would please you without offence to know the cause, I am sure the one will purge the other. As touching setting up of mass, which she learned not only by strong persuasions of divers excellent learned men, but by universal consent and order whole six years past, inwardly to abhor, if she should outwardly allow, she should both to Christ show herself a false Christian, and to her prince a masking subject. You know, my lord, one by judgment reformed, is more worth than a thousand transformed temporizers. To force a confession of religion by mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh damnation, where salvation is pretended."

Purgation  
of the lady  
duchess,  
for not  
coming to  
mass.

"Yea marry," quoth the bishop, "that deliberation would do well, if she were required to come from an old religion to a new. But now, she is to return from a new to an ancient religion: wherein, when she made me her gossip, she was as earnest as any."

Religion  
goeth not  
by age,  
but by  
truth.

"For that, my lord," said master Berty, "not long since, she answered a friend of hers, using your lordship's speech, that religion went not by age, but by truth: and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion, and not by commandment."

"I pray you," quoth the bishop, "think you it possible to persuade her?"

"Yea verily," said master Berty, "with the truth: for she is reasonable enough."

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1558.

The bishop thereunto replying, said, "It will be a marvellous grief to the prince of Spain, and to all the nobility that shall come with him, when they shall find but two noble personages of the Spanish race within this land, the queen, and my lady your wife; and one of them gone from the faith."

Master Berty answered, that he trusted they should find no fruits of infidelity in her.

So the bishop persuaded master Berty to travail earnestly for the reformation of her opinion; and, offering large friendship, released him of his bond from further appearance.

Berty released from appearing.

The duchess and her husband, daily more and more by their friends understanding that the bishop meant to call her to an account of her faith, whereby extremity might follow, devised ways how, by the queen's license, they might pass the seas. Master Berty had a ready mean; for there rested great sums of money due to the old duke of Suffolk (one of whose executors the duchess was), beyond the seas, the emperor himself being one of those debtors. Master Berty communicated this his purposed suit for license to pass the seas, and the cause, to the bishop, adding, that he took this time most meet to deal with the emperor, by reason of likelihood of marriage between the queen and his son.

Ways practised how to convey the duchess over the seas with the queen's license.

"I like your device well," quoth the bishop; "but I think it better that you tarry the prince's coming, and I will procure you his letters also to his father."

"Nay," quoth master Berty, "under your lordship's correction and pardon of so liberal speech, I suppose the time will then be less convenient: for when the marriage is consummate, the emperor hath his desire; but, till then, he will refuse nothing, to win credit with us."

"By St. Mary," quoth the bishop, smiling, "you guess shrewdly. Well, proceed in your suit to the queen, and it shall not lack my helping hand."

Master Berty found so good success, that he in few days obtained the queen's license, not only to pass the seas, but to pass and repass them so often as to him seemed good, till he had finished all his business and causes beyond the seas. So he passed the seas at Dover about the beginning of June, in the first year of her reign, leaving the duchess behind, who, by agreement and consent betwixt her and her husband, followed, taking barge at Lion-quay, very early in the morning, on the first day of January next ensuing, not without some peril.

Berty licensed to pass the seas.

Preparation made to convey the duchess away.

There were none of those that went with her, made privy to her going till the instant, but an old gentleman, called master Robert Cranwell, whom master Berty had specially provided for that purpose. She took with her her daughter (an infant of one year), and the meanest of her servants, for she doubted the best would not adventure that fortune with her. They were in number four men, one a Greek born, which was a rider of horses, another a joiner, the third a brewer, the fourth a fool, one of the kitchen, one gentlewoman, and a laundress.

Master Cranwell a trusty friend to master Berty. The duchess, with her company, departeth the realm.

As she departed her house called the Barbican, betwixt four and five of the clock in the morning, with her company and baggage, one Atkinson a herald, keeper of her house, hearing noise about the house, rose, and came out with a torch in his hands as she was yet issuing out

The manner of her flying.



*Mary.**A. D.*

1558.

of the gate: wherewith being amazed, she was forced to leave a mail<sup>1</sup> with necessaries for her young daughter, and a milk-pot with milk in the same gatehouse, commanding all her servants to speed them away before, to Lion-quay. And taking with her only the two women and her child, so soon as she was forth of her own house, perceiving the herald to follow, stept in at Charter-house hard by. The herald, coming out of the duchess's house, and seeing nobody stirring, nor assured (though by the mail suspecting) that she was departed, returned in; and while he stayed ransacking parcels left in the mail, the duchess issued into the streets, and proceeded in her journey, she knowing the place only by name, where she should take her boat, but not the way thither, nor any with her. Likewise her servants having divided themselves, none but one knew the way to the said quay.

The duchess with her company taketh barge.

So she appeared like a mean merchant's wife, and the rest like mean servants, walking in the streets unknown. She took the way that led to Finsbury-field, and the others walked the city streets as they lay open before them, till by chance, more than discretion, they met all suddenly together a little within Moorgate, from whence they passed directly to Lion-quay, and there took barge in a morning so misty, that the steerman was loth to launch out, but that they urged him. So soon as the day permitted, the council was informed of her departure; and some of them came forthwith to her house, to inquire of the manner thereof, and took an inventory of her goods, besides further order devised for search and watch to apprehend and stay her.

Pursuit after the duchess.

The duchess retained in master Gosling's house at Leigh, under the name of his daughter.

The fame of her departure reached to Leigh, a town at the land's end,<sup>2</sup> before her approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Gosling, a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwell's, whither the said Cranwell brought the duchess, naming her mistress White, the daughter of master Gosling; for such a daughter he had, which never was in that country. There she reposed her, and made new garments for her daughter, having lost her own in the mail at Barbican.

The hard adventure of the duchess upon the seas.

When the time came that she should take ship, being constrained that night to lie at an inn in Leigh (where she was again almost bewrayed), yet notwithstanding, by God's good working she escaped that hazard. At length, as the tide and wind did serve, they went abroad, and being carried twice into the seas, almost into the coast of Zealand, by contrary wind were driven to the place from whence they came; and, at the last recoil, certain persons came to the shore, suspecting she was within that ship; yet having examined one of her company that was a land for fresh achates,<sup>3</sup> and finding, by the simplicity of his tale, only the appearance of a mean merchant's wife to be a-shipboard, he ceased any further search.

The duchess landed in Brabant. *see Appendix.*

To be short, so soon as the duchess had landed in Brabant, she and her women were apparelled like the women of the Netherlands with hukes; and so she and her husband took their journey towards Cleveland, and being arrived at a town therein called Santon, took a house there, until they might further devise of some sure place, where to settle themselves.

About five miles from Santon, is a free town called Wesell, under

(1) "Mail," a kind of portmanteau.—ED.

(2) "The land's end," i. e. the Essex shore.—ED.

(3) "Achates," provision.—ED.

the said duke of Cleve's dominion, and one of the Hans towns, privileged with the company of the Steelyard in London, whither divers Walloons were fled for religion, and had for their minister one Francis Perusell, then called Francis de Rivers, who had received some courtesy in England at the duchess's hands. Master Berty, being yet at Santon, practised with him to obtain a protection from the magistrates for his abode and his wife's at Wesell; which was the sooner procured, because the state of the duchess was not discovered, but only to the chief magistrate, earnestly bent to show them pleasure, while this protection was in seeking.

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A protection procured for the duchess, of the magistrate of Wesell.

In the mean while, at the town of Santon was a muttering that the duchess and her husband were greater personages than they gave themselves forth; and the magistrates not very well inclined to religion, the bishop of Arras also being dean of the great minster, order was taken, that the duchess and her husband should be examined of their condition and religion upon the sudden. Which practice discovered by a gentleman of that country to master Berty, he without delay, taking no more than the duchess, her daughter, and two others with them, as though he meant no more but to take the air, about three of the clock in the afternoon in February, on foot, without hiring of horse or waggon for fear of disclosing his purpose, meant to get privily that night to Wesell, leaving his other family still at Santon.

After the duchess and he were one English mile from the town, there fell a mighty rain of continuance, whereby a long frost and ice, before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more the weariness of those new lacquies. But, being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they sent their two servants (which only went with them) to villages as they passed, to hire some car for their ease, but none could be hired. In the mean time master Berty was forced to carry the child, and the duchess his cloak and rapier. At last, betwixt six and seven of the clock in the dark night, they came to Wesell, and repairing to the inns for lodging, and some repose after such a painful journey, found hard entertainment; for going from inn to inn offering large money for small lodging, they were refused of all the innholders, suspecting master Berty to be a lance-knight, and the duchess to be his woman. The child for cold and sustenance cried pitifully; the mother wept as fast; the heavens rained as fast as the clouds could pour.

The hard entertainment of master Berty, and the duchess, at their returning into Wesell.

Master Berty, destitute of all other succour of hospitality, resolved to bring the duchess to the porch of the great church in the town, and so to buy coals, victuals, and straw for their miserable repose there that night, or at least till by God's help he might provide her better lodging. Master Berty at that time understood not much Dutch, and by reason of evil weather and late season of the night, he could not happen upon any that could speak English, French, Italian, or Latin; till at last going towards the church-porch, he heard two striplings talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two stivers to bring him to some Walloon's house.

God's providence in time of distress.

By these boys, and God's good conduct, he chanced at the first upon the house where master Perusell supped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magistrates of that town. At

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.The  
meeting  
of master  
Peruseli  
and the  
duchess  
at Wesell.

the first knock, the good man of the house himself came to the door, and opening it, asked master Berty what he was. Master Berty said, "An Englishman, that sought for one master Perusell's house." The Walloon willed master Berty to stay a while, who went back, and told master Perusell, that the same English gentleman, of whom they had talked the same supper, had sent by likelihood his servant to speak with him. Whereupon master Perusell came to the door, and beholding master Berty, the duchess, and their child, their faces, apparels, and bodies so far from their old form, deformed with dirt, weather, and heaviness, could not speak to them, nor they to him, for tears. At length recovering themselves, they saluted one another, and so together entered the house, God knoweth full joyfully; master Berty changing his apparel with the good man, the duchess with the good wife, and their child with the child of the house.

The citi-  
zens of  
Wesell  
admo-  
nished by  
their  
preacher,  
of their  
hardness  
towards  
strangers.*See  
Appendix.*Friendly  
part of  
sir John  
Mason to-  
wards the  
duchess.  
A train  
laid by  
Paget and  
Brunswick.Berty and  
the duch-  
ess re-  
move to  
Winds-  
heim,  
under the  
Palsgrave.The help-  
ing hand  
of the  
Lord  
again  
in their  
necessity.John  
Alasco a  
means to  
the king  
of Poland,  
for the  
duchess  
of Suff-  
olk.

Within few days after, by master Perusell's means, they hired a very fair house in the town, and did not let to show themselves what they were, in such good sort as their present condition permitted. It was by this time through the whole town what discourtesy the inn-holders had showed unto them at their entry, insomuch as on the Sunday following, a preacher in the pulpit openly, in sharp terms, rebuked that great incivility toward strangers, by allegation of sundry places out of holy Scriptures, discoursing how not only princes sometimes are received in the image of private persons, but angels in the shape of men; and that God of his justice would make them strangers one day in another land, to have more sense of the afflicted heart of a stranger.

The time thus passing forth, as they thought themselves thus happily settled, suddenly a watch-word came from sir John Mason, then queen Mary's ambassador in the Netherlands, that my lord Paget had feigned an errand to the baths that way: and whereas the duke of Brunswick was shortly with ten ensigns to pass by Wesell, for the service of the house of Austria against the French king, the said duchess and her husband should be with the same charge and company intercepted. Wherefore, to prevent the cruelty of these enemies, master Berty with his wife and child departed to a place called Windsheim, in high Dutchland, under the Palsgrave's dominion; where, under his protection, they continued till their necessities began to fail them, and they, almost fainting under so heavy a burden, began to fail of hope.

At that time, in the midst of their despair, there came suddenly letters to them from the palatine of Wilna, and the king of Poland (being instructed of their hard estate by a baron, named John Alasco, that was sometime in England), offering them large courtesy. This provision unlooked for, greatly revived their heavy spirits; yet, considering they should remove from many their countrymen and acquaintance, to a place so far distant, a country not haunted with the English, and perhaps upon their arrival not finding as they looked for, the end of their journey should be worse than the beginning; they devised thereupon with one master Barlow, late bishop of Chichester, that if he would vouchsafe to take some pains therein, they would make him a fellow of that journey. So, finding him prone, they sent with him letters of great thanks to the king and palatine;

and also with a few principal jewels (which only they had left of many), to solicit for them, that the king would vouchsafe under his seal, to assure them of the thing which he so honourably by letters offered.

Mary.

A. D.  
1558.

That suit, by the forwardness of the palatine, was as soon granted as uttered; upon which assurance the said duchess and her husband, with their family, entered the journey in April, 1557, from the castle of Windsheim, where they before lay, towards Frankfort: in the which their journey, it were long here to describe what dangers fell by the way upon them and their whole company, by reason of their landgrave's captain, who, under a quarrel pretended for a spaniel of master Berty's, set upon them in the highway with his horsemen, thrusting their boar-spears through the waggon where the children and women were, master Berty having but four horsemen with him. In the which brabble it happened the captain's horse to be slain under him.

The palatine of Wilna, a great friend to the duchess. Troubles happening to her in her journey to Poland.

Whereupon a rumour was sparsed immediately through towns and villages about, that the landgrave's captain should be slain by certain Walloons, which incensed the ire of the countrymen there more fiercely against master Berty, as afterward it proved. For as he was motioned by his wife to save himself by the swiftness of his horse, and to recover some town thereby for his rescue, he, so doing, was in worse case than before; for the townsmen and the captain's brother, supposing no less but that the captain had been slain, pressed so eagerly upon him, that he had been there taken and murdered among them, had not he (as God would), spying a ladder leaning to a window, by the same got up into the house, and so gone up into a garret in the top of the house, where he with his dagge and rapier defended himself for a space; but at length, the burgomaster coming thither with another magistrate which could speak Latin, he was counselled to submit himself to the order of the law. Master Berty, knowing himself clear, and the captain to be alive, was the more bold to submit himself to the judgment of the law, upon condition that the magistrate would receive him under safe-conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promised, master Berty putteth himself and his weapon into the magistrate's hand, and so was committed to safe custody, while the truth of his cause should be tried.

See  
Appendix.

Then master Berty, writing his letters to the landgrave, and to the earl of Erpach, the next day early in the morning the earl of Erpach, dwelling within eight miles, came to the town whither the duchess was brought with her waggon, master Berty also being in the same town, under custody.

The earl, who had some intelligence of the duchess before, after he was come and had showed such courtesy as he thought to her estate was seemly, the townsmen perceiving the earl to behave himself so humbly unto her, began to consider more of the matter; and further, understanding the captain to be alive, both they, and especially the authors of the stir, shrank away, and made all the friends they could to master Berty and his wife, not to report their doings after the worst sort.

Master Berty, with the duchess, honourably entertained of the king of Poland.

And thus master Berty and his wife, escaping that danger, proceeded in their journey toward Poland, where in conclusion they were



*Mary.* quietly entertained of the king, and placed honourably in the earldom of the said king of Poland, in Sanogelia, called Crozan,<sup>1</sup> where master *A. D.* Berty with the duchess, having the king's absolute power of govern-  
*1558.* ment over the said earldom, continued both in great quietness and honour, till the death of queen Mary.

#### A STORY OF THOMAS HORTON, MINISTER.

As ye have heard of the dangerous trouble of the duchess of Suffolk in the time of her exile for religion's sake, whom notwithstanding the Lord's present protection still delivered in all distresses, as well from her enemies in England, as in Dutchland from the lance-knights there: so have we no less to behold and magnify the Lord's merciful goodness in preserving of Thomas Horton from the like perils of the same country; which Thomas Horton, what a profitable instrument he was to the church of Christ in queen Mary's time, all our Englishmen almost, beyond the seas then, did both know and feel.

This good Thomas Horton, as he used oftentimes to travel between Germany and England, for the behoof and sustenance of the poor English exiles there: so he, journeying upon a time between Maestricht and Cologne, chanced to be taken there by certain rovers; and so, being led by them away, was in no little danger: and yet this danger of his was not so great, but the present help of the Lord was greater to aid and deliver him out of the same.

*See  
Appendix.*

#### THOMAS SPRAT, OF KENT, TANNER.

Unto these afore-rehearsed examples of God's blessed providence towards his servants, may also be added the happy deliverance of Thomas Sprat and William Porrege his companion, now minister; whose story briefly to course over, is this.

*Brent, a  
persecu-  
tor.*

This Thomas Sprat had been servant sometime to one master Brent, a justice, and a heavy persecutor; and therefore, forsaking his master for religion's sake, he went to Calais, from whence he used often with the said William Porrege, for their necessary affairs, to have recourse into England.

*The two  
Blachen-  
dens in  
Kent per-  
secutors.*

It so happened, about the fourth year of queen Mary's reign, that they, landing upon a time at Dover, and taking their journey together toward Sandwich, suddenly, upon the way, within three miles of Dover, met with the foresaid master Brent, the two Blachendens, and other gentlemen more, with their servants, to the number of ten or twelve horses: of the which two Blachendens, being both haters and enemies of God's word and people, the one had perfect knowledge of William Porrege; the other had not seen him, but only had heard of his name before.

*Sprat al-  
most  
taken in  
the way  
by the  
justice.*

Thus they, being in the way where this justice with his mates should meet them directly in the face, Thomas Sprat, first espying master Brent, was sore dismayed, saying to his companion, "Yonder is master Brent, William Porrege; God have mercy upon us!" "Well," quoth the other, "seeing now there is no remedy, let us go on our way." And so thinking to pass by them, they kept themselves aloof, as it were a score off from them, Thomas Sprat also shadowing his face with his cloak.

(1) It may be supposed that Samogitia, called, in Polish, *Xięstwo Zmudskie*, is intended.—*Ed.*

Notwithstanding, one of master Brent's servants advising him better than his master did, "Yonder," said he to his master, "is Thomas Sprat:" at which words they all reined their horses, and called for Thomas Sprat to come to them. "They call you," said William Porrege. "Now here is no remedy but we are taken." And so persuaded him to go to them being called, for that there was no escaping from so many horsemen in those plains and downs, where was no wood near them by a mile, nor hedge neither, but only one, which was a bird-bolt shot off.

*Mary.**A. D.**1558.*

Sprat  
called of  
the jus-  
tice, but  
would not  
come.

*See  
Appendix.*

All this notwithstanding, Sprat staid, and would not go. Then they called again, sitting still on horseback. "Ah, sirrah," quoth the justice, "why come ye not hither?" And still his companion moved him to go, seeing there was no other shift to flee away. "Nay," said Sprat, "I will not go to them;" and therewithal took to his legs, running to the hedge that was next him. They, seeing that, set spurs to their horses, thinking by and by to have him, and that it was impossible for him to escape their hands; as it was indeed, they being on horseback, and he on foot, had not the Lord miraculously delivered his silly servant from the gaping mouth of the lion ready to devour him. For as God would, so it fell out that he had got over the hedge, scrawling through the bushes, when they were even at his heels, striking at him with their swords; one of the Blachendens crying cruelly, "Cut off one of his legs!"

God  
always  
stronge.  
than the  
devil.

Thus Sprat had scarcely recovered the hedge from his enemies, when one of master Brent's servants, which had been fellow sometime in house with him, followed him in his boots; and certain rode up at one side of the hedge, and certain at the other, to meet him at the upper end.

Sprat  
getteth  
over the  
hedge  
from his  
persecu-  
tors.

Now while they were following the chase after Thomas Sprat, only one remained with William Porrege (who was one of the Blachendens; not he which knew him, but the other), who began to question with him, not asking what was his name (as God would), for then he had been known and taken: but from whence he came, and how he came into Sprat's company, and whither he went? Unto whom he answered and said, From Calais, and that Sprat came over with him in the passage-boat, and they two were going to Sandwich; and so without any more questions he let him depart.

Anon, as he kept along the hedge, one of the horsemen which rode after Sprat, returning back, and meeting with the said William Porrege, demanded the very same questions as the other had done, to whom he made also the like answer as afore; and so departed, taking another contrary way from the meeting of the other horsemen. And thus William Porrege escaped.

Porrege  
escapeth.

Now concerning Thomas Sprat, he being pursued on the one side by horsemen, and on the other side by his own fellow, who followed after him in his boots, crying, "You were as good to tarry, for we will have you, we will have you." Yet notwithstanding, he kept still on his course, till at length he came to a steep down-hill at the hedge-end, down the which hill he ran from them; for they could not ride down the hill, but must fetch a great compass about. And so this Thomas Sprat ran almost a mile, and (as God would) got a wood.

The Lord  
disposing  
the way  
of his  
servants.

*Mary.*A.D.  
1558.Sprat  
delivered  
by God's  
help.

By that time he came to the wood, they were even at his heels : but the night drew on, and it began to rain, and so the malice of these persecutors was at an end, the Lord working for his servants, whose name be praised for ever and ever, Amen.

Not long after this, one of the two Blachendens aforesaid, which so cruelly sought the destruction of others, was cruelly murdered by his own servants.

## THE TROUBLE OF JOHN CORNET.

Here might also be recited the hard adventures and sufferings of John Cornet, and at length his deliverance, by God's good working, but of the same ; who, being a prentice with a minstrel at Colchester, was sent by his master about the second year of queen Mary's reign, to a wedding in a town there by, called Rough-hedge, where he, being requested by a company there of good men, the constables also of the parish being present thereat, to sing some songs of the Scripture, chanced to sing a song called "News out of London," which tended against the mass, and against the queen's mis-proceedings.

The  
parson of  
Rough-  
hedge,  
perse-  
cutor.  
The  
mother  
against  
her own  
son.

Whereupon the next day he was accused by the parson of Rough-hedge, called Yacksley ; and so committed, first to the constable, where both his master gave him over, and his mother forsook and cursed him. From thence he was sent to the next justice, named master Cannall, and then to the earl of Oxford, where he was first put in irons and chains, and after that so manacled, that the blood spirted out of his fingers' ends, because he would not confess the names of them which allured him to sing.

Cornet  
whipped  
out of the  
town, and  
so ba-  
nished.

And marvel it was that the cruel papists were so contented, that they sent him not also to bishop Bonner, to suffer the extremity of the fire. But God's gracious providence disposed otherwise for his servant : for after he was manacled, the earl commanded him to be brought again to the town of Rough-hedge, and there to be whipped till the blood followed, and to be banished the town for ever : and so he was, during all the time of queen Mary.

See  
Appendix.

## THOMAS BRYCE.

Thomas  
Bryce  
pre-  
served.

If our story should proceed so wide and so large, as did the exceeding mercy of God's providence in helping his servants out of wretchedness and thralldom of those bloody days, our treatise (I think) would extend to an endless process. For what good man or woman, was there almost in all this time of queen Mary, who either in carrying a good conscience out of the land, or tarrying within the realm, could well escape the papists' hands, but by some notable experience of the Lord's mighty power and helping hand working for him ? What should I here speak of the miraculous deliverance of Thomas Bryce ? who, being in the house of John Seal, in the parish of Horting, and the bailiff with other neighbours coming in, sent by sir John Baker to search and apprehend him, and knowing perfectly both his stature and colour of his garments, yet had no power to see or know him standing before their faces. So mightily the Lord did blind their eyes, that they asking for him, and looking upon him, yet notwithstanding he quietly took up his bag of books,

God  
blindeth  
the eyes  
of them  
which  
sought  
for Bryce,  
that they  
could not  
see him

and so departed out of the house without any hand laid upon him. *Mary.*

Also another time, about the second year of queen Mary, the said Thomas Bryce, with John Bryce his elder brother, coming then from Wesel, meeting together at their father's house, as they journeyed towards London, to give warning there to one Springfield, which else was like to be taken unawares by his enemies, waiting for him upon Gad's-hill, fell in company with a promoter, who dogged them and followed them again to Gravesend, into the town, and laid the house for them where they were, and all the ways as they should go to the water's side; so that it had not been possible for them to have avoided the present danger of those persecutors, had not the Lord's provident care otherwise disposed for his servants, through the hosteler of the inn, covertly to convey them by a secret passage; whereby they took barge a mile out of the town, and so in the end both the lives of them, and also of Springfield were preserved, through the Lord's gracious protection.

A.D.  
1558.

Another  
story of  
Thomas  
Bryce  
and his  
brother.

Thomas  
and John  
Bryce  
delivered  
by God's  
good  
means  
and pro-  
tection.

#### GERTRUDE CROKHAY.

Gertrude Crockhay dwelling at St. Katherine's by the Tower of London, and being then in her husband's house, it happened in the year 1556, that the pope's childish St. Nicholas went about the parish; which she understanding, shut her door against him, not suffering him to enter into her house.

The  
trouble  
and de-  
liverance  
of Ger-  
trude  
Crockhay

Then Dr. Mallet hearing thereof, and being then master of the said St. Katherine's,<sup>1</sup> the next day came to her with twenty at his tail, thinking belike to fray her, and asked why she would not the night before let in St. Nicholas, and receive his blessing, etc.: to whom she answered thus: "Sir, I know no St. Nicholas," said she, "that came lither." "Yces," quoth Mallet, "here was one that represented St. Nicholas."

"Indeed, sir," said she, "there was one that was my neighbour's child, but not St. Nicholas; for St. Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him, to have had my purse cut by them: for I have heard of men robbed by St. Nicholas's clerks, etc. So Mallet, perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and she for that time so escaped.

Then, in the year 1557, a little before Whitsuntide, it happened that the said Gertrude answered for a child that was baptized of one Thomas Saunders, which child was christened secretly in a house after the order of the service-book in king Edward's time; and that being shortly known to her enemies, she was sought for; who, understanding nothing thereof, went beyond the sea into Gelderland, to see certain lands that should come to her children in the right of her first husband, who was a stranger born: and being there about a quarter of a year, at the length coming homeward by Antwerp, she chanced to meet with one John Johnson, a Dutchman, alias John de Villa, of Antwerp, shipper, who seeing her there, went of malice to the marriage, and accused her to be an Anabaptist, whereby she was taken and carried to prison. The cause why this naughty man did thus, was,

Another  
trouble of  
the said  
Gertrude  
in Dutch-  
land.

See  
Appendix.

(1) This Dr. Mallet is now dean of Lincoln.



*Mary.* for that he claimed of master Crockhay her husband a piece of money which was not his due, for a ship that master Crockhay bought of him; and for that he could not get it, he wrought this displeasure. Well, she being in prison, lay there a fortnight; in the which time she saw some that were prisoners there, who privily were drowned in Rhenish wine-fats, and after secretly put in sacks, and cast into the river. Now she, good woman, thinking to be so served, took thereby such fear, that it brought the beginning of her sickness, of the which at length she died.

Cruelty in  
Flanders  
used se-  
cretly  
against  
the Chris-  
tians.

Then at the last she was called before the margrave, and charged with Anabaptistry; which she there utterly denied, and detested the error, declaring before him in Dutch her faith boldly, without any fear. So the margrave, hearing the same, in the end being well pleased with her profession, at the suit of some of her friends delivered her out of prison, but took away her book; and so she came over into England again.

Gertrude  
returneth  
unto Eng-  
land.

#### A STORY OF WILLIAM MAULDON.

Mauldon  
accused  
and  
scourged  
for true  
religion.

I lightly pass over here the tedious afflictions of William Mauldon, how in the dangerous time of the Six Articles, before the burning of Anne Askew, he was scourged, being young, of his father, for professing and confessing of true religion; and afterward, being examined in auricular confession by the priest, his books were searched for; and so at length he was presented up by the same priest, in a letter written to the bishop, which letter, had it not been burnt by another priest, to whose hands it came (as the Lord would have it), it had undoubtedly cost him his life.

His pro-  
phesy in  
king  
Henry's  
time.

This one thing in the same William Mauldon is to be noted, that being young in those days of king Henry when the mass most flourished, the altars with the sacrament thereof being in their most high veneration, that to man's reason it might seem impossible that the glory and opinion of that sacrament and sacramentals, so highly worshipped, and so deeply rooted in the hearts of so many, could by any means possible so soon decay and vanish to nought: yet notwithstanding, he being then so young, under the age of seventeen years, by the spirit (no doubt) of prophecy, declared then unto his parents, that they should see it shortly even come to pass, that both the sacrament of the altar, and the altars themselves, with all such plantations which the heavenly Father did not plant, should be plucked up by the roots. And even so, within the space of very few years, the event thereof followed accordingly: the Lord therefore be praised for his most gracious reformation!

#### ROBERT HORNEBY.

Robert  
Horneby,  
through  
God's  
working,  
preserv-  
ed.

I let pass, likewise, the dangerous escape of Robert Horneby, servant sometime, and groom of the chamber to lady Elizabeth, she being then in trouble in queen Mary's days; who, being willed to come to mass, refused so to do, and therefore coming afterward from Woodstock to Hampton Court, was called before the council, and by them committed to the Marshalsea, and not unlike to have sustained further danger, had not the Lord's goodness better provided for him, who at length by Dr. Martin was delivered.

## MISTRESS SANDS.

*Mary.*

A. D.

1558.

Mistress  
Sands  
now lady  
Bartlet  
preserved  
from per-  
secution.

The like, also, may be testified and recorded of mistress Sands, now wife to sir Morrice Bartlet, then gentlewoman-waiter to the said lady Elizabeth, being in the Tower; which mistress Sands denied in like manner to come to mass, and therefore, beside the heavy displeasure of her father, was not only displaced from her room, and put out of the house, but also was in great jeopardy of further trial. But the Lord, who disposeth for every one as he seeth best, wrought her a way out of her enemies' hands by flying over the seas, where she continued amongst other banished exiles in the city of Geneva and of Basle, till the death of queen Mary.

THE STORY OF THOMAS ROSE YET LIVING, A PREACHER OF THE  
AGE OF SEVENTY-SIX YEARS, OF THE TOWN OF LUTON,  
AND IN THE COUNTY OF BEDFORD.

This Thomas Rose a Devonshire man, was born in Exmouth, and being made priest in that country, was brought out of it by one master Fabian, to Polstead, in Suffolk, where the said master Fabian was parson; and in short time after, by his means, was placed in the town of Hadley, where he, first coming to some knowledge of the gospel, began first there to treat upon the creed; and thereupon to take occasion to inveigh against purgatory, praying to saints, and images, about the time that master Latimer began first to preach at Cambridge, in the time of Bilney and Arthur, forty-seven years ago, or thereabout; insomuch that many embracing the truth of Christ's gospel, against the said purgatory and other points, and the number of them daily increasing, the adversaries began to stir against him, insomuch that master Bale (who afterward became a godly zealous man) was then brought to preach against the said Thomas Rose, and so did. This notwithstanding, he continued still very vehemently against images; and the Lord so blessed his labours, that many began to devise how to deface and destroy them, and especially four men, whose names were Robert King, Robert Debnam, Nicholas Marsh, and Robert Gardner, which usually resorted to his sermons, and upon his preaching were so inflamed with zeal, that shortly after they adventured to destroy the rood of Dover-court, which cost three of them their lives, as appeareth before. The three persons which suffered, and were hanged in chains, were offered their lives, to have accused the said Thomas Rose, as of counsel with them, which refused so to do, and therefore suffered. The said Thomas Rose had the coat of the said rood brought unto him afterward, who burnt it. The rood was said to have done many great miracles, and great wonders wrought by him, and yet, being in the fire, could not help himself, but burned like a block, as in very deed he was.

See  
Appendix.

Three  
offered to  
have their  
lives sav-  
ed, to ac-  
cuse Tho-  
mas Rose,  
but would  
not.

At this time there were two sore enemies in Hadley, Walter Clerk, and John Clerk, two brethren: these complained to the council, that a hundred men were not able to fetch the said Thomas Rose out of Hadley, who then was, upon examination of his doctrine, committed to the commissary's keeping. And indeed such was the zeal of a number then in that town towards the truth, that they were

*Mary.*

A.D.

1558.

Thomas  
Rose  
arrested  
by a ser-  
geant-at-  
arms.

*See  
Appendix.*

The cruel  
handling  
of Rose  
by the  
papists.

Rose set  
at liberty  
by Cran-  
mer's  
means.

much offended that their minister was so taken from them, and had therefore by force fetched him from the commissary, if certain wise men had not otherwise persuaded, which at length also, with more quiet, did set him in his office again; which thing so angered the two brethren, Walter Clerk and John Clerk, that they complained to the council, as is aforesaid; whereupon a sergeant-at-arms, named Cartwright, was sent from the council, who arrested the said Thomas Rose, and brought him before the council. Then his adversaries being called, they laid to his charge, that he was privy of the burning of the rood of Dover-court;<sup>1</sup> and upon this he was committed to prison in the bishop of Lincoln's house in Holborn—bishop Longland, the king's confessor; and there remained he in prison, from Shrovetide to Midsummer, very sore stocked till after Easter.

The stocks were very high and great, so that day and night he did lie with his back on the ground, upon a little straw, with his heels so high, that by means the blood was fallen from his feet: his feet were almost without sense for a long time; and he herewith waxed very sick, insomuch that his keeper, pitying his estate, and hearing him cry sometimes, through the extremity of pain, went to the bishop, and told him that he would not keep him to die under his hand; and upon this he had some more ease and liberty. Now at this time his mother was come from Hadley to see him, but she might not be suffered to speak with the said Thomas Rose her son (such was their cruelty); but the bishop flattered her, and gave her a pair of pardon-beds, and bade her go home and pray, for she might not see him; which thing pierced the heart both of the mother and son, not a little. At this time also certain men of Hadley, very desirous to see him, travailed to speak with him, but might not be suffered, till at length they gave the keeper four shillings; and yet then might not speak to him, or see him otherwise than through a grate. And thus continued he till Midsummer, in prison there.

Then was he removed to Lambeth, in the first year of Dr. Cranmer's consecration, who used him much more courteously than ever the bishop of Lincoln did, and at length wrought his deliverance, and set him at liberty; but yet so, that he was bound not to come within twenty miles of Hadley. After this he came to London, and there preached the gospel half a year, till Hadley men, hearing thereof, laboured to have him to Hadley again, and indeed by means of sir John Rainsford, knight, obtained at the archbishop's hand, to have him thither. Howbeit, by means one was placed in the cure at Hadley, he could not enjoy his office again there, but went to Stratford, three miles off, and there continued in preaching the word three years, till at length the adversaries procured an inhibition from the bishop of Norwich, to put him to silence. But a great number travailed to have him continue in preaching, and subscribed a supplication to the archbishop, with seven-score hands, who, under their seals, also testified of his honest demeanour; so that the adversaries this way not prevailing, they indicted him at Bury in Suffolk, so that he was constrained to flee to London, and to use the aid of the lord Audley, then lord chancellor, who removed the matter from them, and called it before him, and after certain examination of the matter, did set

(1) See vol. iv. p. 766—Ed.

him free, and did send him by a token to the lord Cromwell, then lord privy seal, for a license from the king to preach : which thing obtained by the lord Cromwell's means (who hereupon also had admitted the said Thomas Rose his chaplain), forthwith he was sent into Lincolnshire and to York.

*Mary.*

*A. D.*  
*1558.*

*Rose,  
chaplain  
to the  
lord  
Crom-  
well.*

In the mean time such complaint was made to the duke of Norfolk, for that he preached against auricular confession, transubstantiation, and such other points contained in the Six Articles (which then to have done, by law was death), that the duke, in his own person, not only sought him at Norwich, but also beset all the havens for him, from Yarmouth to London ; and, being lieutenant, commanded that whosoever could take the said Thomas Rose, should hang him on the next tree. Howbeit, the said Thomas Rose, at his coming home, having warning hereof by certain godly persons, was conveyed away, and passed over into Flanders, and so to Germany unto Zurich, where a time he remained with master Bullinger ; and afterward went to Basle, and there hosted with master Grinæus, till letters came that master Dr. Barnes should be bishop of Norwich, and things should be reformed and he restored. But when he came into England again, it was nothing so, and therefore forthwith fled again beyond the seas, being so beset, as, if the mighty providence of God had not sent him in a readiness to receive him, the selfsame man, boat, and boy, that before carried him over, it had not been possible for him to have escaped. But such was the goodness of God towards him, that he safely was conveyed, and lived at Arrow the space of three years, till at length, purposing to come over into England, about business that he had, he, his wife, and their child (being but a year and three quarters old), upon the sea, the ship being in great danger, wherein they sailed (for the mast being hewn down in that peril, they were carried whithersoever the waves tossed them), they with divers others made a full account of death. Howbeit, at length they were taken prisoners, and carried into Dieppe in France, having all their stuff taken from them, and forty pounds in money. There they remained prisoners from Michaelmas till Hallowtide, in great heaviness, not knowing what would become of them, but depending only upon God's providence.

*See  
Appendix.*

*The  
mighty  
provi-  
dence of  
God in  
preserv-  
ing him.*

It pleased God at the same time, that one master Young, of the town of Rye (who had heard him preach before), came thither for the redeeming of certain Englishmen there taken prisoners. This master Young, moved to see them in this case, much pitied them, and comforted them, and told them he would pay their ransom ; and so he did, had them away, and brought them to Rye ; and from thence by stealth came they to London. At length the honourable earl of Sussex, hearing of the said Thomas Rose, sent for him, his wife, and his child, and had them to his house at Attleborough, where they continued till at length it was blazed abroad, that the earl was a maintainer of such a man to read in his house, as had preached against the catholic faith (as they term it). The earl, being at the parliament, and hearing thereof, wrote a letter to warn him to make shift for himself, and to avoid : so that from thence he passed to London, making strait shift for a year there, and somewhat more, till the death of king Henry.

*Thomas  
Rose  
again  
delivered.*

After the king's death, he and others who, in the king's general



*Mary.*A.D.  
1558.Thomas  
Rose ap-  
prehend-  
ed.

pardon, were excepted (and therefore dead men, if they had been taken whilst king Henry lived), by certain of the council were set at liberty; and at length, after king Edward was crowned, were licensed to preach again by the king; who gave unto the said Thomas Rose the benefice of West Ham, by London. But at the death of that virtuous and noble prince, he was deprived of all, and so should also have been of his life, had not God appointed him friends, who received him in London secretly, as their teacher in the congregation among whom, for the poor prisoners, at their assemblies ten pound a night oftentimes was gathered. And thus he continued amongst them, and with the lady Vane, almost a year in the reign of queen Mary. But although he oftentimes escaped secretly, whilst he read to the godly in sundry places of London, yet at length, through a Judas that betrayed them, he, with thirty-five that were with him, were taken in Bow-church-yard, at a shearman's house, on New-year's-day at night, being Tuesday. The residue being committed to prisons, the said Thomas Rose was had to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner; but the bishop would not speak with him that night, but committed him to the Clink till Tuesday after.<sup>1</sup>

### The First Examination of Thomas Rose, before Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, at St. Mary Overy's.

On Thursday, being brought before the bishop of Winchester, at St. Mary Overy's, the said Thomas Rose spake as followeth.

"It maketh me to marvel, my lord," quoth he, "that I should be thus troubled for that which by the word of God hath been established, and by the laws of this realm allowed, and by your own writing so notably, in your book 'De vera Obedientia,' confirmed."

*Winchester* :—"Ah, sirrah! hast thou gotten that?"

*Rose* :—"Yea, my lord, I thank God, and do confess myself much thereby confirmed: for as touching the doctrine of the supremacy, against the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, no man hath said further. And, as I remember, you confess in it, that when this truth was revealed unto you, you thought the scales to fall from your eyes."

*Winchester* :—"Thou liest like a varlet; there is no such thing in my book, but I shall handle thee, and such as thou art, well enough. I have long looked for thee, and at length have caught thee. I will know who be thy maintainers, or else I will make thee a foot longer."

*Rose* :—"My lord, you shall do as much as pleaseth God, and no more; yet the law is in your hand: but I have God for my maintainer, and none other." At these words, one of his servants stepped forth, and said, "My lord, I heard this man preach by Norwich, in sir John Robster's house; and in his prayer he desired God to turn queen Mary's heart, or else to take her out of the world; and this was in king Edward's time."

*Rose* :—"My lord, I made no such prayer, but next after the king I prayed for her after this sort, saying, 'Ye shall pray for my lady Mary's grace, that God will vouchsafe to endue her with his Spirit, that she graciously may perceive the mysteries contained within his holy laws; and so render unto him her heart purified with true faith, and true and loyal obedience to her sovereign lord and king, to the good ensample of the inferior subjects.' And this, my lord, is already answered in mine own hand-writing to the council." Unto this he said little, but turning his face to certain that were by him, "This is he," quoth the bishop, "that my lord of Norwich told me, had begotten his maid with child."

*Rose* :—"This is no heresy, my lord, although it be a lie. Indeed certain wicked persons raised this report of me, for the hatred they bare to the doctrine which I preached: but for purgation of myself herein, I had no less than six of the council's hands, that there might be due and diligent examination for this matter in the country by men of worship appointed for that purpose, who can all testify (I thank God), that I am most clear from such wickedness; and

Rose  
belied of  
Winches-  
ter.

(1) See Appendix. - Ed.

indeed they have cleared me from it. And therefore I doubt not, but all good men will espy the mischievous device of mine adversaries, which (when other ways failed) by such sinister means went about to draw me into discredit and hatred. But God, which is the helper of the innocent, and searcher of men's hearts, hath and doth defend me, and hath laid open things that were hid, to their shame. One of the chief reporters of this, that I should so abuse myself, was one master Clark, servant, and in some estimation, with the old lord treasurer of England, reputed and taken for a conjuror, who afterward, for his good demerits hanged himself in the Tower."—Then the bishop commanded that I should be carried to the Tower, and kept safely, where I did lie till it was the week before Whitsuntide; after which time I was twice called, when the bishop came to the Tower about other prisoners. Notwithstanding, the bishop had no great talk with me, but spake friendly. Howbeit, one sir Richard Southwell, knight, still accused me for my prayer, and said I did put a difference betwixt lady Mary and lady Elizabeth, for that I prayed in king Edward's faith, and prayed that he would confirm lady Elizabeth in that which was well begun in her. Unto this the bishop said little. But in the week before Pentecost, I was conveyed from the Tower to Norwich, there to be examined by the bishop and his clergy, as concerning my faith, the manner whereof here followeth.

*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.Clear  
from  
Winches-  
ter's  
slander.Committed to the  
Tower.

The Second Examination of Thomas Rose before the Bishop of Norwich, Hopton by name, in his own Palace, in the presence of Sir W. Woodhouse, Knight, Master Steward the Chancellor, Dr. Barret, with divers others, the Wednesday in Whitsun-week, A.D. 1553.

*Ser  
Appendix.*

After I was presented by my keeper, the bishop immediately asked me what I was. I told him I had been a minister.

*Bishop* :—"What is this to the purpose: were ye a friar or a priest?"

*Rose* :—"Friar was I never; but a priest have I been, and beneficed by the king's majesty."

*Bishop* :—"Where were ye made priest?"

*Rose* :—"In Exeter, in the county where I was born." Then the bishop required of me my letters of orders. I told him I knew not where they were become, for they were things of me not greatly regarded.

*Bishop* :—"Well, you are sent to me to be examined; what say you, will you submit yourself to the order of the church of England?"

*Rose* :—"My lord, I trust I am not out of the order of Christ's church in England, neither do I know myself an offender there-against."

*Bishop* :—"What! yes, ye have here preached most damnable and devilish doctrine."

*Rose* :—"Not so, my lord. The doctrine by me here preached, was both true, sincere, and holy. But indeed the doctrine that is now set forth, is most wicked and damnable, yea, and that both against God's laws and man's. But as for the doctrine by me preached, it is grounded upon the word of God, set out also by the authority of two most mighty kings, with the consent of all the nobility and clergy of the same; so that I preached nothing but their lawful proceedings, having their lawful authority under their broad seals, for confirmation of the same, for which my doing ye cannot justly charge me. For why, since the law ceased, I have kept silence, so that the council which sent me unto you, have not charged me therewith. Wherefore ye do me open wrong, to burden me with that wherein I am free."

*Chancellor* :—"What sir? ye are very captious; answerest thou my lord after such a sort?"

"Sir," said I, "I answer for myself, and according to the truth: wherewith ye ought not to be offended, if ye be of God."

*Chancellor* :—"Thou art an evil man. Wast thou not abjured before now?"

*Rose* :—"No, ye untruly report me, and are in no wise able to prove that which ye have spoken: so that your words appear to proceed altogether of malice, which I have not deserved at your hands. But in this I well perceive ye are made an instrument to utter other men's malice, conceived of old."

*Chancellor* :—"What say you to the real presence in the sacrament?"

*Rose* :—"I wist right well ye were made an instrument to seek innocent

*Mary.* blood : well, ye may have it, if God permit ; it is present at hand, for I have not come hither to lie, but to die (if God see it good), in defence of that which I have said. Wherefore ye may begin when ye shall think good, for I have said nothing but the truth, and that which in those days was of all men allowed for truth, and against the which ye at that time durst not once whisper, although ye now brag never so much."

"Well, father Rose," said the bishop, "whatsoever hath been done in times past, shall not now be called in question, so that ye now submit yourself. For not only you, but all the whole realm hath been out of the right way, both high and low, spiritual and temporal : but all, notwithstanding, have submitted themselves, and acknowledged their faith. Wherefore, if ye will be accounted for an Englishman, ye must likewise submit yourself."

How  
Thomas  
Rose  
submit-  
teth him-  
self.

*Rose* :—"My lord, I am an Englishman born, and do most humbly require of the christian congregation of England, to be counted as a particular member of the same, and with all due reverence submit myself as in the form and manner following : That whatsoever law or laws shall be set forth in the same, for the establishment of Christ's true religion, and that according to the faith and doctrine of the holy patriarchs and prophets, Jesus Christ, and his holy apostles, with the faithful fathers of Christ's primitive church. I do not only hold it and believe it, but also most reverently obey it." At which my assertion, the bishop seemed to be greatly rejoiced, and said, "Well, then we shall soon be at a point. But," said he, "you shall take this for no day of examination, but rather of communication, so that ye shall now depart and pause yourself, until we call for you again." And so ended our first meeting.

### The Third Examination of Thomas Rose.

On the Friday following, I was called again into Christ's-church within their Lady's chapel (as they termed it), where was gathered a great part of the whole city of Norwich. And after I was by my keeper presented, the bishop began with a great protestation ; and after many words, demanded of me, whether according to my former promise, I would submit myself or no. I answered as before I had done, that according to my former protestation, I would most gladly obey. Then said the chancellor (to utter his gentleness), "I think you do but feign."

"The fault then," said I, "shall be in yourself, and not in me. For if ye burden me with nothing but Scriptures, and the fathers of Christ's primitive church, then, as I said before, so I say again, I shall most gladly obey."

*Chancellor* :—"Well then, seeing you challenge to be a member of the church of England, your mother here, for a trial of obedience, provoketh you, as mothers are wont to allure you, to receive this little gift at her hand."

"Forsooth," said I, "if she offer it me as received of God my Father, I shall gladly receive it, as from the hand of my very true and ghostly mother."

Auricular  
confes-  
sion.

*Chancellor* :—"What say you to ear-confession ? Is it not a law ecclesiastical, and necessary for the church of England ?"

*Rose* :—"Some ways it might be permitted, and some ways not ; and that because it had not its original of God and his blessed word. And yet I deny not, but that a man being troubled in his conscience, and resorting to a discreet, sober, and christian learned man, for the quieting of his mind, might well be permitted. But to bind a man under pain of damnation, once every year, to number his sins into the ears of a filthy lecherous priest, is not of God, neither can be approved by his word."

*Bishop* :—"Ah, sirrah ! ye will admit nothing but Scripture, I see well."

Nothing  
but Scrip-  
ture to be  
admitted  
for the  
regiment  
of the  
soul.

*Rose* :—"No truly, my lord, I admit nothing but Scripture for the regiment of the soul : for why, faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God ; and where the word of God is not, there ought no belief to be given. For whatsoever is not of faith is sin." And here they left off speaking any more of that matter.

But then master chancellor began to whet his teeth at me, saying, "Yea, but you have preached, that the real, natural, and substantial presence of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar : what say ye to that ?"

*Rose* :—"Verily, I say, that you are a bloody man, and seek to quench your thirst with the blood of an innocent ; and therefore, to satisfy you in that behalf, I say verily unto you, that even so I have here preached. And although, con-

trary to law, you charge me with the same, yet will I in no wise deny it, though justly I might do it, but stand thereunto, even to seal it with my blood, desiring all that be here present, to testify the same, and believe it as the only truth."

*Bishop* :—" I charge you all to believe it not."

"Yea, but my lord," said I, "if ye will needs have credence given you, you must bring God's word to maintain your sayings."

*Bishop* :—" Why, doth not Christ say, 'This is my body?' and can there be any plainer words spoken?"

*Rose* :—" It is true, my lord, the words be as plain as can be, and even so be these, where it is said, I am a door, a vine. And Christ is called a stone, a lion, and yet is he naturally none of these : for they be all figurative speeches, as both the Scriptures and fathers do sufficiently prove."

At which my saying, the bishop would have had me stay, saying, I should have another day, wherein I might take better advisement.

"Not so, my lord," said I, "for I am at a full point with myself in that matter, and am right well able to prove both your transubstantiation, with the real presence, to be against the Scriptures and the ancient fathers of the primitive church. For Justin, which is one of the ancientest writers that ever wrote upon the sacraments, writeth in his second Apology, that the bread, water, and wine in the sacrament, are not to be taken as other meats and drinks, but be meats purposely ordained to give thanks unto God, and therefore be called eucharistia, and also have the names of the body and blood of Christ ; and that it is not lawful for any man to eat and drink of them, but such as profess the religion of Christ, and live also according to their profession. And yet (saith he) the same bread and drink is changed into our flesh and blood, and nourisheth our bodies. By which saying it is evident that Justin meant, that the bread and wine remain still, or else they could not have been turned into our flesh and blood, and nourish our bodies." At which my saying they were not a little troubled, but enforced themselves to have denied the doctor, and would suffer me to speak no more, but straightway was I carried away unto my lodging. And so ended the second day of mine appearance, which was the Friday in Whitsun-week ; and then was I appointed to appear again on the Monday following. Howbeit, upon what occasion I know not, it was deferred unto the Wednesday, which was Corpus-Christi-even.

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Transubstantiation and real presence against the Scriptures and the ancient fathers of the primitive church.

### His Talk with the Earl of Sussex, Sir William Woodhouse, and the Bishop's Chaplains.

In the mean time the bishop sent two of his chaplains to me, with whom I had communication about the real presence : and after long reasoning to and fro, concerning this point, at length I drave them to this issue : whether they did confess that Christ, in the selfsame body which was conceived of the Virgin Mary, and wherein he suffered and rose again, doth, in the selfsame body, naturally, substantially, and really, sit at the right hand of God the Father, without return from thence, until the day of the general judgment, or not? Whereunto they answered, "Yes, truly," said they, "we confess it, hold it, and believe it." Then I again demanded of them, whether they did affirm, after the words pronounced by the minister, there to remain flesh, blood, bones, hair, nails, as is wont most grossly to be preached, or not? And they with great deliberation answered, that they did not only abhor the teaching of such gross doctrine, but also would detest themselves, if they should so think.

At which two principal points, wherein they fully confirmed my doctrine which I ever taught, I was not a little comforted and rejoiced, but marvellously encouraged. Whereupon I demanded again of them, what manner of body they then affirmed to be in the sacrament? "Forsooth," said they, "not a visible, palpable, or circumscribable body, for that is always at the Father's right hand : but in the sacrament it is invisible, and can neither be felt, seen, nor occupy any place, but is there by the omnipotency of God's word they know not how. And for this they brought in St. Augustine, although of them not truly understood, yet would they admit none other sense than their own, but would take upon them to confirm it with Martin Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and Calvin : so that I, perceiving their obstinacy in that behalf, gave them over for that time, and afterward talked with Dr. Barret, whom I also found of the same judgment

The papists affirm the real body of Christ to be in the sacrament, but they know not how.



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in that behalf: "for," said he, "if ye should dissent from the fathers of the primitive church in this behalf, of which St. Augustine is one, ye shall be counted to die out of the favour of God." Well, all this their obstinacy and blasphemous errors imprinted and deeply weighed in my mind, I gave them all over. And the more quietly to bring them to confess that openly, which they unto me had granted privately, I granted them according to the Scriptures, and my former protestation, a presence, although not as they supposed.

After all this, came there unto me the honourable earl of Sussex, and that gentle knight, sir William Woodhouse, with great persuasions: unto whom I said, after long talk, that I would do all that I might, saving my conscience, which I would in no wise pollute; and no more I have, as knoweth God by whom all men must be judged.

### His Last Appearance before the Bishop.

Now, to come to my last appearance, after I was before the bishop presented, he forthwith demanded of me, whether I were resolved, as he had heard say. To whom I answered, that even as always I had said before, even so I was now. Unto whom, by low bowing my knee, I gave my due reverence, and the rather for that the honourable earl of Sussex was there; wherewith some which would be counted great gospellers, were (contrary to all Christianity) sore offended. Then I said, that whatsoever laws were set forth for the establishment of Christ's true religion, and that according to the doctrine of Christ's holy apostles, and the faithful fathers of the primitive church, I did not only obey them, but must earnestly embrace and believe them. Yea, and yet to the further blinding of their eyes, I said, that if any thing could justly be proved by God's holy word, by me heretofore preached, or taught untruly, either for lack of learning, slide of tongue, or of ignorance; yet by better knowledge when it shall justly be tried and examined by the same, I shall not refuse (the thing perfectly approved) to revoke the same: provided always, the word of God herein to be judge.

All this spake I (as God knoweth) to keep them from suspecting that which I went about, and that they should have none occasion to judge me of obstinacy. Then said I moreover, "All you must of force confess, that the doctrine by me heretofore preached, had, besides the authority of God's eternal verity, the authority of two most noble and mighty princes, with the advice and counsel of all the nobility and clergy of the same, and that with great deliberation from time to time, with open disputations in both the universities, enacted also by parliament with the consent of the whole body and commons of the same, and that without any resistance or gainsaying established, as a religion most pure and perfect, most earnestly and sincerely preached by the principal bishops and doctors, and that before the king's majesty's person. And I, as one being called to that office, did the like with all the rest, and, in the zeal of God and with a pure conscience, did set forth the same, as the only and absolute truth of God, and the just and most true proceedings of my sovereign lord and king. And I had then my head, at that present, even where it now standeth, betwixt mine ears, altogether applying the same, to apprehend with all diligence that which then was established and taught, as the only and absolute truth, and a thing unto me most desirable, and well liking, without any desire to hear the contrary, till now, through this my captivity, I am compelled to hear the contrary part speak, who are even here present, and which my lord sent unto me.

"Of whom, after long disputations privately to and fro before this time had betwixt us, at length I have heard of them a contrary doctrine, which I never before had heard; and therefore must confess mine own ignorance in the same. For," quoth I, "after I had enforced these men here present" (meaning the bishop's two chaplains) "to confess Jesus Christ's natural body with his full complete members in due order and proportion of a perfect man's body to be present at the right hand of God the Father, and that without return from thence, until the last judgment, and also that after the words pronounced by the priest, there remaineth no such gross presence of flesh, blood, bones, hair, and nails, as was wont to be preached; but that after I had demanded of them what manner of body they affirmed to be present, they said, 'A body invisible by the omnipotency of God's word, which neither can be felt nor seen, nor that hath any distinction of members, but such a body as occupieth no place, but is

there they know not how.' Necessity compelled me to confess mine ignorance in that behalf, although in very deed they perceived not my meaning therein, neither was it in my thought they should so do. For by this their confession, and my silence, afterward I perceived their horrible blasphemies.

"And methought in this I had well discharged at that time my conscience, in causing them in open audience to confess the same; and so I granted a presence, but not as they supposed. For only I said, that Christ, after the words pronounced, is present in the lawful use and right distribution of his holy supper; which thing I never denied, or any godly man that ever I heard of. For, said I, Eusebius Emissenus, a man of singular fame and learning, about three hundred years after Christ's ascension, saith, that the conversion of the visible creatures of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is like unto our conversion in baptism, where nothing is outwardly changed, but all the change is inwardly, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost, which fashioneth and frameth Christ in the heart and mind of man, as by the example of Peter preaching to the people,<sup>1</sup> by which he so pierced their consciences, that they openly, with most earnest repentance, confessed their sins, saying, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do?' Repent, and be baptized every one of you,' said Peter, 'in the name of Jesus Christ.' So that at this sermon there were turned unto Christ three thousand persons; in whom Christ was so fashioned and framed, as that he did dwell in every one of them, and they in him. And after the like manner (said I) is Christ present in the lawful use and right distribution of his holy supper, and not otherwise. For although I said, according to the truth, that Christ dwelt in every one of these persons rehearsed, yet meant I nothing less, than that he in them should have a gross, carnal, or fleshly dwelling. And no more meant I (as God knoweth) him carnally or naturally to be in the sacrament, but according to the Scriptures, and my former protestation, that is, to the spiritual nourishment of all such as worthily come unto that holy supper, receiving it according to his holy institution." And thus I ended; which the papists most maliciously and slanderously named a recantation; which I never meant, nor thought (as God knoweth).

Now, after I had thus concluded my speech, the bishop taking me by the hand, said, "Father Rose, you may be a worthy instrument in God's church, and we will see to you at our coming home:" for he was about to take his journey in visitation of his diocese; and they feared much at this very time, lest queen Mary should have miscarried in child-travail, which was looked for, being then accounted very great with child, so that they were not so fierce as they had been, and doubted very much of some stir, if I should have suffered; and therefore were glad to be rid of me, so that by any colourable means for their own discharge it might be: so, the night following, was I only committed to mine own lodging.

On the morrow, when the bishop was ready to ride forth in visitation, he called me before him, and perceiving that sir William Woodhouse did bear me great favour, said, he was sorry for me and my expenses; and therefore wished that I were somewhere, where I might spend no more money, till his return. "Why, my lord," quoth sir William Woodhouse, "he shall have meat, and drink, and lodging, with me, till you return again, seeing you now break up house." And hereupon I went home with sir William, that good knight, who most gently entertained me, and I had great liberty. Upon this, the papistical priests of the college of Christ's-church in Norwich, for that they saw me at liberty in sir William's absence (who also was then from home a fortnight), blazed it abroad that sir William was bounden for me in body and lands. At his coming home, therefore, I asked sir William if he were so bounden for me; and he denied it. Then said I, "Sir, but for the reverence I bear to you, I might have been a hundred miles from you ere this. But I trust now, sir, seeing you be not bound for me, I may go visit my friends." "Go where you will," said sir William; "for," quoth he, "I told the bishop I would not be his jailer, but promised only meat, drink, and lodging for you." Shortly after, upon the device of some friends, I was closely conveyed to a friend's house, where almost a month I was secretly kept, till rumours were over: for at the bishop's return, searching was for me; insomuch as all houses, where it was known I had been acquainted, were searched, and the ships at Yarmouth.

*Mary.*

A D.  
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*See  
Appendix.*

How  
Christ is  
present in  
the sacra-  
ment.

Popish  
priests  
love to  
blaze  
abroad  
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Mary.

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At length the bishop sent to a conjuror, to know of him which way I was gone, and he answered, that I was gone over a water, and in the keeping of a woman. And in very deed I was passed over a small water, and was hid by a blessed woman and godly woman, which lived in a poor cottage, the space of three weeks, till all the great heat was over.

Then was I conveyed to London, and from thence passed over the seas, where I lived till the death of queen Mary, and till that it pleased God, for the comfort of his church, and restoring of all poor exiles and prisoners for his name's sake, to bless this realm with the government of our noble queen, whom God, to the glory of his own name, and the defence of his church, according to his good will and pleasure, long preserve and continue over us.

A BRIEF DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE TROUBLES AND HAPPY  
DELIVERANCE OF THE REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,  
DR. SANDS,<sup>1</sup> FIRST, BISHOP OF WORCESTER, NEXT  
OF LONDON, AND NOW ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

King Edward dead, the world being unworthy of him, the duke of Northumberland came down to Cambridge with an army of men, having commission to proclaim lady Jane queen, and by power to suppress lady Mary, who took upon her that dignity, and was proclaimed queen in Norfolk. The duke sent for Dr. Sands, being vice-chancellor, for Dr. Parker, for Dr. Bill, and master Leaver, to sup with him. Amongst other speeches, he said, "Masters, pray for us, that we speed well: if not, you shall be made bishops, and we deacons." And even so it came to pass, Dr. Parker and Dr. Sands were made bishops, and he and sir John Gates, who was then at the table, were made deacons, ere it was long after, on the Tower-hill. Dr. Sands, being vice-chancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was short for such an auditory, and to speak of such a matter; yet he refused not the thing, but went into his chamber, and so to bed. He rose at three of the clock in the morning, took his Bible in his hand, and, after that he had prayed a good space, he shut his eyes, and holding his Bible before him, earnestly prayed to God, that it might fall open where a most fit text should be, for him to entreat of. The Bible, as God would have it, fell open upon the first chapter of Joshua, where he found so convenient a piece of Scripture for that time, that the like he could not have chosen in all the Bible. His text was this: "*Responderuntque Josuæ atque dixerunt, Omnia quæ præcepisti nobis faciemus, et quocunque miseris ibimus: sicut obedivimus in cunctis Mose, ita obediemus et tibi, tantum sit Dominus Deus tuus tecum sicut fuit cum Mose: qui contradixerit ori tuo, et non obedierit cunctis sermonibus quos præceperis ei, moriatur; tu tantum confortare et viriliter age.*"<sup>2</sup> Who shall consider what was concluded by such as named themselves the state, and withal, the auditory, the time, and other circumstances, he shall easily see that this text most fitly served for the purpose. And as God gave the text, so gave he him such order and utterance, as pulled many tears out of the eye of the biggest of them.

(1) More properly spelt "Sandys."—ED.

(2) "And they answered Joshua, saying, All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go. According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee: only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses. Whosoever he be that doth rebel against thy commandment, and will not hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death: only be strong and of a good courage."—ED.

In the time of his sermon one of the guard lifted up to him into the pulpit a mass-book and a grail, which sir George Haward, with certain of the guard, had taken that night in master Hurlestone's house, where lady Mary had been a little before, and there had mass. The duke, with the rest of the nobility, required Dr. Sands to put his sermon in writing, and appointed master Leaver to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Dr. Sands required one day and a half for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it ready, and master Leaver was ready bootied to receive it at his hands, and carry it to London. As he was delivering of it, one of the beadles, named master Adams, came weeping to him, and prayed him to shift for himself, for the duke was retired, and queen Mary proclaimed.

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Dr. Sands was not troubled herewithal, but gave the sermon written to master Layfield. Master Leaver departed home, and he went to dinner to one master More's, a beadle, his great friend. At the dinner mistress More, seeing him merry and pleasant (for he had ever a man's courage, and could not be terrified), drank unto him, saying: "Master vice-chancellor, I drink unto you, for this is the last time that ever I shall see you." And so it was; for she was dead before Dr. Sands returned out of Germany. The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and sent for Dr. Sands to go with him to the market-place, to proclaim queen Mary. The duke cast up his cap with others, and so laughed, that the tears ran down his cheeks for grief. He told Dr. Sands, that queen Mary was a merciful woman, and that he doubted not thereof; declaring that he had sent unto her to know her pleasure, and looked for a general pardon. Dr. Sands answered, "My life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or said any thing that urgeth my conscience. For that which I spake of the state, hath instructions warranted by the subscription of sixteen counsellors; neither can speech be treason, neither yet have I spoken further than the word of God and the laws of the realm do warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you assured, you shall never escape death; for if she would save you, those that now shall rule, will kill you."

That night the guard apprehended the duke, and certain grooms of the stable were as busy with Dr. Sands, as if they would take a prisoner. But sir John Gates, who lay then in Dr. Sands' house, sharply rebuked them, and drave them away. Dr. Sands, by the advice of sir John Gates, walked in the fields. In the mean time the university, contrary to all order, had met together in consultation, and ordered that Dr. Mouse and Dr. Hatcher should repair to Dr. Sands' lodging, and fet away the statute-book of the university, the keys, and such other things that were in his keeping, and so they did: for Dr. Mouse, being an earnest protestant the day before, and one whom Dr. Sands had done much for, was now become a papist, and his great enemy. Certain of the university had appointed a congregation at afternoon. As the bell rang to it, Dr. Sands cometh out of the fields, and sending for the beadles, asketh what the matter meaneth, and requireth them to wait upon him to the schools, according to their duty. So they did. And so soon as Dr. Sands, the beadles going before him, came into the regent-house, and took his chair, one master Mitch, with a rabble of unlearned papists, went into a bye-school, and conspired together to pull him out of his chair, and to use violence



*Mary.* unto him. Dr. Sands began his oration, expostulating with the university, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring, that he had said nothing in his sermon, but that he was ready to justify, and their case was all one with his; for they had not only concealed, but consented to that which he had spoken.

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*1558.*

And thus, while he remembered unto them how beneficial he had been to the university, and their unthankfulness to him again, in cometh master Mitch with his conspirators, about twenty in number. One layeth hand upon the chair, to pull it from him, another told him that that was not his place, and another called him "traitor." Whereat he, perceiving how they used violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had despatched some of them as God's enemies, if Dr. Bill and Dr. Blith had not fallen upon him, and prayed him for God's sake to hold his hands, and be quiet, and patiently to bear that great offered wrong. He was persuaded by them; and after that tumult was ceased, he ended his oration, and having some money of the university's in his hand, he there delivered the same, every farthing. He gave up the books, reckonings, and keys pertaining to the university; and withal yielded up his office, praying God to give the university a better officer, and to give them better and more thankful hearts; and so repaired home to his own college.

On the morrow after, there came unto him one master Jerningham, and one master Thomas Mildmay. Jerningham told him that it was the queen's pleasure that two of the guard should attend upon him, and that he must be carried prisoner to the Tower of London, with the duke. Master Mildmay said, he marvelled that a learned man would speak so unadvisedly against so good a prince, and wilfully run into such danger. Dr. Sands answered, "I shall not be ashamed of bonds, but if I could do as master Mildmay can, I needed not to fear bonds. For he came down in payment against queen Mary, and armed in the field, and now he returneth in payment for queen Mary; before a traitor, and now a great friend. I cannot, with one mouth, blow hot and cold after this sort."

Upon this, his stable was robbed of four notable good geldings; the best of them master Huddlestone took for his own saddle, and rode on him to London in his sight. An inventory was taken of all his goods, by master More, beadle, for the university. He was set upon a lame horse that halted to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a nag. The yeomen of the guard were contented. As he departed forth at the town's end, some papists resorted thither to jeer at him; some of his friends to mourn for him. He came in the rank to London, the people being full of outeries. And as he came in at Bishopsgate, one like a milk-wife hurled a stone at him, and hit him on the breast, with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his horse. To whom he mildly said, "Woman, God forgive it thee!" Truth is, that journey and evil entreating so mortified him, that he was more ready to die, than to live.

As he came through Tower-hill-street, one woman standing in her door cried, "Fie on thee, thou knave! thou knave, thou traitor, thou heretic!" whereat he smiled. "Look, the desperate heretic," said

she, "laughed at this geer." A woman on the other side of the street answered, saying; "Fie on thee, neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman; railing upon this gentleman whom thou knowest not, neither yet the cause why he is thus entreated." Then she said: "Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee strength to stand in God's cause, even to the end." And thus he passed through fire and water into the Tower, the first prisoner that entered in that day, which was St. James's day. The yeomen of the guard took from him his borrowed nag, and what else soever he had. His man, one Quinting Swainton, brought after him a Bible, and some shirts, and such like things. The Bible was sent in to him; but the shirts, and such like, served the yeomen of the guard.

After he had been in the Tower three weeks in a bad prison, he was lifted up into Nun's-bower, a better prison, where was put to him master John Bradford.

At the day of queen Mary's coronation, their prison door was set open, ever shut before. One master Mitchell, his old acquaintance, which had been prisoner before in the same place, came in to him, and said, "Master Sands, there is such a stir in the Tower, that neither gates, doors, nor prisoners are looked to this day. Take my cloak, my hat, and my rapier, and get you gone; you may go out of the gates without questioning, save yourself, and let me do as I may." A rare friendship; but he refused the offer, saying, "I know no just cause why I should be in prison; and thus to do, were to make myself guilty. I will expect God's good will, yet must I think myself most bounden unto you:" and so master Mitchell departed.

While Dr. Sands and master Bradford were thus in close prison together twenty-nine weeks, one John Bowler was their keeper, a very perverse papist; yet by often persuading of him, for he would give ear, and by gentle using of him, at the length he began to mislike popery, and to favour the gospel, and was so persuaded in true religion, that on a Sunday, when they had mass in the chapel, he bringeth up a service-book, a manchete, and a glass of wine, and there Dr. Sands ministered the communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their son begotten in bonds. When Wyatt was in arms, and the old duke of Norfolk sent forth with a power of men to apprehend him; that room might be made in the Tower for him, and other his complices, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and master Bradford were cast into one prison, and Dr. Sands, with nine other preachers, were sent unto the Marshalsea.

The keeper of the Marshalsea appointed to every preacher a man to lead him in the street; he caused them to go far before, and he and Dr. Sands came behind, whom he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet Dr. Sands was known, and the people everywhere prayed to God to comfort him, and to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the people's minds were altered; popery began to be unsavoury. After they passed the bridge, the keeper, Thomas Way, said to Dr. Sands, "I perceive the vain people would set you forward to the fire. Ye are as vain as they, if you, being a young man, will stand in your own conceit, and prefer your own knowledge before the judgment of so many worthy prelates, ancient, learned, and grave men, as be in this realm. If you so do, you shall find me as

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strait a keeper, as one that utterly misliketh your religion." Dr. Sands answered, "I know my years young, and my learning small; it is enough to know Christ crucified, and he hath learned nothing, that seeth not the great blasphemy that is in popery. I will yield unto God, and not unto man. I have read in the Scriptures of many godly and courteous keepers: God may make you one. If not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard dealing with me." Saith Thomas Way, "Do ye then mind to stand to your religion?" "Yea," saith Dr. Sands, "by God's grace." "Truly," saith the keeper, "I love you the better; I did but tempt you. What favour I can show you, ye shall be sure of; and I shall think myself happy, if I may die at the stake with you." The said keeper showed Dr. Sands ever after all friendship; he trusted him to go into the fields alone, and there met with master Bradford, who then was removed into the Bench, and there found the like favour of his keeper: he laid him in the best chamber in the house; he would not suffer the knight-marshal's man to lay fetters on him, as others had; and at his request he put master Saunders in to him, to be his bed-fellow, and sundry times suffered his wife, who was master Sands' daughter of Essex, a gentlewoman beautiful both in body and soul, to resort to him. There was great resort to Dr. Sands and master Saunders; they had much money offered them, but they would receive none. They had the communion there three or four times, and a great sort of communicants. Dr. Sands gave such exhortation to the people (for at that time being young, he was thought very eloquent), that he moved many tears, and made the people abhor the mass, and defy all popery.

When Wyat with his army came into Southwark, he sent two gentlemen into the Marshalsea to Dr. Sands, saying, that master Wyat would be glad of his company and advice, and that the gates should be set open for all the prisoners. He answered, "Tell master Wyat, if this his rising be of God, it will take place; if not, it will fall. For my part, I was committed hither by order: I will be discharged by like order, or I will never depart hence." So answered master Saunders, and the rest of the preachers, being there prisoners.

After that Dr. Sands had been nine weeks prisoner in the Marshalsea, by the mediation of sir Thomas Holcroft, then knight-marshal, he was set at liberty. Sir Thomas sued earnestly to the bishop of Winchester, Dr. Gardiner, for his deliverance, after many repulses: but he could not prevail, except Dr. Sands would be one of their sect; and then, he could want nothing. He wrung out of him at last, that if the queen could like of his deliverance, he would not be against it; for that was sir Thomas's last request. In the mean time he had procured two ladies of the privy-chamber to move the queen in it, who was contented if the bishop of Winchester would like of it. The next time that the bishop went into the privy-chamber to speak with the queen, master Holcroft followed, and had his warrant for Dr. Sands' remission ready; and prayed the two ladies, when the bishop should take his leave, to put the queen in mind of Dr. Sands. So they did, and the queen said, "Winchester, what think you by Dr. Sands, is he not sufficiently punished?" "As it please your majesty," saith Winchester. That he spake, remembering his former

promise to master Holcroft, that he would not be against Dr. Sands, if the queen should like to discharge him. Saith the queen, "Then truly, we would that he were set at liberty." Immediately master Holcroft offered the queen the warrant ; who subscribed the same, and called Winchester to put to his hand, and so he did. The warrant was given to the knight-marshal again, sir Thomas Holcroft. As the bishop went forth of the privy-chamber door, he called master Holcroft to him, commanding him not to set Dr. Sands at liberty, until he had taken sureties of two gentlemen of his county with him, each one bound in five hundred pounds, that Dr. Sands should not depart out of the realm without license. Master Holcroft, immediately after, met with two gentlemen of the north, friends and cousins to Dr. Sands, who offered to be bound in body, goods, and lands for him. After dinner, the same day, master Holcroft sent for Dr. Sands to his lodging at Westminster, requiring the keeper to company with him. He came accordingly, finding master Holcroft alone, walking in his garden. Master Holcroft imparted his long suit, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken, to Dr. Sands, much rejoicing that it was his good hap to do him good, and to procure his liberty ; and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two sureties, for not departing out of the realm. Dr. Sands answered, "I give God thanks, who hath moved your heart to mind me so well, and I think myself most bound unto you. God will requite, and I shall never be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will also deal plainly with you. I came a freeman into prison ; I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, so will I not hurt them. And if I be set at liberty, I will not tarry six days in this realm, if I may get out. If therefore I may not get free forth, send me to the Marshalsea again, and there ye shall be sure of me."

This answer much misliked master Holcroft. He told Dr. Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would shortly come ; the state was but a cloud, and would soon shake away ; and that his cousin, sir Edward Bray, would gladly receive him and his wife into his house, where he should never need to come at church ; and how the lady Bray was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated popery. Adding, that he would not so deal with him, to lose all his labour. When Dr. Sands could not be removed from his former saying, master Holcroft said, "Seeing you cannot be altered, I will change my purpose, and yield unto you. Come of it what will, I will set you at liberty ; and seeing you mind to go over sea, get you gone so quickly as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to come hither, for so you may undo me." He friendly kissed Dr. Sands, bade him farewell, and commanded the keeper to take no fees of him, saying, "Let me answer Winchester as I may." Dr. Sands, returning with the keeper to the Marshalsea, tarried all night there. On the morrow, he gave a dinner to all the prisoners, bade his bedfellow and sworn stakefellow (if it had so pleased God), master Saunders farewell, with many tears and kissings, the one falling on the other's neck ; and so departed, clearly delivered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the Bench, and there talked with master Bradford and master Ferrar, bishop of

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*1558.*

St. David's, then prisoners. Then he comforted them, and they praised God for his happy deliverance. He went by Winchester's house, and there took boat, and came to a friend's house in London, called William Banks, and tarried there one night. On the morrow at night he shifted to another friend's house, and there he learned that search was made for him,

Dr. Watson and master Christopherson, coming to the bishop of Winchester, told him that he had set at liberty the greatest heretic in England, and one that had of all others most corrupted the university of Cambridge, Dr. Sands. Whereupon the bishop of Winchester, being chancellor of England, sent for all the constables of London, commanding them to watch for Dr. Sands, who was then within the city, and to apprehend him; and whosoever of them should take him and bring him to him, he should have five pounds for his labour. Dr. Sands suspecting the matter, conveyed himself by night to one master Bartly's house, a stranger, who was in the Marshalsea prisoner with him a while: he was a good protestant, and dwelt in Mark-lane. There he was six days, and had one or two of his friends that repaired unto him. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one Hurlestone a skinner, dwelling in Cornhill; he caused his man Quinting to provide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Essex, to master Sands his father-in-law, where his wife was.

At his going to bed in Hurlestone's house, he had a pair of hose newly made that were too long for him: for while he was in the Tower, a tailor was admitted him to make him a pair of hose. One came unto him, whose name was Benjamin, a good protestant, dwelling in Birchin-lane: he might not speak to him, or come unto him to take measure of him, but only look upon his leg: he made the hose, and they were two inches too long. These hose he prayed the good wife of the house to send to some tailor to cut them two inches shorter. The wife required the boy of the house to carry them to the next tailor to cut. The boy chanced (or rather God so provided) to go to the next tailor, which was Benjamin that made them, which also was a constable, and acquainted with the lord chancellor's commandment. The boy required him to cut the hose. He said, "I am not thy master's tailor." Saith the boy, "Because you are our next neighbour, and my master's tailor dwelleth far off, I came to you; for it is far night, and he must occupy them timely in the morning." Benjamin took the hose, and looking upon them, he knew his handy-work, and said, "These are not thy master's hose, but Dr. Sands; them I made in the Tower." The boy yielded and said, "It was so." Saith he, "Go to thy mistress: pray her to sit up till twelve of the clock, and then I will bring the hose, and speak with Dr. Sands to his good."

At midnight the goodwife of the house, and Benjamin the tailor, cometh into Dr. Sands' chamber: the wife prayeth him not to be afraid of their coming. He answered, "Nothing can be amiss: what God will, that shall be done." Then Benjamin telleth him that he made his hose, and by what good chance they now came to his hands. God used the means, that he might admonish him of his peril, and advise him how to escape it, telling him that all the constables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, and some were so

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greedily set, that they prayed him, if he took him, to let them have the carriage of him to the bishop of Winchester, and he should have the five pounds. Saith Benjamin, "It is known that your man hath provided two geldings, and that you mind to ride out at Aldgate to-morrow, and there then you are sure to be taken. Follow mine advice, and by God's grace ye shall escape their hands. Let your man walk all the day to-morrow in the street where your horses stand, booted and ready to ride. The goodman's servant of the house shall take the horses, and carry them to Bethnal-green. The goodman shall be booted, and follow after, as if he would ride. I will be here with you to-morrow about eight of the clock: it is both term and parliament-time. Here we will break our fast; and when the street is full, we will go forth. Look wildly, and if you meet your brother in the street, shun him not, but outface him, and know him not." Accordingly Dr. Sands did, clothed like a gentleman in all respects; and looked wildly, as one that had been long kept in prison out of the light. Benjamin carried him through Birchin-lane, and from one lane to another, till he came to Moorgate. There they went forth until they came to Bethnal-green, where the horses were ready, and master Hurlestone, to ride with him as his man. Dr. Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leave of his friend Benjamin, with tears they kissed each other. He put his hand in his purse, and would have given Benjamin a great part of that little he had, but Benjamin would take none; yet since, Dr. Sands hath remembered him thankfully. He rode that night to his father-in-law master Sands, where his wife was: he had not been there two hours, but it was told master Sands, that there were two of the guard, which would that night apprehend Dr. Sands; and so they were appointed.

That night Dr. Sands was guided to an honest farmer near the sea, where he tarried two days and two nights in a chamber without all company. After that he shifted to one James Mower a shipmaster, who dwelt at Milton-Shore, where he expected wind for the English fleet ready into Flanders. While he was there, James Mower brought to him forty or fifty mariners, to whom he gave an exhortation: they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, ere that he should be apprehended.

The 6th of May, being Sunday, the wind served. He took his leave of his host and hostess, and went towards the ship. In taking his leave of his hostess who was barren, and had been married eight years, he gave her a fine handkerchief and an old royal of gold in it, thanking her much, and said, "Be of good comfort; ere that one whole year be past, God shall give you a child, a boy." And it came to pass, for that day twelve-month, lacking one day, God gave her a fair son.

At the shore Dr. Sands met with master Isaac of Kent, who had his eldest son there, who, upon the liking he had to Dr. Sands, sent his son with him, who afterward died in his father's house in Frankfort. Dr. Sands and Dr. Coxe were both in one ship, being one Cockrel's ship. They were within the kenning, when two of the guard came thither to apprehend Dr. Sands. They arrived at Antwerp, being bid to dinner to master Locke. And at dinner-time one George Gilpin, being secretary to the English-house, and kinsman

See  
Appendix.

*Mary.* to Dr. Sands, came to him, and rounded him in his ear, and said,  
*A. D.* " King Philip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend  
*1558.* you." Hereupon they rose from their dinner in a marvellous great shower, and went out at the gate toward the land of Cleves. They found a waggon, and hasted away, and came safe to Ausburg<sup>1</sup> in Cleveland, where Dr. Sands tarried fourteen days, and then journeyed towards Strasburg, where, after he had lived one year, his wife came unto him. He fell sore sick of a flux, which kept him nine months, and brought him to death's door. He had a child which fell sick of the plague, and died. His wife at length fell sick of a consumption, and died in his arms; no man had a more godly woman to his wife.

After this, master Sampson went away to Emanuel, a man skilful in Hebrew; Master Grindall went into the country to learn the Dutch tongue. Dr. Sands still remained in Strasburg, whose sustentation then was chiefly from one master Isaac, who loved him most dearly, and was ever more ready to give than he to take. He gave him in that space above a hundred marks, which sum the said Dr. Sands paid him again, and by his other gifts and friendliness showed himself to be a thankful man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurich, and there was in Peter Martyr's house for the space of five weeks. Being there, as they sat at dinner, word suddenly came that queen Mary was dead, and Dr. Sands was sent for by his friends at Strasburg. That news made master Martyr, and master Jarret then there, very joyful; but Dr. Sands<sup>2</sup> could not rejoice, it smote into his heart, that he should be called to misery,

Master Bullinger and the ministers feasted him, and he took his leave and returned to Strasburg, where he preached; and so master Grindall and he came towards England, and came to London the same day that queen Elizabeth was crowned.

### A Complaint against such as favoured the Gospel in Ipswich,

EXHIBITED TO QUEEN MARY'S COUNCIL, SITTING IN COMMISSION  
 AT BECCLES IN SUFFOLK, THE 18TH OF MAY, ANNO 1556,  
 BY PHILIP WILLIAMS, ALIAS FOOTMAN, JOHN  
 STEWARD, AND MATTHEW BUTLER,  
 SWORN FOR THE PURPOSE.

The Names of such as fled out of the Town, and lurked in secret Places.

- St. Mary Tower: Robert Partrick.  
 Rose Nottingham, daughter of William Nottingham the elder.
- St. Laurence: Anne Fenne, servant to Robert Nottingham.  
 Andrew Ingforby, his wife and daughter.  
 Thomas Thompson, shoemaker, supposed to have received but twice these seventeen years.
- St. Margaret's: Martin Algate, locksmith, his wife.
- William Pickess, tanner.  
 John Whoodles, coverlet weaver, and his wife.  
 William Harset, bricklayer.  
 Thomas Flower, shoemaker.  
 William Wright's wife, at the windmill.  
 Laurence Waterward, late curate, born in a town called Chorley, in Lancashire.

(1) Probably an error for "Duisburg:" see Appendix.—Ed.

(2) It may be remarked that the doctor's real name was "Sandys" or "Sandes."—Ed.

St. Nicholas :	Widow Swaine.	<i>Mary.</i> <hr/> A. D. 1558. <hr/>
	Matthew Bird and his wife.	
	Stephen Greenwich and his wife.	
	William Coleman, servant to the said Stephen.	
	Robert Coleman and his wife.	
	Roger Laurence alias Sparrow.	
	John Carlton, saddler.	
St. Peter's :	William Coleman.	
	James Hearst's wife.	
St. Stephen's :	Richard Hover, apprentice with Nicholas Nottingham.	
	Richard Hedley, a seller of heretical books.	
St. Clement's :	James Bocking, shoemaker : his wife.	
	John Rawe, late servant to James Ashley.	
	William Palmer, Richard Richman, John Deersley, servants to Stephen Green, shoemaker.	
	Richard Richman, shoemaker : his wife, daughter to mother Fenkel, midwife.	
St. Matthew's :	Mistress Tooly, which departed to Dersham in Suffolk.	
	Agnes Wardall the elder, widow.	
	Robert Wardall her son.	

### The Names of such as have not received the Sacrament.

St. Clement's :	Robert Bray.	
	John Nottingham.	
	Agnes Wardall, wife of Robert Wardall.	
	Nicholas Nottingham.	
	Richard Mitchell.	
	William Jordane's wife.	
St. Peter's :	Richard Butterall.	
	Robert Brown.	
	John Read.	
	Thomas Spurdance.	
St. Stephen's :	John servant to Stephen Grinleff.	
	Robert Scolding	
St. Margaret's :	John Greenwich and his wife.	
St. Nicholas :	Thomas Sturgeon, mariner.	
St. Mary-Key :	John Finn's wife.	
	Robert Branstone, brother and servant to William Branstone.	
St. Mary-Tower :	Martin Johnson, who lieth bedrid.	
St. Laurence :	Agnes, his keeper, and Bent Alceed, servants to Robert Nottingham.	
St. Mary at Elms :	Robert Sylke's son.	
	John Ramsey and his wife, now in prison.	

### Names of such as observe not Ceremonies.

St. Clement's :	Robert Cambridge refused the pax.	
	Robert Brage his wife refused to suffer any child to be dipped in the font.	
	Joan Barber widow, and Thomasine her daughter, refused to behold the elevation of the sacrament.	
	Mistress Ponder, mother to Joan Barber, in the same fault.	
	Tye a mariner's wife.	
St. Mary at Elms :	Richard Haward refused the pax at mass in St. Laurence.	
St. Peter's :	Master Lyons, at mass at St. Mary-Stoke, refused the pax.	
	Mother Fenkel, and Joan Ward, alias Bentley's wife, refused to have children dipped in the fonts.	
St. Stephen's :	Mother Beriff, midwife, refused to have children dipped in fonts.	
St. Nicholas :	George Bush's wife rejected the host after receipt of it.	



*Mary.*A. D.  
1558.**Names of Priests' Wives, that have access to their Husbands.**

Ralph Carlton's wife, curate of St. Matthew's, and St. Mary at Elms.

Elizabeth Cantrel, wife to Ralfe Cantrel.

Jane Barker, wife to Robert Barker priest, late of Bury.

Latimer's wife, curate of St. Laurence and St. Stephen's.

William Gleark's wife, late curate of Barkham, and St. Mary at Elms.

**Names of Maintainers against this Complaint.**

Robert Sterop, customer to queen Mary.

Gilbert Sterop, deputy to Edward Grimston esquire, for his Butlerage.

Master Butler the elder, searcher.

Mistress Tooly, swelling by too much riches into wealth.

Margaret Bray, who also presumeth upon the office of a midwife, not called.

St. Clement's: Joan Barber widow, and mistress Bird, practising much wholesome counsel.

St. Mary-Quay: Bastian Man's wife; and he himself more rich than wise.

**The Requests to punish and convent Certain, whose Ensample might reverse Others from their Opinions: as,**

To convent Richard Bird jailer, who by evil counsel doth animate his prisoners of his sect. Also for that he with his wife did check us openly with unseemly words, tending almost to a tumult.

To convent Thomas Sadler, for certain words spoken to John Bate the crier of the town, the 6th of May. That it may please the bishop to wish his commissary and official to be upright and diligent in their office, and to appoint a curate of more ability to feed his cure with God's word.

That none may be suffered to be midwives, but such as are catholic, because of evil counsel at such times as the necessity of women's travail shall require a number of women assembled.

That Ralph Carlton, curate, may be convented, whether by corruption of money he hath crossed his book of any that are there named, and hath not received indeed, as it is reported.

**The miraculous Preservation of the Lady Elizabeth, now Queen of England,**

FROM EXTREME CALAMITY AND DANGER OF LIFE; IN THE  
TIME OF QUEEN MARY, HER SISTER.

1554  
to  
1558. \*Having<sup>1</sup> thus, by the power of the Almighty plainly and truly displayed the cruel practices and horrible persecutions of queen Mary's reign, freely and boldly describing her tragical story (where view is to be had of many things no less marvellous than miserable, no less dangerous than dolorous, no less uncharitable than unnatural), and now, orderly coming to the flourishing and long-wished for reign of the most noble, virtuous, and renowned sister of the said Mary, this our dread and sovereign mistress and governess queen Elizabeth, I thought my travelled pen, not a little refreshed with ease and gladness; not so much, for that having now overpassed the bitter and sorrowful matters of such terrible burning, imprisoning, murdering, famishing, racking, and tormenting, and spiteful handling, of the pitiful bodies of Christ's blessed saints, as also for that we are now

(1) From hence, to p. 605, see Edition 1563, pp. 1708, 1711.—ED.

entering into the time and reign of such a worthy princess and queen; the remembrance and story whereof ministereth not so much unto me matter to write upon, as also delectation to labour and travail about the same. For what man, reputing with himself the singular ornaments and noble graces given of God to this so princely a lady and puissant princess, the mildness of her nature, the clemency of her royal estate and majesty, the peaceableness of her reign, who, a virgin, so mildly ruleth men, governeth her subjects, keepeth all things in order, quieteth foreign nations, recovereth towns,<sup>1</sup> enlargeth her kingdom, nourisheth and concileth amity, uniteth hearts and love with foreign enemies, helpeth neighbours, reformeth religion, quencheth persecution, redresseth the dross, frameth things out of joint, so feared with such love, and so loved with such fear,—what man, considering this, I say, either can hold his pen, though he never wrote before, or, being never so much wearied with writing, will not shake off all tediousness; entering into a matter so pleasant and delectable to entreat upon. For what can be more delectable and pleasant than to run into such a field, to give virtue his commendation, which in all persons, as Plato saith, stirreth up great love, but especially in a prince; and, in such a prince, what natural subject will it not delight, not only to behold, but also to extend his travail and diligence in extolling and setting forth the same.

And first to begin with our thanks, most due, to Almighty God, what cause have we all Englishmen so to do, that is, to render most ample thanksgiving to the mercifulness of God, who hath granted, conserved, and advanced to the seat-regal of this realm, so good, godly, and virtuous a queen, such a chosen instrument of his clemency, so virtuously natured, so godly disposed, so merciful without marring, so humble without pride, so moderate without prodigality, so maidenly without pomp, through whom we cannot deny as amends and recompense now to be made England for the cruel days that were before. For as then, moderation had no place, but all was ruled by rigour, contrary now, clemency hath all the operation; and, as then was no end of butcherly killing, and bloody murdering, so now is no beginning yet found of spilling any drop of blood. In prosecuting the matter I might here speak of the heady hastiness<sup>2</sup> in queen Mary's days, in proceeding without, and before, any law, by mere affection. Bishops that were married, thrust out of parliament,<sup>3</sup> and all married deans and archdeacons out of the convocation; many put out of their livings, and others restored before any law. Yea, some noblemen and gentlemen deprived of their lands given them by the king, for Winchester to be inducted. Many churches changed, many altars set up, many masses said, many diriges song, before the law was repealed; all was done in post haste.<sup>4</sup> Now we see things done with more advisement and less haste, no man now presuming to violate orders godly taken, or to stir the people to change what they list, before order be published by law. And as we have seen the coming in, the proceeding, and the ending, of the one, so let us compare, withal, the conditions of the other. She cometh in like a

*Mary.*

A. D.

1554

to

1558.

Comparison between the two reigns of queen Mary and queen Elizabeth.

(1) As Calais; to be rendered at eight years' end.

(2) Let not evil men abuse the queen's clemency, lest, etc.

(3) Note here, by an unlawful parliament.

(4) And all perjured for their labour.

*Mary.* mother, not like a step-dame; like a lamb, not like a lion; she  
*A. D.* rusheth not in to hang and draw; her majesty beheadeth none,  
 1554 burneth none, spoileth none, forgiveth all; well considering the  
 to counsel of the poet, denying "*gravius esse imperium vi quod fit quam*  
 1558. *quod amicitia adjungitur*," that is, "that kingdom to be more firm  
 and sure, which standeth by coercion, than what is governed with  
 gentleness." Wherefore what cause we have to render thanks and  
 supplications for this so worthy and excellent a prince, let all English-  
 men's hearts examine and consider with themselves.

And thus our duties first premised and thanks considered, which we justly owe to Almighty God for his blessed preservation and happy advancement of this our queen and governor, now, forso much as we have to enter to the time of this her majesty's reign, the order and course of the history so requireth, before we proceed in other affairs, first, a little to persist in setting forth some part of her princely life, and singular worthiness; albeit I am not ignorant how hard a matter it is to intermeddle with princes' lives, themselves yet being alive; lest, either for flattery a man shall seem to say too much, or, saying no more than truth, to say too little. Whereof, like as I am not ignorant, so neither am I greatly afraid, first, and chiefly considering with myself her majesty's clemency; secondly, for that the sequel of the history so provoketh me; thirdly, and moreover, for that necessity also somewhat inciteth me unto the same; fearing lest, as it happened to king Edward, her grace's brother, the like may happen to her majesty also; that, as he being alive, every man could extol him, but, being now gone, it is not yet seen any to have taken the pains to furnish his story; so likewise if now, in her lifetime, nothing be spoken, peradventure, when nature shall finish her course, less will be said hereafter.

Queen  
 Eliza-  
 beth's  
 birth.

Cranmer  
 her god-  
 father;  
 and her  
 godly  
 bringer-  
 up.

Her  
 godly dis-  
 position.

First therefore, to begin with her princely birth, being born at Greenwich, anno 1533, of the famous and victorious prince, king Henry the eighth, and of the noble and most virtuous lady, queen Anne her mother—sufficiently is committed to the story before;<sup>1</sup> also of the solemn celebration of her baptism in the said town and Grey Friars' church, of Greenwich, having to her godfather Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. After that, [she] was committed to godly tutors and governors, under whose institution her grace did so greatly increase, or rather excel, in all manner of virtue and knowledge of learning, that I stand in a doubt, whether is more to be commended in this behalf, the studious diligence of them that brought her up, or the singular towardness of her own princely nature, to all virtuous dispositions so apt and inclinable; being, notwithstanding, both the gifts of God, for which we are all bound to give him thanks. What tongue is it that her grace knoweth not? what language can she not speak? what liberal art or science hath not she learned? and what virtue, wherewith her noble breast is not garnished? In counsel and wisdom, what counsellor will go beyond her majesty? If the goodness of nature, joined with the industry of her grace's institution, had not been in her marvellous, how many things were there, besides the natural infirmity of that sex, the tenderness of youth, the nobility of estate, allurements of the world, persuasions of

(1) See vol. v. p. 61.—ED.

flatterers, abundance of wealth and pleasures, examples of the court, enough to carry her grace away (after the common fashion and rule of many other ladies), from gravity to lightness, from study to ease, from wisdom to vanity, from religion to superstition, from godliness to gawishness, to be pricked up in pride, to be garish in apparel, to be fierce in condition ! Eloquently is it spoken, and discreetly meant, of Tully, the eloquent orator : “ To live,” saith he, “ a good man in other places, is no great matter, but in Asia, to keep a sober and temperate life, that is a matter indeed praiseworthy ; ”—so here, why may I not affirm, without flattery, what every man’s conscience can testify ? In that age, that sex, in such state and fortune, in so great occasions, so many incitements, in all these to retain so sober conversation, so temperate condition, such mildness of manners, such humbleness of stomach, such clemency in forgiving, such travailing in study, briefly, in the midst of Asia, so far to degenerate from all Asia, it hath not lightly been seen in Europe. Hitherto it hath been seen in very few, whereby it may appear, not only what education or what nature may do, but what God, above nature, hath wrought in her noble breast ; adorning it with so worthy virtues, of which her princely qualities and virtuous disposition, such as have been conversant with her youth, can better testify.

That which I have seen and read, I trust I may boldly repeat without suspicion, either of feigning or flattery. For so I have read, written and testified of her grace, by one both learned and also that can say something in this matter ; who, in a certain book, by him set forth, entreating of her grace’s virtuous bringing up, what discreet, sober, and godly women she had about her, namely speaketh of two points in her grace to be considered ; one, concerning her moderate and maidenly behaviour ; the other, concerning her training up in learning and good letters. Declaring first, for her virtuous moderation of life : that seven years after her father’s death, she had so little pride of stomach, so little delight in glistening gazes of the world, in gay apparel, rich attire, and precious jewels, that, in all that time, she never looked upon those that her father left her (and which other ladies commonly be so fond upon), but only once, and that against her will. And moreover, after that, she so little gloried in the same, that there came neither gold nor stone upon her head, till her sister enforced her to lay off her former soberness, and bear her company in her glistening gains ; yea, and then she so ware it, as every man might see, that her body bare that which her heart misliked : wherein the virtuous prudence of this princess, not reading, but following, the words of Paul and Peter, well considered true nobility to consist, not in circumstances of the body, but in substance of the heart ; not in such things which deck the body, but in that which dignifieth the mind ; shining and blazing more bright than pearl or stone, be it never so precious. Again, the said author, further proceeding in the same matter, thus testifieth : that he knew a great man’s daughter, receiving from lady Mary, before she was queen, goodly apparel of tinsel, cloth of gold, and velvet, laid on with parchment lace of gold ; when she saw it she said, “ What shall I do with it ? ” “ Marry,” said a gentlewoman, “ wear it.” “ Nay,” quoth she, “ that were a shame to follow my lady Mary against God’s word, and leave my lady

*Mary.**A. D.*

1554

to

1558.

*See  
Appendix**Her sobriety in her apparel.**True ornaments of womanhood.**The answer of a young noble lady.*



*Mary.* Elizabeth which followeth God's word." Let noble ladies and gentlewomen here learn, either to give or to take good example given; and if they disdain to teach their inferiors in well-doing, yet let it not shame them to learn of their betters. Likewise also at the coming in of the Scottish queen, when all the other ladies of the court flourished in their bravery, with their hair frowned and curled, and double curled, yet she altered nothing, but, to the shame of them all, kept her old maidenly shamefacedness.

Let us now come to the second point, declaring how she hath been trained in learning, and that, not vulgar and common, but the purest and the best, which is most commended at these days; as the tongues, arts, and God's word; wherein she so exceedingly profited, as the aforesaid author doth witness, that, being under twenty years of age, she was not, in the best kind of learning, inferior to those that all their lifetime had been brought up in the universities, and were counted jolly fellows. And, that you may understand that there hath not been nor is in her, learning only without nature, and knowledge without towardness to practise, I will tell what hath been heard of her first schoolmaster, a man very honest and learned, who reported of her to a friend of his, that he learned every day more of her than she of him, which, when it seemed to him a mystery (as indeed it was), and therefore desired to know his meaning therein, he thus expounded it: "I teach her words," quoth he, "and she me, things. I teach her the tongues to speak, and her modest and maidenly life teacheth me words to do; for," saith he, "I think she is the best inclined and disposed of any in all Europe." It seemed to me a goodly commendation of her, and a witty saying of him. Likewise an Italian which taught her his tongue (though that nation lightly praise not out of their own country) said once to the said party, that he found in her two qualities which are never, lightly, yokefellows in one woman; which were, a singular wit, and a marvellous meek stomach.

If time and leisure would serve to peruse her whole life past, many other excellent and memorable examples of her princely qualities and singular virtues might here be noted; but none, in my mind, more worthy of commendation, or that shall set forth the fame of her heroical and princely renown more to all posterity, than the christian patience and incredible clemency of her nature, showed in her afflictions, and towards her enemies declared. Such was then the wickedness and rage of that time, wherein what dangers and troubles were among the inferior subjects of this realm of England may be easily gathered, when such a princess of that estate, being both a king's daughter, a queen's sister, and heir apparent to the crown, could not escape without her cross; and, therefore, as we have hitherto discoursed the afflictions and persecutions of the other poor members of Christ, comprehended in this history before, so likewise I see no cause why the communion of her grace's afflictions also, among the other saints of Christ, ought to be suppressed in silence, especially seeing that the great and marvellous working of God's glory, chiefly in this story, appeareth above all the rest. And though I should, through ingratitude or silence, pass over the same, yet the thing itself is so manifest, that, what Englishman is he which knoweth not the afflictions of her grace, to have been far above the condition of

Worthy  
report of  
queen  
Elizabeth  
by her  
school-  
master.

Saying of  
an Italian  
concern-  
ing lady  
Eliza-  
beth.

Her cle-  
mency.

*See  
Appendix.*

a king's daughter ; for there was no more behind to make a very Iphigenia of her, but her offering up upon the altar of the scaffold ; in which her storms and tempests, with what patience her highness behaved herself, although it be best known to those who, then being her adversaries had the muing<sup>1</sup> of her, yet this will I say by the way, that, then, she must needs be in her affliction, marvellous patient, who showeth herself now, in this prosperity, to be utterly without desire of revenge ; or else would she have given some token, ere this day, of remembrance how she was handled. It was no small injury that she suffered in the lord protector's days, by certain venomous vipers. But, to let that pass, was it no wrong, think you, or small injury that she sustained, after the death of king Edward, when they sought to defeat both her and her sister, from her natural inheritance and right of the crown ?\*

*Mary.*

A.D.

1554

to

1558.

But when all hath been said and told, whatsoever can be recited touching the admirable working of God's present hand in defending and delivering any one person out of thralldom, never was there, since the memory of our fathers, any example to be showed, wherein the Lord's mighty power hath more admirably and blessedly showed itself, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole realm, than in the miraculous custody and out-scape of this OUR SOVEREIGN LADY, now QUEEN, then lady Elizabeth, in the strait time of queen Mary her sister.

In which story we first have to consider in what extreme misery, sickness, fear, and peril her highness was ; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death she was brought : first, with great routs and bands of armed men (and happy was he that might have the carrying of her), being fetched up as the greatest traitor in the world, clapped in the Tower, and again tossed from thence, and from house to house, from prison to prison, from post to pillar, at length also prisoner in her own house, and guarded with a sort of cut-throats, which ever gaped for the spoil, whereby they might be fingering of somewhat.

Manifold  
dangers  
and trou-  
bles of the  
lady Eli-  
zabeth.

Secondly, we have to consider again, all this notwithstanding, how strangely, or rather miraculously, she was delivered from danger, what favour and grace she found with the Almighty ; who, when all help of man and hope of recovery was past, stretched out his mighty protection, and preserved her highness, and placed her in this princely seat of rest and quietness, wherein now she sitteth ; and long may she sit, the Lord of his glorious mercy grant, we beseech him.

In which story, if I should set forth, at large and at full, all the particulars and circumstances thereunto belonging, and as just occasion of the history requireth ; beside the importunate length of the story discoursed, peradventure it might move offence to some being yet alive, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithstanding, I intend (by the grace of Christ) therein to use such brevity and moderation, as both may be to the glory of God, the discharge of the story, the profit of the reader, and hurt to none ; suppressing the names of some, whom here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruel in hurting their names, than the queen hath been merciful in pardoning their lives.

Therefore now, to enter into the discourse of this tragical matter,

(1) 'Mewing,' or muing ; a shutting up.—ED.

*Mary.* first here is to be noted, that queen Mary, when she was first queen, before she was crowned, would go no whither, but would have her by the hand. and send for her to dinner and supper : but, after she was crowned, she never dined nor supped with her, but kept her aloof from her, etc. After this it happened, immediately upon the rising of sir Thomas Wyat (as before was mentioned), that the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courteney were charged with false suspicion of sir Thomas Wyat's rising. Whereupon queen Mary, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the said lady Elizabeth her sister, at that time lying in her house at Ashridge, the next day after the rising of Wyat, sent to her three of her councillors, to wit, sir Richard Southwell, sir John Williams, sir Edward Hastings (then master of the horse), and sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troop of horsemen, to the number of two hundred and fifty; who, at their sudden and unprovided coming, found her at the same time sore sick in her bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, ascending up to her grace's chamber, they willed one of her ladies, whom they met, to declare unto her grace, that there were certain come from the court, which had a message from the queen.

Her grace having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming: howbeit, being then very sick, and the night far spent (which was at ten of the clock), she requested them by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, and by the said messenger sent word again, that they must needs see her, and would so do, in what case soever she were. Whereat the lady being aghast, went to show her grace their words; but they, hastily following her, came rushing as soon as she into her grace's chamber, unbidden. At whose so sudden coming into her bedchamber her grace being not a little amazed said unto them, "*\*My Lords\** is the haste such, that it might not have pleased you to come to-morrow in the morning?" They made answer, that they were right sorry to see her in that case. "And I," quod she, "am not glad to see you here at this time of the night." Whereunto they answered, that they came from the queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect, that the queen's pleasure was, that she should be at London the seventh day of that present month. Whereunto she said, "Certes no creature more glad than I to come to her majesty, being right sorry that I am not in case at this time *\*like\** to wait on her, as you yourselves, *\*my lordes\**, do see and can well testify." "Indeed we see it true," quod they, "that you do say; for which we are very sorry. Albeit, we let you to understand, that our commission is such, and so strayneth us, that we must needs bring you with us, either quick or dead." Whereat she being amazed sorrowfully said, that their commission was very sore; but yet, notwithstanding, she hoped it to be otherwise, and not so strait. "Yes, verily," said they. Whereupon they, calling for two physicians, Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, demanded of them whether she might be removed from thence with life, or no; whose answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their judgment to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

In conclusion, they willed her to prepare against the next morning at nine of the clock, to go with them, declaring that they had brought

Council-  
lors sent  
to fetch  
up the  
lady Eli-  
zabeth.

The un-  
manner-  
liness  
of the  
knights.

A strait  
commis-  
sion from  
the  
queen, to  
bring the  
lady Eli-  
zabeth  
either  
quick or  
dead.

See  
Appendix

with them the queen's litter for her. After much talk, the messengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, so departed to their chamber, being entertained and cheered, as appertained to their worships.

On the next morrow at the time prescribed, they had her forth as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such case, that she was ready to swounde three or four times between them. What should I speak here, that cannot well be expressed, what an heavy house there was to behold the unreverent and doleful dealing of \*the lords,\* but especially the careful fear and captivity of their innocent lady and mistress.

Now to proceed in her journey: from Ashridge, all sick in the litter, she came to Redbourn, where she was guarded all night: from thence to St. Alban's, to sir Rafe Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night \*al heavy\*, both feeble in body, and comfortless in mind. From that place they passed to master Dodde's house at Mimms, where also they remained that night: and so from thence she came to Highgate, where she, being very sick, tarried that night and the next day; during which time of her abode, there came many pursuivants and messengers from the court; but for what purpose I cannot tell. From that place she was conveyed to the court, where by the way came to meet her many gentlemen, to accompany her highness, which were very sorry to see her in that case. But especially a great multitude of people there were standing by the way, who then flocking about her litter lamented and bewailed greatly her estate.

Now when she came to the court, her grace was there straightways shut up, and kept as close prisoner a fortnight, seeing neither king nor queen, nor lord nor friend, all that time, but only then the lord chamberlain, sir John Gage, and the vice-chamberlain, which were attendant unto the doors. About which time sir William Sentlowe<sup>1</sup> was called before the council; to whose charge was laid that he knew of Wyat's rebellion, which he stoutly denied, protesting that he was a true man both to God and his prince, defying all traitors and rebels. But, being straitly examined, [he] was in conclusion committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm-Sunday, the bishop of Winchester with nineteen other of the council (who shall be here nameless), came unto her grace from the queen's majesty, and burdened her with Wyat's conspiracy, which she utterly denied, affirming that she was altogether guiltless therein. They, being not contented with this, charged her grace with business made by sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the west country: which also she, utterly denying, cleared her innocency therein.

In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the queen's will and pleasure that she should go unto the Tower, while the matter were further tried and examined. Whereat she, being aghast, said, that she trusted the queen's majesty would be more gracious lady unto her, and that her highness would not otherwise conceive of her but that she was a true woman: declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherein they had burdened her, and desired them therefore to be a further mean to the queen her sister, that she, being a true

*Mary.*

A. D.  
1554  
to  
1558.

*See  
Appendix.*

The lady  
Elizabeth  
taketh  
her jour-  
ney to  
ward the  
queen.

The lady  
Elizabeth  
brought  
up to  
London.

Lady  
Elizabeth  
charged  
with  
Wyat's  
conspi-  
racy, and  
with the  
business  
of Peter  
Carew.

She purg-  
eth her-  
self to the  
lords.

(1) St. Lo, or St. Leo, the captain of the guard.—ED.



*Mary.* woman in thought, word, and deed, towards her majesty, might not  
*A. D.* be committed to so notorious and doleful a place; protesting that  
 1554 she would request no favour at her hand, if she should be proved to  
 to have consented unto any such kind of matter as they laid unto  
 1558. her charge; and therefore, in fine, desired their lordships to think of  
 her what she was, and that she might not so extremely be dealt  
 withal for her truth. Whereunto the lords answered again, that there  
 was no remedy, for that the queen's majesty was fully determined  
 that she should go unto the Tower: wherewith the lords departed,  
 with their caps hanging over their eyes.

Her  
servants  
removed  
from her.  
The  
queen's  
men and  
waiting  
women  
attendant  
upon lady  
Eliza-  
beth.

But not long after, within the space of an hour or little more, came  
 four of the foresaid lords of the council, which were the lord treasurer,  
 the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, the earl of Sussex, with  
 the guard; who, warding the next chamber to her, secluded all her  
 gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen; saving that for one  
 gentleman-usher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber,  
 were appointed, in their rooms, three other men of the queen's, and  
 three waiting women to give attendance upon her, that none should  
 have access to her grace. At which time there were a hundred of  
 northern soldiers in white coats, watching and warding about the  
 gardens all that night; a great fire being made in the midst of the  
 hall, and two certain lords watching there also, with their band and  
 company.

The hard  
dealing of  
a certain  
lord.  
The earl  
of Sussex  
gentle to  
lady Eli-  
zabeth.  
Lady  
Elizabeth  
writeth  
to the  
queen,  
but it  
would not  
serve.

Upon Saturday following,<sup>1</sup> two lords of the council (the one was  
 the earl of Sussex, the other shall be nameless) came and certified  
 her grace, that forthwith she must go unto the Tower, the barge being  
 prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarrieth for nobody.  
 In heavy mood her grace requested the lords that she might tarry  
 another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfort-  
 able. But one of the lords replied, that neither time nor tide was to be  
 delayed. And when her grace requested him that she might be  
 suffered to write to the queen's majesty, he answered, that he durst  
 not permit that; adding, that in his judgment it would rather hurt,  
 than profit her grace, in so doing. But the other lord, more courteous  
 and favourable (who was the earl of Sussex), kneeling down, told her  
 grace that she should have liberty to write, and, as he was a true man,  
 he would deliver it to the queen's highness, and bring an answer of  
 the same, whatsoever came thereof. Whereupon she wrote, albeit  
 she could in no case be suffered to speak with the queen, to her great  
 discomfort, being no offender against the queen's majesty.

And thus the time and tide passed away for that season, they  
 privily appointing all things ready that she should go the next tide,  
 which fell about midnight; but for fear she should be taken by the  
 way, they durst not. So they staid till the next day, being Palm-  
 Sunday, when, about nine of the clock, these two returned again,  
 declaring that it was time for her grace to depart. She answered,  
 "If there be no remedy, I must be contented;" willing the lords to  
 go on before. Being come forth into the garden, she did cast her  
 eyes towards the window, thinking to have seen the queen, which she  
 could not: whereat she said, she marvelled much what the nobility  
 of the realm meant, which in that sort would suffer her to be led into  
 captivity, the Lord knew whither, for she did not. In the mean time,

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

commandment was given in all London, that every one should keep the church, and carry their palms, while in the mean season she might be conveyed without all recourse of people into the Tower.

After all this, she took her barge with the two foresaid lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, and three of her own, her gentleman-usher, and two of her grooms, lying and hovering upon the water a certain space, for that they could not shoot the bridge, the bargemen being very unwilling to shoot the same so soon as they did, because of the danger thereof: for the stern of the boat struck upon the ground, the fall was so big, and the water was so shallow, that the boat being under the bridge, there staid again awhile. At landing she first stayed, and denied to land at those stairs where all traitors and offenders customably used to land, neither well could she, unless she should go over her shoes. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went back again to her, and brought word she would not come. Then said one of the lords, which shall be nameless, that she should not choose: and because it did then rain, he offered to her his cloak, which she, putting it back with her hand with a good dash, refused. So she coming out, having one foot upon the stair, said, "Here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs; and before thee, O God! I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone." To whom the same lord answered again, that if it were so, it was the better for her.

At her landing there was a great multitude of their servants and warders standing in their order. "What needed all this?" said she. "It is the use," said some, "so to be, when any prisoner comes thither." "And if it be," quoth she, "for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed." Whereat the poor men kneeled down, and with one voice desired God to preserve her grace; who the next day were released of their cold coats.

After this, passing a little further, she sat down upon a cold stone, and there rested herself. To whom the lieutenant then being said, "Madam, you were best to come out of the rain; for you sit unwholesomely." She then replying, answered again, "It is better sitting here, than in a worse place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me." With that her gentleman-usher wept: she demanding of him what he meant so uncomfortably to use her, seeing she took him to be her comforter, and not \*dismayor\*; especially for that she knew her truth to be such, that no man should have cause to weep for her. But forth she went into the prison.

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which did not a little discomfort and dismay her grace: at what time she called to her gentlewoman for her book, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather should have no power against her. The doors being thus locked, and she close shut up, the lords had great conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing straitly and circumspectly to keep her.

Then one of them, which was the lord of Sussex, swearing said, "My lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commission

*Mary.*

A. D.

1554

to

1558.

Lady Elizabeth sent to the Tower.

Her words on entering the Tower.

Her christian prayer.

*Mary.* will bear us out in, whatsoever shall happen hereafter. And further, let us consider that she was the king our master's daughter: and therefore let us use such dealing, that we may answer it hereafter, if it shall so happen: for just dealing," quoth he, "is always answerable." Whereunto the other lords agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the Tower, within two days commandment was, that she should have mass within her house. One master Young was then her chaplain, and because there were none of her men so well learned to help the priest to say mass, the mass staid for that day.

Lord  
Sussex  
speaketh  
for her.

*See  
Appendix.*

The next day two of her yeomen, who had gone long to school before, and were learned, had two abecies provided, and delivered them; so that upon the abecies, they should help the priest. One of the said yeomen, holding the abecie in his hand, pretending ignorance at Kyrie Eleison, set the priest, making as though he could answer no further.

The  
bishop of  
Winches-  
ter enemy  
to the  
lady Eli-  
zabeth.  
The lady  
Elizabeth  
examined  
by the  
bishop of  
Winches-  
ter.

It would make a pitiful and a strange story, here by the way to touch and recite what examination and rackings of poor men there were, to find out that knife that should cut her throat; what gaping among my lords of the clergy, to see the day wherein they might wash their goodly white rochets in her innocent blood; but especially the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor, ruler of the roost, who then, within five days after, came unto her, with divers other of the council, and examined her of the talk that was at Ashridge, betwixt her and sir James Croft, concerning her removing from thence to Donnington-castle, requiring her to declare what she meant thereby.

At the first she, being so suddenly asked, did not well remember any such house; but within awhile, well advising herself, she said, "Indeed," quoth she, "I do now remember that I have such a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember."

Then to enforce the matter, they brought forth sir James Croft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of her, what she said to that man. She answered, that she had little to say to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the Tower. "But my lords," quoth she, "you do examine every mean prisoner of me, wherein, methinks, you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen's majesty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you, my lords, join not me, in this sort, with any of these offenders. And as concerning my going unto Donnington-castle, I do remember that master Hobby and mine officers, and you sir James Croft, had such talk; but what is that to the purpose, my lords, but that I may go to mine own houses at all times?"

Friendly  
speech of  
Arundel  
to the  
lady Eli-  
zabeth.

The lord of Arundel kneeling down, said, "Your grace saith true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have so troubled you about so vain matters." She then said, "My lords, you do sift me very narrowly: but well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed; and so God forgive you all."

Sir James  
Croft ex-  
amined.

At their departure sir James Croft kneeled down, declaring that he was sorry to see the day in which he should be brought as a witness against her grace. "But I assure your grace," said he, "I

have been marvellously tossed and examined touching your highness, which (the Lord knoweth) is very strange to me: for, I take God to record before all your honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I should be driven to so straight a trial.

*Mary.*  
A.D.  
1554  
to  
1558.

That day, or thereabouts, divers of her own officers, who had made provision for her diet, brought the same to the outer gate of the Tower, the common rascal soldiers receiving it;<sup>1</sup> which was no small grief unto the gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they required to speak with the lord chamberlain, being then constable of the Tower; who, coming before his presence, declared unto his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring her grace's diet, and to deliver it unto such common and desperate persons as they were, which did receive it, beseeching his honour to consider her grace, and to give such order, that her viands might at all times be brought in by them which were appointed thereunto. "Yea, sirs," said he, "who appointed you this office?" They answered, "Her grace's council." "Council!" quoth he; "there is none of them which hath to do either in that case, or any thing else, within this place. And I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be served with the lieutenant's men, as other the prisoners are." Whereat the gentlemen said, that they trusted for more favour at his hands, considering her personage; saying, that they mistrusted not, but that the queen and her council would be better to her grace than so. And therewith showed themselves to be offended at the ungrateful words of the lord chamberlain towards their lady and mistress. At this he swore by God (striking himself upon the breast), that if they did either frown or shrug at him, he would set them where they should see neither sun nor moon. Thus taking their leave, they desired God to bring him into a better mind toward her grace, and departed from him.

The lady Elizabeth's servants restrained for bringing her diet to the Tower

Displeasure between the lord chamberlain and the lady Elizabeth's men

Upon the occasion whereof, her grace's officers made great suit unto the queen's council, that some might be appointed to bring her diet unto her, and that it might no more be delivered unto the common soldiers of the Tower; which being reasonably considered, was by them granted. And thereupon were appointed one of her gentlemen, her clerk of her kitchen, and her two purveyors, to bring in her provision once a-day: all which was done, the warders ever waiting upon the bringers thereof.

The lord chamberlain himself being always with them, circumspectly and narrowly watched and searched what they brought, and gave heed that they should have no talk with any of her grace's waiting servants; and so warded them both in and out. At the said suit of her officers, were sent by the commandment of the council, to wait upon her grace, two yeomen of her chamber, one of her robes, two of her pantry and ewery, one of her buttery, another of her cellar, two of her kitchen, and one of her larder; all which continued with her the time of her trouble.

The lady Elizabeth's waiting men in the Tower.

Here the constable, being at the first not very well pleased with the coming-in of such a company against his will, would have had his men still to have served with her grace's men; which her servants

Variance with the lord chamberlain.

(1) These were not the officers of the Tower, but such as went in white and green.



*Mary.* at no hand would suffer, desiring his lordship to be contented, for  
 A. D. that order was taken, that no stranger should come within their  
 1554 offices. At which answer being sore displeased, he brake out into  
 to these threatening words: "Well," said he, "I will handle you well  
 1558. enough." Then went he into the kitchen, and there would needs  
 have his meat roasted with her grace's meat, and said that his cook  
 should come thither and dress it. To that her grace's cook answered,  
 "My lord, I will never suffer any stranger to come about her diet,  
 but her own sworn men, so long as I live." He said, they should.  
 But the cook said, his lordship should pardon him for that matter.  
 Thus did he trouble her poor servants very stoutly; though after-  
 ward he was otherwise advised, and they more courteously used at  
 his hands. And good cause why; for he had good cheer, and fared  
 of the best, and her grace paid well for it. Wherefore he used  
 himself afterward more reverently toward her grace.

The lady  
 Elizabeth  
 denied  
 the liberty  
 of the  
 Tower.

After this sort, having lien a whole month there in close prison,  
 and being very evil at ease therewithal, she sent for the lord cham-  
 berlain, and the lord Chandos, to come and speak with her; who  
 coming, she requested them that she might have liberty to walk in  
 some place, for that she felt herself not well. To the which they  
 answered, that they were right sorry that they could not satisfy her  
 grace's request; for that they had commandment to the contrary,  
 which they durst not in any wise break. Furthermore, she desired  
 of them, if that could not be granted, that she might walk but into  
 the queen's lodging. No, nor yet that (they answered) could by any  
 means be obtained without a further suit to the queen and her  
 council. "Well," said she, "my lords, if the matter be so hard,  
 that they must be sued unto for so small a thing, and that friendship  
 be so straight, God comfort me." And so they departed, she remain-  
 ing in her old dungeon still, without any kind of comfort but only  
 God.

The next day after the lord Chandos came again unto her grace,  
 declaring unto her, that he had sued unto the council for further  
 liberty. Some of them consented thereunto, divers other dissented,  
 for that there were so many prisoners in the Tower. But, in con-  
 clusion, they did all agree that her grace might walk into those  
 lodgings, so that he and the lord chamberlain, and three of the  
 queen's gentlewomen did accompany her, the windows being shut,  
 and she not suffered to look out at any of them: wherewith she  
 contented herself, and gave him thanks for his good will in that  
 behalf.

Liberty  
 granted  
 her to  
 walk in a  
 little  
 garden.

Afterwards there was liberty granted to her grace to walk in a little  
 garden, the doors and gates being shut up, which notwithstanding  
 was as much discomfort unto her, as the walk in the garden was  
 pleasant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the  
 prisoners on that side straitly were commanded not to speak or look  
 out at the windows into the garden, till her grace were gone out  
 again, having, in consideration thereof, their keepers waiting upon  
 them for that time. Thus her grace, with this small liberty, con-  
 tented herself in God, to whom be praise there-for.

During this time, there used a little boy, a man's child in the  
 Tower, to resort to their chambers, and many times to bring her grace

flowers, which likewise he did to the other prisoners that were there. Whereupon, naughty and suspicious heads, thinking to make and wring out some matter thereof, called on a time the child unto them, promising him figs and apples, and asked of him when he had been with the earl of Devonshire, not ignorant of the child's wonted frequenting unto him. The boy answered, that he would go by and by thither. Further, they demanded of him, when he was with the lady Elizabeth's grace. He answered, "Every day." Furthermore, they examined him, what the lord of Devonshire sent by him to her grace. The child said, "I will go know, what he will give to carry to her." Such was the discretion of the child, being yet but <sup>iii</sup>\* years of age. "This same is a crafty boy," quoth the lord chamberlain: "how say you, my lord Chandos?" "I pray you, my lord," quoth the boy, "give me the figs you promised me." "No, marry," quoth he, "thou shalt be whipped, if thou come any more to the lady Elizabeth, or the lord Courteney." The boy answered, "I will bring my lady my mistress more flowers." Whereupon the child's father was commanded to permit the boy no more to come up into their chambers.

*Mary.*  
A. D.  
1554  
to  
1558.

Sus-  
picious  
heads.  
A young  
child ex-  
amined  
for bring-  
ing  
flowers  
to the  
lady Eli-  
zabeth.

The next day, as her grace was walking in the garden, the child, peeping in at a hole in the door, cried unto her, saying, "Mistress, I can bring you no more flowers." Whereat she smiled, but said nothing, understanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore afterwards the chamberlain rebuked highly his father, commanding him to put him out of the house. "Alas, poor infant!" quoth the father. "It is a crafty knave," quoth the lord chamberlain; "let me see him here no more."

The 5th day of May, the constable of the Tower was discharged of his office of the Tower, and one sir Henry Benifield<sup>2</sup> placed in his room, a man unknown to her grace, and therefore the more feared; which so sudden mutation was unto her no little amaze. He brought with him a hundred soldiers, in blue coats, wherewith she was marvellously discomfited, and demanded of such as were about her, whether the lady Jane's scaffold were taken away or no; fearing, by reason of their coming, lest she should have played her part. To whom answer was made, that the scaffold was taken away, and that her grace needed not to doubt of any such tyranny; for God would not suffer any such treason against her person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether satisfied, she asked who sir Henry Benifield was; and whether he was of that conscience, or no, that if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge he would see the execution thereof. She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. Howbeit they persuaded her that God would not suffer such wickedness to proceed. "Well," quoth she, "God grant it be so. For thou, O God, canst mollify<sup>3</sup> all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruel purposes; and I beseech thee to hear me, thy creature, which am thy servant and at thy commandment, trusting by thy grace ever so to remain."

The con-  
stable of  
the Tower  
dis-  
charged.  
Sir Henry  
Benifield,  
etc. placed  
about the  
lady  
Eliza-  
beth.  
She is in  
great fear  
and doubt  
of life.

The lady  
Eliza-  
beth in  
doubt of  
sir Henry.

About which time it was spread abroad, that her grace should be carried from thence by this new jolly captain and his soldiers; but whither, it could not be learned: which was unto her a great grief,

(1) The Editions after the first say "four."—Ed.

(2) Rather "Bedingfield;" see Nichols, in his "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth."—Ed.

(3) "Art the withdrawer and mollifier." Edit. 1563, p. 1713.

*Mary.* especially for that such a company was appointed to her guard ;  
*A. D.* requesting rather to continue there still, than to be led thence with  
 1554 such a sort of rascals. At last, plain answer was made by the lord  
 to Chandos, that there was no remedy, but from thence she must needs  
 1558. depart to the manor of Woodstock, as he thought. Being demanded  
 of her, for what cause : " For that," quoth he, " the Tower is like  
 further to be furnished." She being desirous to know what he meant  
*See* thereby, demanded, " Wherewith ? " He answered, with such matter  
*Appendix.* as the queen and council were determined in that behalf, whereof he  
 had no knowledge ; and so departed.

In conclusion, on Trinity Sunday, being the 19th day of May,<sup>1</sup> she  
 was removed from the Tower, the lord treasurer being then there, for  
 the lading of her carts, and discharging the place of the same ; where  
 sir Henry Benifield (being appointed her jailer) did receive her, with  
 a company of rake-hells to guard her, besides the lord of Derby's  
 band, wafting in the country about, for the moonshine in the water.  
 Unto whom at length came my lord of Tame,<sup>2</sup> joined in commission  
 with the said sir Henry, for the safe guiding of her to prison ; and  
 they together conveyed her grace to Woodstock, as hereafter  
 followeth. The first day they conducted her to Richmond, where  
 she continued all night, being restrained of her own men, which were  
 \*laid\* in out-chambers, and sir Henry Benifield's soldiers appointed  
 in their rooms to give attendance on her person. Whereat she being  
 marvellously dismayed, thinking verily some secret mischief to be  
 a-working towards her, called her gentleman-usher, and desired him  
 with the rest of his company to pray for her : " For this night,"  
 quoth she, " I think to die." Wherewith he being stricken to the  
 heart, said, " God forbid that any such wickedness should be pre-  
 tended against your grace." So, comforting her as well as he could,  
 at last he burst out into tears, and went from her down into the court,  
 where were walking the lord of Tame, and sir Henry Benifield.

Then he, coming to the lord of Tame (who had proffered to him  
 much friendship), desired to speak with him a word or two ; unto  
 whom he familiarly said, he would with all his heart. Which when  
 sir Henry, standing by, heard, he asked what the matter was. To  
 whom the gentleman-usher answered, " No great matter, sir," said  
 he, " but to speak with my lord a word or two."

Then when the lord of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise :  
 " My lord," quoth he, " you have been always my good lord, and so  
 I beseech you to remain. The cause why I come to you at this  
 time is, to desire your honour unfeignedly to declare unto me,  
 whether any danger is meant towards my mistress this night, or no ;  
 that I and my poor fellows may take such part as shall please God to  
 appoint : for certainly we will rather die, than she should secretly  
 and innocently miscarry." " Marry," said the lord of Tame, " God  
 forbid that any such wicked purpose should be wrought ; and rather  
 than it should be so, I with my men are ready to die at her foot also."  
 And so (praised be God) they passed that doleful night, with no little  
 heaviness of heart.

Afterwards, passing over the water at Richmond, going towards

(1) Trinity Sunday, in 1554, fell on May 20th : but see Appendix to this place, and Appendix to vol. vi., note on p. 533.—Ed.

(2) Holinshead says that, at this time, he was sir John Williams.—Ed.

She is removed from the Tower to Richmond, and secluded from her servants.

In despair of her life.

The lady Elizabeth's usher talketh with the lord of Tame.

Gentle heart of lord Tame.

Windsor, her grace espied certain of her poor servants standing on the other side, which were very desirous to see her. Whom when she beheld, turning to one of her men standing by, she said, "Yonder I see certain of my men: go to them and say these words from me, 'Tanquam ovis ;'" that is, Like a sheep to the slaughter.

So she passing forward to Windsor, was lodged there that night in the dean of Windsor's house, a place more meet indeed for a priest than a princess.

And from thence her grace was guarded and brought the next night to master Dormer's house,<sup>1</sup> where, much people standing by the way, some presented to her one gift, and some another, so that sir Henry was greatly moved therewith, and troubled the poor people very sore, for showing their loving hearts in such a manner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such like vile words.

Besides, as she passed through the villages, the townsmen rang the bells, as being joyful of her coming, thinking verily it had been otherwise than it was indeed, as the sequel proved after to the said poor men. For immediately the said sir Henry, hearing the same, sent his soldiers thither, who apprehended some of the ringers, setting them in the stocks, and otherwise uncourteously misusing other some, for their good wills.

On the morrow, her grace, passing from master Dormer's (where was, for the time of her abode there, a strait watch kept), came to the lord of Tame's house,<sup>2</sup> where she lay all the night, being very princely entertained both of knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Whereat sir Henry Benifield grunted, and was highly offended, saying unto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer their doings in that behalf; letting them to understand, that she was the queen's majesty's prisoner, and no otherwise; advising them therefore to take heed and beware of after-claps. Whereunto the lord of Tame answered in this wise: that he was well advised of his doings, being joined in commission as well as he, adding with warrant, that her grace might and should in his house be merry. The next day, as she should take her journey from Ricot toward Woodstock, the lord of Tame with another gentleman being at tables, playing, and dropping vie crowns, the lady Elizabeth, passing by, stayed and said she would see the game played out, which sir Henry Benifield would scarce permit. The game running long about, and they playing drop vie crowns, "Come on," saith he; "I will tarry," saith she, "and will see this game out."

After this, sir Henry went up into a chamber, where were appointed for her grace a chair, two cushions, and a foot-carpet, very fair and prince-like, wherein presumptuously he sat and called one Barwick, his man, to pull off his boots: which as soon as it was known among the ladies and gentles, every one mused thereat, and laughed him to scorn, observing his indiscreet manners in that behalf, as they might very well. When supper was done, he called my lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies should withdraw themselves every one to his lodging, marvelling much that he would permit there such a company, considering so great a charge committed to him. "Sir Henry," quoth my lord, "content yourself, all shall be voided, your men and

*Mary.*

*A. D.*

1554

to

1558.

Lady Elizabeth honourably received and beloved of the people.

Entertainment of lady Elizabeth at lord Tame's. Master Benifield grudging Elizabeth.

See Appendix

Rude and ungentlemanly behaviour of sir Henry Benifield.

(1) Namely, at Winge, in Buckinghamshire.—ED.

(2) At Ricot, in Oxfordshire.—ED.



*Mary.* all." "Nay, my soldiers," quoth sir Henry, "shall watch all night."  
*A. D.* The lord of Tame answered, "It shall not need." "Well," said he,  
 1544 "need or need not, they shall so do;" mistrusting belike the com-  
 to pany, which God knoweth was without cause.

1558. The next day her grace took her journey from thence to Wood-  
 stock, where she was enclosed, as before in the Tower of London,  
 the soldiers guarding and warding both within and without the walls,  
 every day to the number of sixty, and, in the night, without the  
 walls, forty, during the time of her imprisonment there.

The lady  
Elizabeth  
cometh to  
Wood-  
stock.  
Strait  
watch  
kept.

At length she had gardens appointed for her walk, which was  
 very comfortable to her grace. But always, when she did recreate  
 herself therein, the doors were fast locked up, in a straight manner as  
 they were in the Tower, being at the least five or six locks between  
 her lodging and her walks; sir Henry himself keeping the keys, and  
 trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him her jailer;  
 and he, kneeling down, desired her grace not to call him so, for he  
 was appointed there to be one of her officers. "From such officers,"  
 quoth she, "good Lord deliver me!"

A merry  
story con-  
cerning  
the strait  
keeping  
of the  
lady Eli-  
zabeth.

And now by the way, as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader,  
 if it be lawful in so serious a story to recite a matter incident, and yet  
 not impertinent, to the same; occasion here moveth, or rather enforceth  
 me, to touch briefly what happened in the same place and time by a  
 certain merry-conceited man, being then about her grace, who, noting  
 the strait and strange keeping of his lady and mistress by the said  
 sir Henry Benifield, with so many locks and doors, with such watch  
 and ward about her, as was strange and wonderful, spied a goat in  
 the ward where her grace was: and whether to refresh her oppressed  
 mind, or to notify her strait handling by sir Henry, or else both, he  
 took it upon his neck, and followed her grace therewith, as she was  
 going into her lodging. Which when she saw, she asked him what  
 he would do with it, willing him to let it alone. Unto whom the  
 said party answered, "No, by St. Mary (if it like your grace) will I  
 not; for I cannot tell, whether he be one of the queen's friends, or  
 no. I will carry him to sir Henry Benifield (God willing), to know  
 what he is." So leaving her grace, he went with the goat on his neck,  
 and carried it to sir Henry Benifield, who, when he saw him coming  
 with it, asked him, half angrily, what he had there. Unto whom the  
 party answered, saying, "Sir," quoth he, "I cannot tell what he is.  
 I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my lady's  
 grace was walking, and what talk they have had, I cannot tell: for I  
 understand him not. But he should seem to me to be some stranger,  
 and I think verily a Welshman, for he hath a white frieze coat on his  
 back. And forsomuch as I, being the queen's subject, and perceiving  
 the strait charge committed to you of her keeping, that no stranger  
 should have access to her without sufficient license, I have here found  
 a stranger (what he is I cannot tell) in the place where her grace was  
 walking; and therefore, for the necessary discharge of my duty, I  
 thought it good to bring the said stranger to you, to examine, as you  
 see cause;" and so he set him down. At which his words sir Henry  
 seemed much displeased, and said "Well, well; you will never leave  
 this gear I see:" and so they departed.

The  
straitness  
of sir  
Henry  
Benifield  
merrily  
noted.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have digressed, after her grace had been there a time, she made suit to the council that she might be suffered to write to the queen; which at last was permitted. So sir Henry Benifield brought her pen, ink, and paper; and standing by her while she wrote (which he straitly observed), always, she being weary, he would carry away her letters, and bring them again when she called for them. In the finishing thereof, he would have been messenger to the queen of the same; whose request her grace denied, saying, one of her own men should carry them; and that she would neither trust him nor any of his therein. Then he answered again, saying, "None of them durst be so bold," he trowed, "to carry her letters, being in that case." "Yes," quoth she, "I am assured I have none so dishonest that would deny my request in that behalf, but will be as willing to serve me now as before." "Well," said he, "my commission is to the contrary, and I may not so suffer it." Her grace, replying again, said, "You charge me very often with your commission; I pray God, you may justly answer the cruel dealing you use towards me." Then he, kneeling down, desired her grace to think and consider how he was a servant, and put in trust there by the queen to serve her majesty; protesting that if the case were hers, he would as willingly serve her grace, as now he did the queen's highness. For the which his answer her grace thanked him, desiring God that she might never have need of such servants as he was: declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor answerable; but more than all the friends he had would stand by'. To whom sir Henry replied and said, that there was no remedy but his doings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moved her grace so to say, was for that he would not permit her letters to be carried four or five days after the writing thereof. But, in fine, he was content to send for her gentleman from the town of Woodstock, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the carriage of her grace's letters to the queen, or no: and he answered, "Yea, sir, that I dare; and will with all my heart:" whereupon sir Henry, half against his stomach, took them unto him.

Then about the 8th of June came down Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, sent by the queen to her grace, for that she was sickly; who, ministering to her, and letting her blood, tarried there and attended on her grace five or six days. Then she, being well amended, they returned again to the court, making their good report to the queen and the council of her grace's behaviour and humbleness toward the queen's highness; which her majesty hearing, took very thankfully: but the bishops thereat repined, looked black in the mouth, and told the queen, they marvelled that she submitted not herself to her majesty's mercy, considering that she had offended her highness.

About this time, her grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit herself to the queen's majesty, which would be very well taken, and to her great quiet and commodity. Unto whom she answered, that she would never submit herself to them, whom she never offended. "For," quoth she, "if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the law; which I am certain," quoth she, "I should have had ere this, if it could be proved by me. For I know myself

*Mary.*

A. D.

1554

to

1558.

Lady Elizabeth, with much ado, suffered to write to the queen.

Cruel handling of sir Henry Benifield reproved.

The letters of the lady Elizabeth sent to the queen.

Queen Mary's physicians sent to the lady Elizabeth.

The popish prelates repine against her.

She is requested to submit herself to the queen.

(1) "For in the ende she told him plainly they would forsake him." Ed 1563, p. 1714.

*Mary.*A. D.  
1554  
to  
1558.Counsel  
of the pa-  
pists to  
marry the  
lady Eli-  
zabeth to  
a Span-  
iard.Wicked  
counsel  
of lord  
Paget.Spaniards  
more fa-  
vourable  
to the  
lady Eli-  
zabeth  
than  
some  
English-  
men.Lady Eli-  
zabeth in  
danger of  
fire.Also in  
danger of  
killing.Another  
conspira-  
cy to  
murder  
her.The lady  
Elizabeth  
pre-  
served, by  
the Lord's  
provi-  
dence,  
from exe-  
cution in  
the  
Tower.

(I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies; and then I am assured I should not so be locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him."

About this time there was a great consulting among the bishops and gentlemen, touching a marriage for her grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realm with her portion; some saying one thing, and some another. A lord, who shall be here nameless, being there, at last said, that the king should never have any quiet commonwealth in England, unless her head were stricken from the shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered, saying, God forbid that their king and master should have that mind, to consent to such a mischief.

This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their own country. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honour he should never obtain, as he should in delivering the lady Elizabeth's grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happily released from the same. Here is a plain and evident example of the good clemency and nature of the king and his counsellors toward her grace (praised be God there-for!), who moved their hearts therein. Then hereupon she was sent for shortly after, to come to Hampton Court.

But before her removing away from Woodstock, we will a little stay to declare in what dangers her life was, during this time she there remained; first, through fire, which began to kindle between the boards and ceiling under the chamber where she lay, whether by a spark of fire gotten into a cranny, or whether of purpose by some that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheless a worshipful knight of Oxfordshire, which was there joined the same time with sir Henry Benifield in keeping that lady (who then took up the boards and quenched the fire), verily supposed it to be done of purpose.

Furthermore it is thought, and also affirmed (if it be true) of one Paul Peny, a keeper of Woodstock, a notorious ruffian and a butcherly wretch, that he was appointed to kill the said lady Elizabeth; who both saw the man, being often in her sight, and also knew thereof.

Another time, one of the privy-chamber, a great man about the queen, and chief darling of Stephen Gardiner, named master James Basset, came to Bladon-bridge, a mile from Woodstock, with twenty or thirty privy coats, and sent for sir Henry Benifield to come and speak with him. But as God would, which disposeth all things after the purpose of his own will, so it happened, that a little before, the said sir Henry Benifield was sent for by post to the council, leaving strait word behind him with his brother, that no man, whatsoever he were, though coming with a bill of the queen's hand, or any other warrant, should have access to her before his return again. By reason whereof it so fell out, that master Benifield's brother, coming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case to approach in, who otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent lady.

In the life of Stephen Gardiner we declared before,<sup>1</sup> how that the lady Elizabeth being in the Tower, a writ came down, subscribed with

(1) See vol. vii. p. 592.—Ed.

certain hands of the council, for her execution ; which, if it were certain, as it is reported, Winchester (no doubt) was deviser of that mischievous drift. And, doubtless, the same Ahithophel had brought his impious purpose that day to pass, had not the fatherly providence of Almighty God (who is always stronger than the devil) stirred up master Bridges, lieutenant the same time of the Tower, to come in haste to the queen, to give certificate thereof, and to know further her consent, touching her sister's death. Whereupon it followed, that all that device was disappointed, and Winchester's devilish platform, which he said he had cast, through the Lord's great goodness came to no effect.<sup>1</sup>

Where moreover is to be noted, that during the imprisonment of this lady and princess, one master Edmund Tremain was on the rack, and master Smithwike, and divers others in the Tower were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuse the guiltless lady, being in her captivity. Howbeit, all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proved by all examinations, as she, the same time lying at Woodstock, had certain intelligence by the means of one John Gayer ; who, under a colourable pretence of a letter to mistress Cleve from her father, was let in, and so gave them secretly to understand of all this matter. Whereupon the lady Elizabeth, at her departing out from Woodstock, wrote these verses with her diamond in a glass window.

Much suspected by me :  
Nothing proved can be.

Quoth Elizabeth, prisoner.

And thus much touching the troubles of lady Elizabeth, at Woodstock. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of Tame had laboured to the queen, and became surety for her, to have her from Woodstock to his house ; and had obtained grant thereof. Whereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things ready in expectation of her coming. But, through the procurement either of master Benifield, or by the doing of Winchester her mortal enemy, letters came overnight to the contrary ; whereby her journey was stopped.

Thus this worthy lady, oppressed with continual sorrow, could not be permitted to have recourse to any friends she had, but still in the hands of her enemies was left desolate, and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a doleful heart, fraught full of terror and thralldom. Whereupon no marvel if she, hearing upon a time, out of her garden at Woodstock, a certain milkmaid singing pleasantly, wished herself to be a milk-maid as she was ; saying that her case was better, and life more merry than was hers, in that state as she was.

Now, after these things thus declared, to proceed further there where we left before, sir Henry Benifield and his soldiers, with the lord of Tame, and sir Ralph Chamberline, guarding and waiting upon her, the first night from Woodstock she came to Ricot ;<sup>2</sup> in which journey such a mighty wind did blow, that her servants were fain to hold down her clothes about her : insomuch that her hood was twice

(1) Of Gardiner it is reported, that in his often discoursing about punishing heretics (as he called them), he would say, " We strip the leaves and lop the bows ; but unless we strike at the *root*, that hope of heretics (meaning the lady Elizabeth), we do nothing." See " The History of the Life, Bloody Reign, and Death of Queen Mary." Lond. 1682.—ED

(2) This was to the lord of Tame's house.—ED

Mary.  
A. D.  
1554  
to  
1558.  
Winchester's platform over-thrown.

Verses written by lady Elizabeth in the glass window.

The lady Elizabeth not suffered to come to the lord of Tame's house.

The lady Elizabeth wisheth herself to be a milk-maid.

The lady Elizabeth removed from Woodstock to Hampton Court.



*Mary.* or thrice blown from her head. Whereupon she, desiring to return to a certain gentleman's house there near, could not be suffered by *A.D.* sir Henry Benifield so to do, but was constrained, under a hedge, to trim her head as well as she could.

*1554 to 1558.* After this, the next night they journeyed to master Dormer's,<sup>1</sup> and so to Colnbrooke, where she lay all that night at the George, and by the way, coming to Colnbrooke, certain of her grace's gentlemen and yeomen met her, to the number of three-score, much to all their comforts, which had not seen her grace of long season before: notwithstanding they were commanded in the queen's name, immediately to depart the town, to both their and her grace's no little heaviness, who could not be suffered once to speak with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, saving her gentleman-usher, three gentlewomen, two grooms, and one of her wardrobe, the soldiers watching and warding about the house, and she close shut up within her prison.

The next day following, her grace entered Hampton Court on the back side, into the prince's lodging, the doors being shut to her; and she, guarded with soldiers as before, lay there a fortnight at the least, or any had recourse unto her. At length came the lord William Haward, who marvellous honourably used her grace. Whereat she took much comfort, and requested him to be a mean, that she might speak with some of the council; to whom, not long after, came the bishop of Winchester, the lord of Arundel, the lord of Shrewsbury, and secretary Peter, who, with great humility, humbled themselves to her grace. She again, likewise, saluting them, said, "My lords, I am glad to see you: for methinks, I have been kept a great while from you desolately, alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a mean to the king and queen's majesties, that I may be delivered from prison, wherein I have been kept a long space, as to you, my lords, it is not unknown."

When she had spoken, Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, kneeled down, and requested that she would submit herself to the queen's grace; and in so doing he had no doubt but that her majesty would be good to her. She made answer, that rather than she would so do, she would lie in prison all the days of her life; adding, that she craved no mercy at her majesty's hand, but rather desired the law, if ever she did offend her majesty in thought, word, or deed. "And besides this, in yielding," quoth she, "I should speak against myself, and confess myself to be an offender, which I never was, towards her majesty, by occasion whereof the king and the queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil opinion. And therefore I say, my lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected of my prince." And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the queen.

On the next day the bishop of Winchester came again unto her grace, and kneeling down declared, that the queen marvelled that she would so stoutly use herself, not confessing that she had offended: so that it should seem that the queen's majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her grace. "Nay," quoth the lady Elizabeth, "it may please her to punish me as she thinketh good." "Well," quoth Gardiner, "her majesty willeth me to tell you, that you must tell another tale

Lord  
Haward  
gentle  
and fa-  
vourable  
to her.

She is re-  
quested  
by Win-  
chester to  
submit  
herself to  
the  
queen's  
mercy.  
She  
standeth  
to be tried  
by the  
law.

Talk  
again be-  
tween  
Winches-  
ter and  
her.  
She de-  
nieth to  
confess  
any fault  
done to  
the  
queen.

(1) At Winge in Buckinghamshire. — ED.

or that you be set at liberty." Her grace answered, that she had as lieve be in prison with honesty and truth, as to be abroad, suspected of her majesty: "and this that I have said, I will," said she, "stand unto; for I will never belie myself." Winchester again kneeled down, and said, "Then your grace hath the vantage of me, and other the lords, for your wrong and long imprisonment." "What vantage I have," quoth she, "you know: taking God to record, I seek no vantage at your hands for your so dealing with me; but God forgive you and me also!" With that the rest kneeled, desiring her grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked up again.

A sevensnight after, the queen sent for her grace at ten of the clock in the night to speak with her: for she had not seen her in two years before. Yet, for all that, she was amazed at the \*so\* sudden sending for, thinking it had been worse \*for her\* than afterwards it proved, and desired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her; for that she could not tell whether ever she should see them again or no. At which time coming in, sir Henry Benifield with mistress Clarencius, her grace was brought into the garden unto a stairs' foot that went into the queen's lodging, her grace's gentlewomen waiting upon her, her gentleman-usher and her grooms going before with torches; where her gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to stay all, saving one woman, mistress Clarencius conducted her to the queen's bed-chamber, where her majesty was. At the sight of whom her grace kneeled down, and desired God to preserve her majesty, not mistrusting but that she should try herself as true a subject towards her majesty, as ever did any; and desired her majesty even so to judge of her: and said, that she should not find her to the contrary, whatsoever report otherwise had gone of her. To whom the queen answered, "You will not confess your offence, but stand stoutly in your truth: I pray God it may so fall out." "If it doth not," quoth the lady Elizabeth, "I request neither favour nor pardon at your majesty's hands." "Well," said the queen, "you stiffly still persevere in your truth. Belike you will not confess but that you have been wrongfully punished." "I must not say so, if it please your majesty, to you." "Why then," said the queen, "belike you will to others." "No, if it please your majesty," quoth she, "I have borne the burden, and must bear it. I humbly beseech your majesty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be your true subject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life lasteth." And so they departed with very few comfortable words of the queen, in English: but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It is thought that king Philip was there behind a cloth, and not seen, and that he showed himself a very friend in that matter.

Thus her grace departing, went to her lodging again, and that day sevensnight was released of sir Henry Benifield, (her jailer as she termed him), and his soldiers.<sup>1</sup> And so her grace, being set at liberty from imprisonment, went into the country, and had appointed to go with her sir Thomas Pope, one of queen Mary's counsellors, and one of her gentlemen-ushers, master Gage; and thus straitly was she

*Mary.*

A.D.

1554

to

1558.

The lady Elizabeth sent for to the queen.

The lady Elizabeth brought to the queen's bed-chamber.

Talk between the queen and lady Elizabeth.

Small comfort at the queen's hand toward her sister.

King Philip thought, to be a friend to her.

The lady Elizabeth by God's providence set at liberty; sir Henry Benifield discharged.

(1) Blomefield, in his "History of Norfolk," vol. iii. p. 481, imagines that Foxe had painted sir Henry Bedingfield's conduct too strongly, because Elizabeth afterwards visited him at Oxburgh in 1578.—Ed.

*Mary.* looked to, all queen Mary's time. And this is the discourse of her highness's imprisonment.

*A. D.*

1554

to

1558.

Mistress Ashley sent to the Fleet. Three gentlewomen of the lady Elizabeth sent to the Tower.

*A. D.* 1555.

Then there came to Lamheyre, master Jerningham, and master Norris, gentleman-usher, queen Mary's men, who took away from her grace, mistress Ashley to the Fleet, and three other of her gentlewomen to the Tower; which thing was no little trouble to her grace, saying, that she thought they would fetch all away at the end. But, God be praised, shortly after was fetched away Gardiner, through the merciful providence of the Lord's goodness, by occasion of whose opportune decease (as is partly touched in this story before) the life of this excellent princess, the wealth of all England, was preserved.<sup>1</sup> For this is credibly to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner of Winchester had long laboured his wits, and to this only most principal mark bent all his devices, to take this our happy and dear sovereign out of the way, as both by his words and doings before notified may sufficiently appear.

How the Lord here began to work for lady Elizabeth.

But, such was the gracious and favourable providence of the Lord, to the preservation not only of her royal majesty, but also of the miserable and woeful state of this whole island, and poor subjects of the same, whereby the proud platforms and peevish practices of this wretched Ahithophel prevailed not; but, contrariwise, both he, and all the snares and traps of his pernicious counsel laid against another, were turned to a net to catch himself, according to the proverb, "*Malum consilium consultori pessimum.*"

After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also, and dropping away, of other her enemies, whereby, by little and little, her jeopardy decreased, fear diminished, and hope of comfort began to appear as out of a dark cloud; and, albeit as yet her grace had no full assurance of perfect safety, yet more gentle entertainment daily did grow unto her, till at length, in the month of November, and the 17th day of the same, three years after the death of Stephen Gardiner, followed the death of queen Mary, as hereafter, God granting, shall be more declared.

A note of a story declaring the malignant hearts of the papists towards the lady Elizabeth.

Although this history following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the same may here not unaptly be inserted, for that it doth discover and show forth the malicious hearts of the papists towards this virtuous queen, our sovereign lady, in the time of queen Mary her sister; which is reported, as a truth credibly told, by sundry honest persons, of whom some are yet alive, and do testify the same. The matter whereof is this.

Robert Farrer, of London, a sore enemy to lady Elizabeth, Laurence Sheriff, sworn friend and servant to lady Elizabeth.

Soon after the stir of Wyatt, and the troubles that happened to this queen for that cause, it fortuneed one Robert Farrer, a haberdasher of London, dwelling near unto Newgate-market, in a certain morning to be at the Rose tavern (from whence he was seldom absent), and falling to his common drink, as he was ever accustomed, and having in his company three other companions like to himself, it chanced the same time one Laurence Sheriff,<sup>2</sup> grocer, dwelling also not far from thence, to come into the said tavern, and, finding there the said Farrer (to whom of long time he had borne good will), sat down in the seat to

(1) Note the wonderful working of the Lord's providence in saving of the lady Elizabeth, by the death of Gardiner.

(2) Laurence Sheriff was the founder of Rugby school.—ED.

drink with him ; and Farrer, being in his full cups, and not having consideration who were present, began to talk at large, and namely against the lady Elizabeth, and said, "That jill hath been one of the chief doers of this rebellion of Wyat ; and before all be done, she and all the heretics her partakers shall well understand of it. Some of them hope, that she shall have the crown : but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop headless, or be fried with faggots, before she come to it."

The foresaid Laurence Sheriff, grocer, being then servant unto the lady Elizabeth, and sworn unto her grace, could no longer forbear his old acquaintance and neighbour Farrer, in speaking so irreverently of his mistress, but said unto him, "Farrer, I have loved thee as a neighbour, and have had a good opinion of thee : but, hearing of thee that I now hear, I defy thee ; and I tell thee I am her grace's sworn servant, and she is a princess, and the daughter of a noble king, and it evil becometh thee to call her a jill ; and for thy so saying, I say thou art a knave, and I will complain upon thee." "Do thy worst," said Farrer, "for that I said, I will say again." And so Sheriff came from his company.

Shortly after, the said Sheriff, taking an honest neighbour with him, went before the commissioners to complain ; the which commissioners sat then at Bonner the bishop of London's house, beside Paul's ; and there were present Bonner (then being the chief commissioner), the lord Mordant, sir John Baker, Dr. Darbishire, chancellor to the bishop, Dr. Story, Dr. Harpsfield, and others. The aforesaid Sheriff, coming before them, declared the manner of the said Robert Farrer's talk against the lady Elizabeth. Bonner answered, "Peradventure you took him worse than he meant." "Yea, my lord," said Dr. Story, "if you knew the man as I do, you would say there is not a better catholic, nor an honest man in the city of London." "Well," said Sheriff, "my lord, she is my gracious lady and mistress, and it is not to be suffered that such a varlet as he is, should call so honourable a princess by the name of a jill. And I saw yesterday, in the court, that my lord cardinal Pole, meeting her in the chamber of presence, kneeled down on his knees, and kissed her hand : and I saw also, that king Philip meeting her, made her such obeisance, that his knee touched the ground. And then methinketh it were too much to suffer such a varlet as this is, to call her jill ; and to wish them to hop headless that shall wish her grace to enjoy the possession of the crown, when God shall send it unto her, as in the right of her inheritance." "Yea ! stay there : " quoth Bonner, "when God sendeth it unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly," said he, "the man that spake the words that you have reported, meant nothing against the lady Elizabeth, your mistress ; and no more do we. But he, like an honest and zealous man, feared the alteration of religion, which every good man ought to fear : and therefore," said Bonner, "good man, go your ways home, and report well of us toward your mistress ; and we will send for Farrer and rebuke him for his rash and indiscreet words, and we trust he will not do the like again." And thus Sheriff came away, and Farrer had a flap with a fox-tail.

Now that ye may be fully informed of the aforesaid Farrer, whom Dr. Story praised for so good a man, ye shall understand that the

*Mary.*

A.D.  
1554  
to  
1558.

Farrer  
raileth  
against  
the lady  
Eliza-  
beth.

The part  
of a good  
trusty  
servant.

Farrer  
com-  
plained of  
to the  
commis-  
sioners,  
but no  
redress  
had.

How  
bishop  
Bonner  
and Dr.  
Story  
bare with  
him that  
railed  
against  
lady Eli-  
zabeth.

Note the  
ungodly  
life of  
these ca-  
tholics.



*Mary.* same Farrer, having two daughters being handsome maidens, the elder of them for a sum of money he himself delivered to sir Roger Cholmley, to be at his commandment; the other he sold to a knight called sir William Godolphin, to be at his commandment, whom he made his lackey, and so carried her with him, being apparelled in man's apparel, to Boulogne; and the said Farrer followed the camp. He also was a great and a horrible blasphemer of God, and a common accuser of honest and quiet men; also a common drunkard. And now I refer the life of these catholics to your judgment, to think of them as you please. But of this matter enough, and too much.

The lady Elizabeth proclaimed queen the same day that queen Mary, died.

The lord make England thankful to him for his great benefits!

Now let us return where we left before, which was at the death of queen Mary; after whose decease succeeded her foresaid sister, lady Elizabeth, into the right of the crown of England, who, after so long restraintment, so great dangers escaped, such blustering storms overblown, so many injuries digested, and wrongs sustained, by the mighty protection of our merciful God, to our no small comfort and commodity, hath been exalted and erected out of thrall to liberty, out of danger to peace and quietness, from dread to dignity, from misery to majesty, from mourning to ruling: briefly, of a prisoner made a princess, and placed in her throne royal, proclaimed now queen, with as many glad hearts of her subjects, as ever was any king or queen in this realm before her, or ever shall be (I dare say) hereafter. Touching whose flourishing state, her princely reign, and peaceable government, with divers and sundry other things incident to the same, and especially touching the great stirrings and alterations which have happened in other foreign nations, and also partly among ourselves here at home, forasmuch as the tractation hereof requireth another volume by itself, I shall therefore defer the reader to the next book or section ensuing; wherein (if the Lord so please to sustain me with leave and life) I may have to discourse of all and singular such matters done and achieved in these our latter days and memory, more at large.

November 17, 1558. Queen Mary endeth, queen Elizabeth beginneth her reign. The manner of queen Mary's death.

Now then, after these so great afflictions falling upon this realm, from the first beginning of queen Mary's reign, wherein so many men, women, and children were burnt, many imprisoned, and in prison starved, divers exiled, some spoiled of goods and possessions, a great number driven from house and home, so many weeping eyes, so many sobbing hearts, so many children made fatherless, so many fathers bereft of their wives and children, so many vexed in conscience, and divers against conscience constrained to recant; and, in conclusion, never a good man almost in all the realm but suffered something during all the time of this bloody persecution: after all this (I say) now we are come at length (the Lord be praised!) to the 17th day of November, which day as it brought to the persecuted members of Christ rest from their careful mourning, so it easeth me somewhat likewise of my laborious writing, by the death I mean of queen Mary; who, being long sick before, upon the said 17th day of November, in the year above said, about three or four o'clock in the morning, yielded life to nature, and her kingdom to queen Elizabeth her sister. As touching the manner of whose death, some say that she died of a tympany, some (by her much sighing before her death) supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Whereupon her council, seeing her

sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more ready consolation unto her, feared, as they said, that she took that thought for the king's majesty her husband, which was gone from her. To whom she answering again, "Indeed," said she, "that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pierceth my oppressed mind:" but what that was, she would not express to them. Albeit, afterward, she opened the matter more plainly to master Rise and mistress Clarencius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of master Rise himself); who then, being most familiar with her, and most bold about her, told her, that they feared she took thought for king Philip's departing from her. "Not that only," said she, "but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calais lying in my heart." And here an end of queen Mary, and of her persecution.

Mary.

A. D.

1554

to

1558.

Queen Mary took thought for the loss of Calais.

Of queen Mary this truly may be affirmed, and left in story for a perpetual memorial or epitaph for all kings and queens that shall succeed her, to be noted—that before her, never was read in story of any king or queen of England, since the time of king Lucius, under whom, in time of peace, by hanging, beheading, burning, and prisoning, so much christian blood, so many Englishmen's lives, were spilled within this realm, as under the said queen Mary for the space of four years was to be seen, and I beseech the Lord never may be seen hereafter.<sup>1</sup>

More English blood spilt in queen Mary's time, than ever was in any king's reign before her.

A BRIEF DECLARATION, SHOWING THE UNPROSPEROUS SUCCESS  
OF QUEEN MARY IN PERSECUTING GOD'S PEOPLE, AND  
HOW MIGHTILY GOD WROUGHT AGAINST HER  
IN ALL HER AFFAIRS.

Now, forasmuch as queen Mary, during all the time of her reign, was such a vehement adversary and persecutor against the sincere professors of Christ Jesus and his gospel: for the which there be many which do highly magnify and approve her doings therein, reputed her religion to be sound and catholic, and her proceedings to be most acceptable and blessed of Almighty God: to the intent therefore, that all men may understand, how the blessing of the Lord God did not only not proceed with her proceedings, but, contrariwise rather, how his manifest displeasure ever wrought against her, in plaguing both her and her realm, and in subverting all her counsels and attempts, whatsoever she took in hand, we will bestow a little time therein, to perpend and survey the whole course of her doings and chievances, and consider what success she had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall never find any reign of any prince in this land or any other, which did ever show in it (for the proportion of time), so many arguments of God's great wrath and displeasure, as were to be seen in the reign of this queen Mary; whether we behold the shortness of her time, or the unfortunate event of all her purposes, who seemed never to purpose any thing that came luckily to pass, neither did any thing frame to her purpose, whatsoever she took in hand, touching her own private affairs.

Queen Mary never had good success.

(1) Thus died this popish princess, "in the heat of whose flames were burnt to ashes five bishops, one and twenty divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, an hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers; twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants; one of them whipped to death by Bonner, and the other springing out of the mother's womb from the stake as she burned, thrown again into the fire. Sixty-four more were persecuted for their profession of faith: whereof seven were whipped, sixteen perished in prison, twelve were buried in dung-hills. Many lay in captivity, condemned, but were released and saved by the auspicious entrance of peaceable Elizabeth." See Weaver's Monuments, page 116.—Ed.

Mary.

A. D.  
1558.

A good  
king  
always  
maketh a  
flourish-  
ing realm.

Compa-  
rison be-  
tween the  
reigns of  
Mary and  
Eliza-  
beth.

Gama-  
liel's  
reason.

Queen  
Mary  
prospered  
so long as  
she went  
not  
against  
the Lord.  
Her pro-  
mise to  
the gos-  
pellers  
broken.

The ship  
called the  
Great  
Harry  
burnt.

Queen  
Mary's  
marriage  
with a  
stranger.  
Disap-  
pointed  
of her  
purpose  
in crown-  
ing king  
Philip.

Of good kings we read in the Scripture, in showing mercy and pity, in seeking God's will in his word, and subverting the monuments of idolatry, how God blessed their ways, increased their honours, and mightily prospered all their proceedings; as we see in king David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, with such others. Manasseh made the streets of Jerusalem to swim with the blood of his subjects; but what came of it the text doth testify.<sup>1</sup>

Of queen Elizabeth, who now reigneth among us, this we must needs say, which we see: that she, in sparing the blood, not only of God's servants, but also of God's enemies, hath doubled now the reign of queen Mary her sister, with such abundance of peace and prosperity, that it is hard to say, whether the realm of England felt more of God's wrath in queen Mary's time, or of God's favour and mercy in these so blessed and peaceable days of queen Elizabeth.

Gamaliel, speaking his mind in the council of the Pharisees concerning Christ's religion, gave this reason:<sup>2</sup> that if it were of God, it should continue, whosoever said nay; if it were not, it could not stand. So may it be said of queen Mary and her Romish religion; that if it were so perfect and catholic as they pretend, and the contrary faith of the gospellers were so detestable and heretical as they make it, how cometh it then, that this so catholic a queen, such a necessary pillar of his spouse the church, continued no longer, till she had utterly rooted out of the land this heretical generation? yea how chanced it rather, that Almighty God, to spare these poor heretics, rooted out queen Mary so soon from her throne, after she had reigned but only five years and five months?

Now furthermore, how God blessed her ways and endeavours in the mean time, until she thus persecuted the true servants of God, remaineth to be discussed: where this is first to be noted, that when she first began to stand for the title of the crown, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his gospel, but had promised her faith to the Suffolk-men, to maintain the religion left by king Edward her brother, so long God went with her, advanced her, and, by the means of the gospellers, brought her to the possession of the realm. But after that she, breaking her promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephen Gardiner, and had given over her supremacy unto the pope, by-and-by God's blessing left her, neither did any thing well thrive with her afterward, during the whole time of her regiment.

For first, incontinently, the fairest and greatest ship she had, called Great Harry, was burnt; such a vessel as in all these parts of Europe was not to be matched.

Then would she needs bring in king Philip, and by her strange marriage with him, to make the whole realm of England subject unto a stranger. And, all that notwithstanding (that she either did, or was able to do), she could not bring to pass to set the crown of England upon his head. With king Philip also came in the pope and his popish mass; with whom also her purpose was to restore again the monks and nuns unto their places: neither lacked there all kind of attempts to the uttermost of her ability; and yet therein also God stopped her of her will, that it came not forward.

(1) 2 Kings xxi.

(2) Acts v.

After this, what a dearth happened in her time here in her land ! *Mary.*  
 the like whereof hath not lightly in England been seen, insonmuch *A. D.*  
 that in sundry places her poor subjects were fain to feed off acorns, for *1558.*  
 want of corn.

Furthermore, where other kings are wont to be renowned by some worthy victory and prowess by them achieved, let us now see what valiant victory was gotten in this queen Mary's days. King Edward the sixth, her blessed brother, how many rebellions did he suppress in Devonshire, in Norfolk, in Oxfordshire, and elsewhere ! What a famous victory in his time was gotten in Scotland, by the singular working (no doubt) of God's blessed hand, rather than by any expectation of man ! King Edward the third (which was the eleventh king from the conquest), by princely puissance purchased Calais unto England, which had been kept English ever since, till at length came queen Mary, the eleventh likewise from the said king Edward, which lost Calais from England again ; so that the winnings of this queen were very small—what the losses were let other men judge.

The vic-  
 tory of  
 king Ed-  
 ward VI.  
 in Scot-  
 land.

Ill luck  
 of queen  
 Mary in  
 losing of  
 Calais.

Hitherto the affairs of queen Mary have had no great good success, as you have heard. But never worse success had any woman, than had she in her child-birth. For seeing one of these two must needs be granted, that either she was with child or not with child : if she were with child and did travail, why was it not seen ? if she were not, how was all the realm deluded ! And in the mean while, where were all the prayers, the solemn processions, the devout masses of the catholic clergy ? why did they not prevail with God, if their religion were so godly as they pretend ? If their masses, " ex opere operato," be able to fetch Christ from heaven, and to reach down to purgatory, how chanced then they could not reach to the queen's chamber, to help her in her travail, if she had been with child indeed ? if not, how then came it to pass, that all the catholic church of England did so err, and was so deeply deceived ?

Her ill  
 luck in  
 child-  
 birth.

Queen Mary, after these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficiently admonish her of God's disfavour provoked against her, would not yet cease her persecution, but still continued more and more to revenge her catholic zeal upon the Lord's faithful people, setting fire to their poor bodies by half dozens and dozens together. Whereupon, God's wrathful indignation increasing more and more against her, ceased not to touch her more near with private misfortunes and calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of children (which chiefly and above all things she desired), then he bereft her of that, which of all earthly things should have been her chief stay of honour, and staff of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affection and company even of her own husband, by whose marriage she had promised before to herself whole heaps of such joy and felicity. But now the omnipotent Governor of all things so turned the wheel of her own spinning against her, that her high buildings of such joys and felicities came all to a castle-come-down ; her hopes being confounded, her purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation ; who seemed neither to have the favour of God, nor the hearts of her subjects, nor yet the love of her husband ; who neither had fruit by him while she had him, neither could now enjoy him whom she had married, neither yet was at liberty to marry any other whom

Mary left  
 desolate  
 of Philip  
 her hus-  
 band.

Her ill  
 luck with  
 her hus-  
 band.



*Mary.* she might enjoy. Mark here, christian reader, the woeful adversity of this queen, and learn withal what the Lord can do, when man's wilfulness will needs resist him, and will not be ruled.

A. D.  
1558.

The final  
end and  
death of  
queen  
Mary.

At last, when all these fair admonitions would take no place with the queen, nor move her to revoke her bloody laws, nor to stay the tyranny of her priests, nor yet to spare her own subjects, but that the poor servants of God were drawn daily by heaps most pitifully as sheep to the slaughter, it so pleased the heavenly majesty of Almighty God, when no other remedy would serve, by death to cut her off; which in her life so little regarded the life of others, giving her throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christ's church and people, to another, who more temperately and quietly could guide the same, after she had reigned here the space of five years and five months. The shortness of which years and reign, scarce we find in any other story of king or queen since the conquest or before (being come to their own government), save only in king Richard the third.

The  
shortness  
of queen  
Mary's  
reign  
noted.

An admo-  
nition to  
all chris-  
tian  
rulers.

And thus much here, as in the closing up of this story, I thought to insinuate, touching the unlucky and rueful reign of queen Mary: not for any detraction to her place and state royal, whereunto she was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect: that forsomuch as she would needs set herself so confidently to work and strive against the Lord and his proceedings, all readers and rulers may not only see how the Lord did work against her there-for, but also by her may be advertised and learn what a perilous thing it is for men and women in authority, upon blind zeal and opinion, to stir up persecution in Christ's church, to the effusion of christian blood, lest it prove in the end with them (as it did here), that while they think to persecute heretics, they stumble at the same stone as did the Jews, in persecuting Christ and his true members to death, to their own confusion and destruction.

See  
Appendix.

THE SEVERE PUNISHMENT OF GOD UPON THE PERSECUTORS OF HIS PEOPLE AND ENEMIES TO HIS WORD, WITH SUCH, ALSO, AS HAVE BEEN BLASPHEMERS, CONTEMNERS, AND MOCKERS OF HIS RELIGION.

Leaving now queen Mary, being dead and gone, I come to them which, under her, were the chief ministers and doers in this persecution, the bishops and priests of the clergy, I mean, to whom queen Mary gave all the execution of her power, as did queen Alexandra to the Pharisees, after the time of the Maccabees; of whom Josephus thus writeth: "She only retained to herself the name and title of the kingdom, but all her power she gave to the Pharisees to possess."<sup>1</sup> Touching which prelates and priests here is to be noted, in like sort, the wonderful and miraculous providence of Almighty God, which as he abridged the reign of their queen, so he suffered them not to escape unvisited; first beginning with Stephen Gardiner,<sup>2</sup> the arch-persecutor of Christ's church, whom he took away about the midst of the queen's reign. Of whose poisoned life, and stinking end, forso-much as sufficient hath been touched before, I shall not need here to make any new rehearsal thereof.

(1) "Ipsa solum nomen regium ferebat, cæterum omnem regni potestatem Pharisei possidebant." Josephus de Antiq. lib. xiii. [cap. 16. § 2.—ED.]

(2) Of the death of Stephen Gardiner read before.

After him, dropped others away also, some before the death of queen Mary, and some after; as Morgan, bishop of St. David's; who, sitting upon the condemnation of the blessed martyr, bishop Ferrar, and unjustly usurping his room, not long after was stricken by God's hand after such a strange sort, that his meat would not go down, but rise and pick up again, sometimes at his mouth, sometimes blown out at his nose, most horrible to behold; and so he continued till his death. Where note moreover, that when master Leyson, being then sheriff at bishop Ferrar's burning, had fet away the cattle of the said bishop from his servant's house, called Matthew Harbottle, into his own custody, the cattle, coming into the sheriff's ground, divers of them would never eat meat, but lay bellowing and roaring, and so died.

*Narrative.*  
God's punishment upon Morgan, bishop of St. David's.

A note of wrong-gotten goods.

*See Appendix.*

This foresaid bishop Morgan above mentioned, bringeth me also in remembrance of justice Morgan, who sat upon the death of the lady Jane, and not long after the same fell mad, and was bereft of his wits; and so died, having ever in his mouth, "Lady Jane, lady Jane."

Morgan stricken with madness.

Before the death of queen Mary, died Dr. Dunning, the bloody and wretched chancellor \*or rather tormentor\* of Norwich, who, after he had most rigorously condemned and murdered so many simple and faithful saints of the Lord, continued not long himself, but, in the midst of his rage in queen Mary's days, died in Lincolnshire, being suddenly taken, as some say, sitting in his chair.

Dunning a cruel chancellor, stricken with sudden death.

The like sudden death fell also upon Berry, commissary in Norfolk, who (as is before showed in the story of Thomas Hudson) four days after queen Mary's death, when he had made a great feast, and had one of his concubines there, coming home from the church after evensong, where he had ministered baptism the same time, between the churchyard and his house suddenly fell down to the ground with a heavy groan, and never stirred after, neither showed any one token of repentance.

Sudden death of Berry, a commissary.

What a stroke of God's hand was \*wrought\* upon the cruel persecutor of the holy and harmless saints of the Lord, bishop Thornton, suffragan of Dover, who, after he had exercised his cruel tyranny upon so many godly men at Canterbury, at length coming upon a Saturday from the chapter-house at Canterbury to Bourne, and there upon Sunday following, \*being\* vertuously occupied\* looking upon his men playing at the bowls, fell suddenly in a palsy, and so \*being\* had to bed was willed to remember God: "Yea, so I do," said he, "and my lord cardinal too, etc."

God's stroke upon Thornton, suffragan of Dover.

After him succeeded another bishop or suffragan ordained by the foresaid cardinal. It is reported that he had been suffragan before to Bonner, who, not long after being made bishop or suffragan of Dover, brake his neck, falling down a pair of stairs in the cardinal's chamber at Greenwich, as he had received the cardinal's blessing.

Another suffragan brake his neck.

\*Such<sup>2</sup> is the merciful dealing of the Almighty with his people, whom after he scourged a little, in his displeasure, at length he burned the rod.

After the like working of God's holy mercy, divers other sharp and bitter rods also were cut off in this time of queen Mary's persecution;

(1) "Thorneden or Thornton (for he is writ both ways)," etc. Strype's Mem. under Queen Mary, chap. xv.—Ed.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 1706.—Ed.

*Narrative.* although some there be which escaped and are alive : for what purpose suffered of the Lord—whether for a further trial of God's people, or for space to repent, the Lord knoweth:—as Bonner, Nicholas Harpsfield, Dr. Story, Dr. Draycot, and the justice who burnt the hand of a maid<sup>1</sup> in Essex.\*

Among other plentiful and sundry examples of the Lord's judgment and severity practised upon the cruel persecutors of his people, that is not the least that followeth, concerning the story of one William Fenning, the effect and circumstance of which matter is this:—

John Cooper, of the age of forty-four years, dwelling at Wattisham in the county of Suffolk, being by science a carpenter, a man of very honest report and a good housekeeper, a harbourer of strangers that travailed for conscience, and one that favoured religion, and those that were religious, was of honest conversation and good life, hating all popish and papistical trash.

This man being at home in his house, there came unto him one William Fenning, a serving-man, dwelling in the said town of Wattisham ; and understanding that the said Cooper had a couple of fair bullocks, did desire to buy them of him ; which Cooper told him that he was lothe to sell them, for that he had brought them up for his own use, and if he should sell them, he then must be compelled to buy others ; and that he would not do.

When Fenning saw he could not get them (for he had often essayed the matter), he said, he would sit as much in his light ; and so departed, and went and accused him of high treason. The words Cooper was charged with were these : How he should pray, if God would not take away queen Mary, that then he should wish the devil would take her away. Of these words did this Fenning charge him before sir Henry Doiel, knight (unto whom he was carried by master Timperley, of Hintlesham in Suffolk, and one Grimwood of Lawshall, constable) ; which words Cooper flatly denied, and said he never spake them. But that could not help.

Notwithstanding, he was arraigned there-for at Bury before sir Clement Higham, at a Lent assize ; and there this Fenning brought two naughty men that witnessed the speaking of the foresaid words, whose names were Richard White of Wattisham, and Grimwood of Hitcham in the said county of Suffolk ; whose testimonies were received as truth, although this good man John Cooper had said what he could, to declare himself innocent therein, but to no purpose, God knoweth. For his life was determined, as in the end appeared by sir Clement Higham's words, who said he should not escape, for an example to all heretics ; as indeed he thoroughly performed. For immediately he was judged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was executed upon him very shortly after, to the great grief of many a good heart. Here good Cooper is bereft of his life, and leaves behind him alive his wife and nine children, with goods and cattle, to the value of three hundred marks, the which substance was all taken away by the said sir Henry Doile, sheriff, but his wife and poor children left to the wide world in their clothes, and suffered not to enjoy one penny of that they had sore laboured for, unless they made friends to buy it

(1) See p. 385 of this volume —Ed.

with money of the said sheriff, so cruel and greedy were he and his officers, upon such things as were there left. *Narrative.*

Well, now this innocent man is dead, his goods spoiled, his wife and children left desolate and comfortless, and all things hushed, and nothing feared of any part: yet the Lord, who surely doth revenge the guiltless blood, would not still so suffer it, but began at the length to punish it himself. For in the harvest after, the said Grimwood of Hitcham (one of the witnesses before specified), as he was in his labour stacking up a goff of corn, having his health, and fearing no peril, suddenly his bowels fell out of his body, and immediately most miserably he died. Such was the terrible judgment of God, to show his displeasure against his bloody act, and to warn the rest, by these his judgments to repentance. The Lord grant us to honour the same, for his mercy's sake. Amen.<sup>1</sup>

The judgment of God upon Grimwood.

*See Appendix*

This foresaid Fenning, who was the procurer of this tyranny against him, is yet alive, and is now a minister; which if he be, I pray God he may so repent that fact, that he may declare himself hereafter such a one as may well answer to his vocation accordingly.

But since we have heard that he is no changeling, but continueth still in his wickedness, and therefore presented before the worshipful master Humerston, esquire and justice of peace and quorum, for that he had talk with some of his friends (as he thought), how many honest women (to their great infamy) were in the parish of Wenhaston, wherein he is now vicar, resident: wherefore he was commanded the next Sunday ensuing, to ask all the parish forgiveness upon his knees openly in service-time, which he did in Wenhaston church before said; and moreover the abovesaid Fenning is reported to be more like a shifter than a minister.

To these examples also may be added the terrible judgment of God upon the parson at Crundale in Kent, who, upon Shrove-Sunday, having received the pope's pardon from cardinal Pole, came to his parish, and exhorted the people to receive the same, as he had done himself; saying that he stood now as clear in conscience as when he was first born, and cared not now if he should die the same hour, in that clearness of conscience: whereupon being suddenly stricken by the hand of God, and leaning a little on the one side, [he] immediately shrank down in the pulpit, and so was found dead, speaking not one word more. Read more before, vol. vii. page 38.

A terrible example of God's severe punishment upon Nightingal, of Crundale

Not long before the death of queen Mary, died Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury. About the which time also followed the unprepared death of Dr. Jeffrey, chancellor of Salisbury, who in the midst of his buildings, suddenly being taken by the mighty hand of God, yielded his life, which had so little pity of other men's lives before. Concerning whose cruelty partly mention is made before.

Jeffrey, chancellor of Salisbury

As touching moreover the foresaid chancellor, here is to be noted, that he departing upon a Saturday, the next day before the same he

(1) The truth of this statement has been denied by the papists. (See *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. p. 522.) But, it appears, there were two Grimwoods, one who sued a minister for relating the story from Foxe's book, and another to whom alone the narration referred. Strype says (*Annals under Queen Elizabeth*, cap. xxi.), "But what if, after all this, the relation of Grimwood's judgment was true? I have been assured so from a very careful inquirer (Mr. Roger Morris) after such matters; who told me that he had read it in a very authentic paper, carrying so much evidence with it, that he did not in the least misdoubt it: the judgment indeed not falling upon that Grimwood that sued the minister, but another of the same both christian and surname, as was well known afterwards."—Ed.



*Narrative.* had appointed to call before him ninety persons, and not so few, to examine them by inquisition, had not the goodness of the Lord, and his tender providence thus prevented him with death, providing for his poor servants in time.

And now, to come from priests to laymen, we have to find in them also no less terrible demonstration of God's heavy judgment upon such as have been vexers and persecutors of his people.

*Woodroofe, a cruel sheriff, hanged.*

Before, in the story of master Bradford, mention was made of master Woodroofe, who, being then sheriff, used much to rejoice at the death of the poor saints of Christ, and so hard he was in his office, that when master Rogers was in the cart going toward Smithfield, and in the way his children were brought unto him, the people making a lane for them to come; master Woodroofe bade the carman's head should be broken, for staying his cart. But what happened? He was not come out of his office the space of a week, but he was stricken by the sudden hand of God, the one half of his body; in such sort, that he lay benumbed and bedridden, not able to move himself but as he was lifted of others; and so continued in that infirmity the space of seven or eight years, till his dying day.

*The betrayer of George Eagles hanged.*

Likewise touching Ralph Lardin, the betrayer of George Eagles, it is thought of some, that the said Ralph afterward was attached himself, arraigned, and hanged. Who, being at the bar, had these words before the judges there, and a great multitude of people: "This is most justly fallen upon me," saith he, "for that I have betrayed the innocent blood of a good and just man, George Eagles, who was here condemned in the time of queen Mary's reign, through my procurement, who sold his blood for a little money."

Not much unlike stroke of these severally was showed upon William Swallow of Chelmsford, and his wife; also upon Richard Potts, and justice Brown, cruel persecutors of the said George Eagles, concerning whose story read before.

*God's punishment upon Swingfield and others.*

Among other persecutors also came to our hands the cruelty of one master Swingfield, an alderman's deputy about Thames-street, who, hearing \*of\* one Angel's wife, a midwife that kept herself from their popish church, to be at the labour of one mistress Walter, at Crooked-lane-end, took three others with him, and beset the house about, and took her, and carried her to Bonner's officers, big with child, eight-and-twenty weeks gone, who laid her in Lollards' Tower; where, the same day she came in, through fear, and a fall at her taking, she was delivered of a man-child, and could have no woman with her in that needful time. Lying there five weeks, she was delivered under sureties by friendship, and Dr. Story, hearing thereof, charged her with felony, and so sent her to Newgate. The cause was, for that she had a woman at her house in her labour that died, and the child also; and so he charged her with their death. But when sir Roger Cholmley heard her tell her tale, he delivered her; and not much more than ten weeks after, if it were so long, died the said master Swingfield and the other three that came to take her.

Because some there be, and not a few, which have such a great devotion in setting up the popish mass, I shall desire them to mark well this story following. There was a certain bailiff, of Crowland in Lincolnshire, named Burton, who, pretending an earnest friendship

to the gospel in king Edward's days, in outward show at least (although inwardly he was a papist or atheist, and well known to be a man of a wicked and adulterous life), set forth the king's proceedings lustily, till the time that king Edward was dead and queen Mary placed quietly in her estate. Then, perceiving by the first proclamation concerning religion, how the world was like to turn, the bailiff turned his religion likewise; and so he moved the parish to show themselves the queen's friends, and to set up the mass speedily. Nevertheless, the most substantial of the parish, marvelling much at the bailiff's inconstant lightness, considering also his abominable life, and having no great devotion unto his request, knowing moreover that their duty and friendship to the queen stood not in setting up the mass, spared to provide for it, as long as they might: but the bailiff called on them still in the queen's name.

*Narrative*  
A story of Burton, bailiff of Crowland, how he was plagued for setting up mass.

At last, when he saw his words were not regarded, and purposing to win his spurs by playing the man in the mass's behalf and the queen's, he got him to church upon a Sunday morning; and when the curate was beginning the English service, according to the statute set forth by king Edward the sixth, the bailiff cometh in a great rage to the curate, and saith, "Sirrah! will you not say mass? Buckle yourself to mass, you knave, or, by God's blood, I shall sheath my dagger in your shoulder." The poor curate, for fear, fettleth himself to mass.

Burton earnest in setting up the mass.

Not long after this, the bailiff rode from home upon certain business, accompanied with one of his neighbours; and as they came riding together upon the fen-bank homeward again, a crow, sitting in a willow-tree, took her flight over his head, singing after her wonted note, "Knave, knave!" and withal let fall upon his face, so that her excrements ran from the top of his nose down to his beard.

The poisoned scent and savour whereof so noyed his stomach, that he never ceased vomiting until he came home, wherewith his heart was so sore and his body so distempered, that for extreme sickness he got him to bed; and so lying, he was not able for the stink in his stomach and painful vomiting, to receive any relief of meat or drink, but cried out still, sorrowfully complaining of that stink, and with no small oaths cursed the crow that poisoned him. To make short, he continued but a few days, but with extreme pain of vomiting and crying, he desperately died, without any token of repentance of his former life. This was reported and testified, for a certainty, by divers of his neighbours, both honest and credible persons.

The stinking death of a popish mass-monger.

Of James Abbes, martyr, ye heard before. In the time of whose martyrdom, what befel upon a wicked railer against him, now ye shall further understand; whereby all such railing persecutors may learn to fear God's hand, and to take heed how or what they speak against his servants. As this James Abbes was led by the sheriff toward his execution, divers poor people stood in the way, and asked their alms. He then, having no money to give them, and desirous yet to distribute something amongst them, did pull off all his apparel saving his shirt, and gave the same unto them, to some one thing, to some another; in the giving whereof he exhorted them to be strong in the Lord, and as faithful followers of Christ, to stand stedfast unto the truth of the gospel, which he (through God's help) would then in their sight seal and confirm with his blood. While he was thus charitably

Of the martyrdom of James Abbes.

See Appendix. A story to be noted of all railing persecutors.

*Narrative.* occupied, and zealously instructing the people, a servant of the sheriff's going by, and hearing him, cried out aloud unto them, and blasphemously said, "Believe him not, good people: he is a heretic and a madman, out of his wit; believe him not, for it is heresy that he saith." And as the other continued in his godly admonitions, so did this wicked wretch still blow forth his blasphemous exclamations, until they came unto the stake where he should suffer; unto the which this constant martyr was tied, and in the end cruelly burnt, as in his story more fully is already declared.

*Fearful example of God's righteous judgment against the sheriff's servant.* But immediately after the fire was put unto him (such was the fearful stroke of God's justice upon this blasphemous railer), that he was there presently, in the sight of all the people, stricken with a frenzy, wherewith he had before most railingly charged that good martyr of God, who, in this furious rage and madness casting off his shoes, with all the rest of his clothes, cried out unto the people, and said, "Thus did James Abbes, that true servant of God, who is saved; but I am damned." And thus ran he round about the town of Bury, still crying out, that James Abbes was a good man, and saved; but he was damned.

The sheriff then, being amazed, caused him to be taken and tied in a dark house, and by force compelled him again to put on his clothes, thinking thereby within a while to bring him to some quietness. But he (all that notwithstanding), as soon as they were gone, continued his former raging; and casting off his clothes, cried as he did before, "James Abbes is the servant of God, and is saved; but I am damned."

*Example how popery bringeth to desperation.* At length he was tied in a cart, and brought home unto his master's house, and within half a year or thereabouts, he being at the point of death, the priest of the parish was sent for; who, coming unto him, brought with him the crucifix, and their houseling host of the altar: which gear when the poor wretch saw, he cried out of the priest, and defied all that baggage, saying, that the priest, with such others as he was, were the cause of his damnation; and that James Abbes was a good man and saved. And so, shortly after, he died.

*Clarke hanged himself.* Clarke, an open enemy to the gospel and all godly preachers, in king Edward's days, hanged himself in the Tower of London.

*The sudden death of Smith.* The great and notable papist, called Trolling Smith, of late fell down suddenly in the street, and died.

*Dale eaten with lice.* Dale the promoter was eaten into his body with lice, and so died; as it is well known of many, and confessed also by his fellow John Auales, before credible witness.

*Coxe suddenly died.* Coxe an earnest protestant in king Edward's days, and in queen Mary's time, a papist and a promoter, going well and in health to bed (as it seemed), was dead before the morning. This was testified by divers of the neighbours.

*Alexander the cruel keeper of Newgate died a rotten death.* Alexander the keeper of Newgate, a cruel enemy to those that lay there for religion, died very miserably, being so swollen that he was more like a monster than a man, and so rotten within, that no man could abide the smell of him. This cruel wretch, to hasten the poor lambs to the slaughter, would go to Bonner, Story, Cholmley, and others, crying out, "Rid my prison; rid my prison. I am too much pestered with these heretics."

The son of the said Alexander called James, having left unto him by his father great substance, within three years wasted all to nought: and when some marvelled how he spent those goods so fast, "O!" said he, "evil gotten, evil spent." And shortly after, as he went in Newgate-market, he fell down suddenly, and there wretchedly died.

John Peter, son-in-law to this Alexander, and a horrible blasphemer of God, and no less cruel to the said prisoners, rotted away, and so most miserably died; who commonly when he would affirm any thing, were it true or false, used to say, "If it be not true, I pray God I rot ere I die."—Witness the printer hereof, with divers others.

With these I might infer the sudden death of justice Lelond, persecutor of Jeffrey Hurst, mentioned before.

Also the death of Robert Baulding, stricken with lightning at the taking of William Seaman, whereupon he pined away and died: the story of the which William Seaman see before.

Likewise the wretched end of Beard the promoter.

Moreover the consuming away of Robert Blomfield, persecutor of William Brown, specified before.

Further, to return a little backward to king Henry's time, here might be induced also the example of John Rockwood, who, in his horrible end cried "All too late," with the same words which he had used before, in persecuting God's poor people of Calais.

Also the judgment of God upon lady Honor a persecutor, and of George Bradway, a false accuser, both bereft of their wits.

And what a notable spectacle of God's revenging judgment have we to consider in sir Ralph Ellerker, who as he was desirous to see the heart taken out of Adam Damlip, whom they most wrongfully put to death: so, shortly after the said sir Ralph Ellerker being slain of the Frenchmen, they all to mangling him, after they had cut off his privy members, would not so leave him, before they might see his heart cut out of his body.

Dr. Foxford, chancellor to bishop Stokesley, a cruel persecutor, died suddenly.

Pavier or Pavy, town-clerk of London, and a bitter enemy to the gospel, hanged himself. Stephen Gardiner, hearing of the pitiful end of judge Hales, after he had drowned himself, taking occasion thereby, called the following and profession of the gospel a doctrine of desperation. But as judge Hales never fell into that inconvenience before he had consented to papistry, so whoso well considereth the end of Dr. Pendleton (which at his death full sore repented that ever he had yielded to the doctrine of the papists as he did), and likewise the miserable end of the most part of the papists besides, and especially of Stephen Gardiner himself (who after so long professing the doctrine of papistry, when there came a bishop to him in his death-bed, and put him in remembrance of Peter denying his Master; he answering again, said that he had denied with Peter, but never repented with Peter—and so both stinkingly and unrepentantly died), will say as Stephen Gardiner also himself gave an evident example of the same to all men, to understand that popery rather is a doctrine of desperation, procuring the vengeance of Almighty God to them that wilfully do cleave unto it.

John Fisher bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More in king

Peter, Alexander's son-in-law, rotteth away.

Justice Lelond.

Baulding persecutor.

Beard the promoter. Blomfield.

Judgment of God upon Rockwood.

Persecutors in Calais.

Just punishment upon sir R. Ellerker, persecutor.

The sudden death of Foxford.

Pavier, a persecutor, hanged himself.

The stinking end of Gardiner proveth popery and not the gospel to be the doctrine of desperation.



*Narrative*

God's just  
stroke up-  
on Fisher  
bishop of  
Roches-  
ter, and  
sir Tho-  
mas More.

Henry's time, after they had brought John Frith, Bayfield and Bainham, and divers others to their death, what great reward won they thereby with Almighty God? Did not the sword of God's vengeance light upon their own necks shortly after, and they themselves made a public spectacle at the Tower-hill of bloody death, which before had no compassion of the lives of others? Thus ye see the saying of the Lord to be true, "He that smiteth with the sword, shall perish with the sword."

So was Heliodorus, in the old time of the Jews, plagued by God's hand in the temple of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

So did Antiochus, Herod, Julian, Valerian the emperor,<sup>2</sup> Decius, Maxentius, with infinite others, after they had exercised their cruelty upon God's people, feel the like striking hand of God themselves also, in revenging the blood of his servants.

And thus much concerning those persecutors, as well of the clergy-sort as of the laity, which were stricken, and died before the death of queen Mary. With whom also are to be numbered in the race of persecuting bishops, which died before queen Mary, these bishops following.

### Persecuting Bishops that died before Queen Mary.

Cotes, bishop of Chester.

Parfew, bishop of Hereford.

Glyn, bishop of Bangor.

Brookes, bishop of Gloucester.

King, bishop of Tame.

Petow, elect of Salisbury.

Day, bishop of Chichester.

Holyman, bishop of Bristol.

Now, after the queen, immediately followed, or rather waited upon her, the death of cardinal Pole, who the next day departed: of what disease, although it be uncertain to many, yet by some it is suspected, that he took some Italian physick, which did him no good. Then followed these bishops in order:

### Persecuting Bishops that died after Queen Mary.

John Christopherson, bishop of Chichester.

Hopton, bishop of Norwich.

Morgan, bishop of St. David's.

John White, bishop of Winchester.

Ralph Bayne, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

Owen Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle.

Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop of Durham.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas Reynolds, elect of Hereford, after his deprivation died in prison.

Besides these Bishops above named, first died at the same time,

Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, afterwards dean of Windsor; chief disputer against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.

Master Slethurst, master of Trinity college in Oxford, who died in the Tower.

Seth Holland, dean of Worcester, and warden of All Souls' college in Oxford.

William Copinger, monk of Westminster, who bare the great seal before Stephen Gardiner, after the death of the said Gardiner, made himself monk in the house of Westminster; and shortly after fell mad, and died in the Tower.

Dr. Steward, dean of Winchester.

(1) 2 Mac. iii.

(2) Of Valerian read before.

(3) Note that bishop Tonstall, in queen Mary's time, was no great bloody persecutor. For when master Russel, a preacher, was before him, and Dr. Himner his chancellor would have had him examined more particularly, the bishop staid him, saying, "Hitherto we have had a good report among our neighbours; I pray you bring not this man's blood upon my head."

To behold the working of God's judgments, it is wondrous. In the first year of queen Mary, when the clergy were assembled in the Convocation-house, and also afterward, when the disputation was in Oxford against Drs. Cranmer, and Ridley, and master Latimer, he that had seen then Dr. Weston the prolocutor in his ruff, how highly he took upon him in the schools, and how stoutly he stood in the pope's quarrel against simple and naked truth, full little would have thought, and less did he think himself (I dare say), that his glory and lofty looks should have been brought down so soon, especially by them of his own religion, whose part he so doughtily defended.

But such is the reward and end commonly of them, who presumptuously oppose themselves to strive against the Lord, as by the example of this doctorly prolocutor right well may appear. For not long after the disputation above mentioned against bishop Cranmer and his fellows, God so wrought against the said Dr. Weston, that he fell in great displeasure with cardinal Pole and other bishops, because he was unwilling to give up his deanery, and house of Westminster, unto the monks and religious men, whom indeed he favoured not, although in other things he maintained the church of Rome: who notwithstanding, at last, through importunate suit, gave up Westminster, and was dean of Windsor; where, not long after, he was apprehended in adultery, and for the same was by the cardinal put from all his spiritual livings. Wherefore he appealed to Rome, and purposed to have fled out of the realm, but was taken by the way, and committed to the Tower of London; and there remained until queen Elizabeth was proclaimed queen, at which time he being delivered, fell sick and died. The common talk was, that if he had not so suddenly ended his life, he would have opened and revealed the purpose of the chief of the clergy (meaning the cardinal), which was to have taken up king Henry's body at Windsor, and to have burned it. And thus much of Dr. Weston.

*Narrative.*  
A note of  
Dr. Weston.

Weston  
out of  
favour  
with  
papists.

Weston  
taken in  
adultery.  
Weston  
appealed  
to Rome.

His  
death.

The residue that remained of the persecuting clergy, and escaped the stroke of death, were deprived, and committed to prisons; the catalogue of whose names here followeth.

### Persecuting Bishops, etc. committed to the Tower.

Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, and lord chancellor.  
Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely.  
Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln.  
Gilbert Bourne, bishop of Bath and Wells.  
Richard Pate, bishop of Worcester.  
Turberville, bishop of Exeter.  
John Fecknam, abbot of Westminster.  
John Boxall, dean of Windsor and Peterborough.'

Catholic  
dignita-  
ries after  
queen  
Mary's  
death de-  
prived  
and im-  
prisoned.

Of David Pole, bishop of Peterborough, I doubt whether he was in the Tower, or in some other prison.

(1) Note that some of these bishops afterward, through the goodness of queen Elizabeth, were dispersed, and suffered to be kept in their friends' houses.

*Narrative.*

### Persecuting Bishops who ran away.

Goldwell, bishop of St. Asaph.

Maurice, elect of Bangor.

Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, in the Marshalsea.

Thomas Wood, bishop elect, in the Marshalsea.

Cuthbert Scott, bishop of Chester, was in the Fleet; from whence he escaped to Louvain, and there died.

### Persecutors committed to the Fleet.

Henry Cole, dean of Paul's.

John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and dean of Norwich.

Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury.

Anthony Draycot, archdeacon of Huntingdon.

William Chedsey, archdeacon of Middlesex.

A note of  
Dr. Ched-  
sey.

Thirty-  
four arti-  
cles of  
Dr. Ched-  
sey.

Chedsey  
subscrib-  
ed to the  
reformed  
religion  
in king  
Edward's  
time.

Concerning which Dr. Chedsey here is to be noted, that in the beginning of king Edward's reign, he recanted, and subscribed to thirty-four articles, wherein he then fully consented and agreed, with his own handwriting, to the whole form of doctrine approved and allowed then in the church, as well concerning justification by faith only, as also the doctrine of the two sacraments then received, denying as well the pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, purgatory, invocation of saints, elevation and adoration of the sacrament, the sacrifice, and veneration of the mass, as also all other like excrements of popish superstition, according to the king's book then set forth.

Chedsey  
mutable  
and in-  
constant  
in his re-  
ligion.

Wherefore the more marvel it is, that he, being counted such a famous and learned clerk, would show himself so fickle and unstable in his assertions, so double in his doings, to alter his religion according to time, and to maintain for truth, not what he thought best, but what he might most safely defend. So long as the state of the lord protector and of his brother stood upright, what was then the conformity of this Dr. Chedsey, his own articles in Latin, written and subscribed with his own hand, do declare, which I have to show, if he will deny them. But after the decay of the king's uncles, the fortune of them turned not so fast, but his religion turned withal, and eftsoons he took upon him to dispute against Peter Martyr, in upholding transubstantiation at Oxford, which, a little before, with his own handwriting he had overthrown.

His  
eagerness  
in pun-  
ishing  
poor mar-  
tyrs.

After this ensued the time of queen Mary, wherein Dr. Chedsey, to show his double diligence, was so eager in his commission to sit in judgment, and to bring poor men to their death, that in the last year of queen Mary, when the lord chancellor, sir Thomas Cornwallis, lord Clinton, and divers other of the council had sent for him, by a special letter, to repair unto London out of Essex, he, writing again to the bishop of London, sought means not to come at the council's bidding, but to continue still in his persecuting progress. The copy of whose letter I have also in my hands (if need were), to bring forth.

William  
Maldon.  
*See  
Addenda*

Mention was made not long before, of one William Maldon, who, in king Henry's time suffered stripes and scourgings for confessing the verity of God's true religion. It happened in the first year of queen Elizabeth, that the said William Maldon was bound servant

with one named master Hugh Aparry, then a wheat-taker for the *Narrative.* queen, dwelling at Greenwich; who being newly come unto him, and having never a book there to look upon, being desirous to occupy himself virtuously, looked about the house, and found a Primer in English, whereon he read in a winter's evening. While he was reading, there sat one John Apowel, that had been a serving man, about thirty years of age, born toward Wales, whom the said master Hugh gave meat and drink unto, till such time as he could get a service. And as the foresaid William Maldon read on the book, the said John Apowel mocked him after every word, with contrary gauds and flouting words irreverently, insomuch that he could no longer abide him for grief of heart, but turned unto him and said, "John, take heed what thou dost; thou dost not mock me, but thou mockest God: for in mocking of his word, thou mockest him; and this is the word of God, though I be simple that read it; and therefore beware what thou dost."

Then Maldon fell to reading again, and still he proceeded on in his mocking; and when Maldon had read certain English prayers, in the end he read, "Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us," etc.

And as Maldon was reciting these words, the other with a start suddenly said, "Lord have mercy upon me."

With that Maldon answered and said, "What ailest thou, John?"

He said, "I was afraid." "Whereof wast thou afraid?" said Maldon. "Nothing now," said the other; and so he would not tell him.

After this, when Maldon and he went to bed, Maldon asked him, whereof he was afraid? He said, "When you read, 'Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us,' methought the hair of my head stood upright, with a great fear which came upon me."

Then said Maldon, "John, thou mayest see, the evil spirit could not abide that Christ should have mercy upon us." "Well, John," said Maldon, "repent and amend thy life, for God will not be mocked. If we mock and jest at his word, he will punish us. Also you use ribaldry words, and swearing very much: therefore for God's sake, John, amend thy life." "So I will," said he, "by the grace of God; I pray God I may." "Amen," said the other, with other words; and so went to bed.

On the morrow, about eight of the clock in the morning, the foresaid John came running down out of his chamber, in his shirt, into the hall, and wrestled with his mistress, as if he would have thrown her down. Whereat she shrieked out, and her servants helped her, and took him by strength and carried him up into his bed, and bound him down to his bed; for they perceived plainly that he was out of his right mind.

A terrible example to be noted of all such as be contempters of God and his word.

After that, as he lay, almost day and night his tongue never ceased, but he cried out of the devil of hell, and his words were ever still, "O the devil of hell; now the devil of hell; I would see the devil of hell. Thou shalt see the devil of hell; there he was, there he goeth;" with other words, but most of the devil of hell.

Thus he lay without amendment about six days, that his master and all his household were weary of that trouble and noise. Then his



*Narrative.* master agreed with the keepers of Bedlam, and gave a piece of money, and sent him thither. It seemeth that he was possessed with an evil spirit, from the which God defend us all.

This is a terrible example to you that be mockers of the word of God: therefore repent and amend, lest the vengeance of God fall upon you in like manner.—Witness hereof William Maldon, of Newington.

God's  
punish-  
ment  
upon a  
young  
damsel of  
twelve  
years old.

The same William Maldon, chanced afterward to dwell at a town six miles from London, called Walthamstow, where his wife taught young children to read, which was about the year of our Lord 1563, and the fourth year of queen Elizabeth's reign. Unto this school, amongst other children, came one Benfield's daughter, named Dennis, about the age of twelve years.

As these children sat talking together, they happened among other talk (as the nature of children is to be busy with many things) to fall into communication of God, and to reason among themselves, after their childish discretion, what he should be. Whereunto some answered one thing, some another. Among whom, when one of the children had said, that he was a good old Father; the foresaid Dennis Benfield, casting out impious words of horrible blasphemy, "What! he," said she, "is an old doting fool."

Blas-  
phemy  
punished.

What wretched and blasphemous words were these, ye hear. Now mark what followed. When William Maldon heard of these abominable words of the girl, he willed his wife to correct her for the same: which was appointed the next day to be done. But when the next morrow came, her mother would needs send her to the market to London, the wench greatly entreating her mother that she might not go, being marvellously unwilling thereunto. Howbeit, through her mother's compulsion, she was forced to go, and went. And what happened? Her business being done at London, as she was returning again homeward, and being a little past Hackney, suddenly the young girl was so stricken, that all the one side of her was black, and she speechless. Whereupon immediately she was carried back to Hackney, and there the same night was buried.—The witness of the same story was William Maldon and his wife; also Benfield her father, and her mother, which yet be all alive.

A terrible example, no doubt, both to old and young, what it is for children to blaspheme the Lord their God, and what it is for parents to suffer their young ones to grow up in such blasphemous blindness, and not to nurture them betimes in the rudiments of the christian catechism, to know first their creation, and then their redemption in Christ our Saviour, to fear the name of God, and to reverence his majesty. For else what do they deserve but to be taken away by death, which contemptuously despise him, of whom they take the benefit of life?

A lesson  
to chil-  
dren and  
young  
girls.

And therefore let all young maids, boys, and young men, take example by this wretched silly wench, not only not to blaspheme the sacred majesty of the omnipotent God their creator, but also not once to take his name in vain, according as they are taught in his commandments.

A lesson  
to fathers,  
etc.

Secondly, let all fathers, godfathers, and godmothers, take this for a warning, to see to the instruction and catechizing of their

children, for whom they have bound themselves in promise both to *Narrative.* God and to his church. Which if the father and godfather, the mother and godmothers had done to this young girl, verily it may be thought this destruction had not fallen upon her.

Thirdly, let all blind atheists, epicures, mammonists, belly-gods of this world, and sons of Belial, hypocrites, infidels, and mockers of religion, which say in their hearts, there is no God, learn also hereby, not only what God is, and what he is able to do, but also in this miserable creature here punished in this world, behold what shall likewise fall on them in the world to come, unless they will be warned betimes, by such examples as the Lord God doth give them.

Fourthly and lastly, here may also be a spectacle for all them which be blasphemers and abominable swearers, or rather tearers of God, abusing his glorious name in such contemptuous and despiteful sort as they use to do; whom if neither the word and commandment of God, nor the calling of the preachers, nor remorse of conscience, nor rule of reason, nor their withering age, nor hoary hairs will admonish; yet let these terrible examples of God's strict judgment somewhat move them to take heed to themselves. For if this young maiden, who was not fully twelve years old, for her irreverent speaking of God (and that but at one time), did not escape the stroke of God's terrible hand, what then have they to look for, which, being men grown in years and stricken in age, being so often warned and preached unto, yet cease not continually with their blasphemous oaths, not only to abuse his name, but also most contumeliously and despitefully to tear him (as it were), and all his parts in pieces?

About the year of our Lord 1565, at Brightwell in the county of Berks, upon certain communication as touching the right reverend martyrs in Christ, bishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley, and master Hugh Latimer, there came into a house in Abingdon one whose name is Levar, being a ploughman, dwelling in Brightwell aforesaid; and said, that he saw that ill favoured knave Latimer when he was burnt; and also in despite said, that he had teeth like a horse.<sup>1</sup> At which time and hour, as near as could be gathered, the son of the said Levar most wickedly hanged himself, at Shipton in the county aforesaid, within a mile of Abingdon.

Did not Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, give sentence against the lord Cobham, and died himself before him, being so stricken in his tongue, that neither he could swallow nor speak for a certain space before his death?<sup>2</sup>

Friar Campbel, the accuser of Patrick Hamilton in Scotland, what a terrible end he had, read before.<sup>3</sup>

Harvey, a commissary, that condemned a poor man in Calais, was shortly after hanged, drawn and quartered.

William Swallow, the cruel tormentor of George Eagles, was shortly after so plagued of God, that all the hair of his head, and nails of his fingers and toes went off, his eyes well near closed up, that he could scant see. His wife also was stricken with the falling sickness, with the which malady she was never infected before.<sup>4</sup>

Likewise Richard Potto, another troubler of the said George

(1) These words were spoken in the hearing of me, Thomas Jenens of Abingdon.

(2) See vol. iii. p. 403. — Ed.

(3) Vol. iv. p. 563. — Ed.

(4) See p. 396. — Ed.

*Narrative.* Eagles, upon a certain anger or chafe with his servants, was so suddenly taken with sickness, that falling upon his bed like a beast, there he died and never spake word.

Denton burned in his own house. Richard Denton, a shrinker from the gospel, while he refused to suffer the fire in the Lord's quarrel, was afterward burnt in his own house with two more.

Fetty's wife stricken with madness. The wife of John Fetty, being the cause of the taking of her husband, how she was, immediately upon the same, by God's hand stricken with madness, and was distract out of her wits, read before.

Thomas Mouse and George Revet, two persecutors, were stricken miserably with the hand of God, and so died.

Robert Edgore bereft of his wits. Also Robert Edgore, for that he had executed the office of a parish clerk against his conscience, through anguish and grief of conscience for the same, was so bereft of his wits, that he was kept in chains and bonds many years after.

Two papists of New college in Oxford drowned themselves. As touching John Plankney, fellow of New College in Oxford, civilian, and one Havington, both fellows of the same house aforesaid, and both stubborn papists, the matter is not much worthy the memory; yet the example is not unworthy to be noted, to see what little comfort and grace commonly followeth the comfortless doctrine and profession of papistry, as in these two young men, amongst many other may well appear. Of whom the one, which was Plankney, scholar sometime to Marshal (who wrote the Book of the Cross), is commonly reported and known to them of that university, to have drowned himself in the river about Rewley, at Oxford, anno 1556; the other in a well about Rome, or as some do say at Padua, and so being both drowned, were both taken up with crucifixes (as it is said of some) hanging about their necks; the more pity that such young students did so much addict their wits, rather to take the way of papistry, than to walk in the comfortable light of the gospel, now so brightly spreading his beams in all the world; which if they had done, I think not contrary, but it had proved much better with them.

See Appendix.

A story of a courtier, one of the guard. Albeit (I trust) the gospel of Christ, being now received in the queen's court amongst the courtiers and servants of her guard, hath framed their lives and manners so to live in the due fear of God, and temperance of life, with all sobriety, and merciful compassion toward their own Christians, that they need not greatly any other instructions to be given them in this story: yet forsomuch as examples many times do work more effectually in the minds and memories of men; and also partly considering with myself, how these, above all other sorts of men in the whole realm, in time past ever had most need of such wholesome lessons and admonitions, to leave their inordinate riot of quaffing and drinking, and their heathenish profanity of life; I thought here to set before their eyes a terrible example, not of a strange and foreign person, but of one of their own coat, a yeoman of the guard, not feigned by me, but brought to me by God's providence, for a warning to all courtiers; and done of very truth no longer ago than in the year of our Lord 1568. And as the story is true, so is the name of the party not unknown, being called Christopher Landesdale, dwelling in Hackney, in Middlesex; the order of

Admonition to courtiers.

whose life, and manner of his death, being worthy to be noted, is this, *Narrative.*  
as in story hereunder followeth.

This foresaid Landesdale being married to an ancient woman yet living, having by her both goods and lands, notwithstanding lived long in filthy whoredom with a younger woman, by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter, and kept them in his house unto the day of his death. Also, when he should have been in, serving of God on the Sabbath-day, he used to walk or ride about his fields, and seldom he or any of his house came to the church after the English service was again received. Besides this, he was a great swearer, and a great drunkard, and had great delight also in making other men drunken; and would have them whom he had made drunkards, to call him father, and he would call them his sons; and of these sons, by report, he had above forty. And if he had seen one that would drink freely, he would mark him, and spend his money with him liberally in ale or wine, but most in wine, to make him the sooner drunken. These blessed sons of his should have great cheer oftentimes, both at his own house and at taverns: and, not long before his death, he was so beastly drunken in a tavern, over against his door, that he fell down in the tavern-yard, and could not rise alone, but lay grovelling, till he was holpen up, and so carried home.

An example of Christopher Landesdale, one of the guard, for all courtiers to look upon.

This father of drunkards, as he was a great feaster of the rich and wealthy of Hackney, and others; so his poor neighbours and poor tenants fared little better for him: except it were with some broken meat which after his feasts his wife would carry and send unto them, or some alms given at his door.

Landesdale feaster of the rich, etc.

Besides all this, he did much injury to his poor neighbours, in oppressing the commons near about him, which was a special relief unto them; so that his cattle did eat up all without pity or mercy.

There chanced after this, about two years before he died, a poor man, being sick of the bloody flux, for very weakness to lie down in a ditch of the said Landesdale's, not a stone's cast from his house, where he had a little straw brought him: notwithstanding the said Landesdale had back houses and barns enough, to have laid him in, but would not show him so much pity. And thus poor Lazarus there lay night and day, about six days ere he died. Certain good neighbours, hearing of this, procured things necessary for his relief; but he was so far spent, that he could not be recovered; who lay broiling in the hot sun, with a horrible smell, most pitiful to behold.

Poor Lazarus lying by the rich man's door.

This poor man, a little before he died, desired to be removed to another ditch,<sup>1</sup> into the shadow; whereupon, one of the neighbours coming to Landesdale's wife for a bundle of straw for him to lie upon, she required to have him removed to Newington side, because, she said, if he should die, it would be very far to carry him to the church.

Besides this, there was a marriage in this Landesdale's house, and the guests that came to the marriage gave the poor man money as they came and went by him, but Landesdale disdained to contribute any relief unto him, notwithstanding that he had promised to master Searles, one of the queen's guard (who had more pity of him), to minister to him things necessary.

(1) Yet the rich glutton was better; for he suffered Lazarus to lie at his gates.



*Narrative.*

The death of poor Lazarus in the ditch. The end of this unmerciful epicure in the ditch.

To be short, the next day poor Lazarus departed this life, and was buried in Hackney churchyard; upon whom Landesdale did not so much as bestow a winding-sheet, or any thing else towards his burial. And thus much concerning the end of poor Lazarus. Now let us hear what became of the rich glutton.

About two years after, the said Landesdale, being full of drink (as his custom was), came riding in great haste from London on St. Andrew's-day, anno 1568, and (as is reported by those that saw him), reeling to and fro like a drunkard with his hat in his hand, and coming by a ditch-side, there tumbled in headlong into the ditch. Some say that the horse fell upon him, but that is not like. This is true; the horse, more sober than the master, came home, leaving his master behind him. Whether he brake his neck with the fall, or was drowned (for the water was scarcely a foot deep), it is uncertain; but certain it is, that he was there found dead. Thus he, being found dead in the ditch, the coroner (as the manner is) sat upon him: and how the matter was handled for saving his goods, the Lord knoweth; but in the end so it fell out, that the goods were saved, and the poor horse indited for his master's death. The neighbours, hearing of the death of this man, and considering the manner thereof, said it was justly fallen upon him, that as he suffered the poor man to lie and die in the ditch near unto him, so his end was to die in a ditch likewise.

The image of the rich glutton and poor Lazarus.

And thus hast thou in this story, christian brother and reader, the true image of a rich glutton and poor Lazarus set out before thine eyes; whereby we have all to learn, what happeneth in the end to such voluptuous epicures and atheists, who, being void of all sense of religion, and fear of God, yield themselves over to all profanity of life, neither regarding any honesty at home, nor showing any mercy to their needy neighbours abroad.

Christ our Saviour saith, "Blessed be the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy: but judgment without mercy shall be executed on them which have showed no mercy," etc.<sup>1</sup> And St. John saith, "He that seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" etc.<sup>2</sup> Again Isaiah, against such profane drunkards and quaffers, thus crieth out: "Woe be unto them that rise up early to follow drunkenness, and to them that so continue until night, till they be set on fire with wine. In those companies are harps and lutes, tabrets and pipes and wine: but they regard not the works of the Lord, and consider not the operation of his hands," etc. "Woe be unto them that are strong to spue out wine, and expert to set up drunkenness."

A warning to gentle-  
men.

The punishments of them that be dead, be wholesome documents to them that be alive. And therefore, as the story above exemplified may serve to warn all courtiers and yeomen of the guard; so, by this that followeth, I would wish all gentlemen to take good heed and admonition betimes, to leave their outrageous swearing and blaspheming of the Lord their God.

In the time and reign of king Edward, there was in Cornwall a certain lusty young gentleman, which did ride in company with other more gentlemen, together with their servants, being about the

(1) Matt. v.

(2) 1 John iv.

number of twenty horsemen. Among whom this lusty younker Narrative. entering into talk, began to swear most horribly, blaspheming the name of God, with other ribaldry words besides. Unto whom one of the company (who is yet alive, and witness hereof), not able to abide the hearing of such blasphemous abomination, in gentle words speaking to him, said, he should give answer and account for every idle word. A fearful example of God's punishment upon a great swearer.

The gentleman, taking snuff thereat; "Why," said he, "takest thou thought for me? take thought for thy winding sheet." "Well," quoth the other, "amend; for death giveth no warning; for as soon cometh a lamb's skin to the market, as an old sheep's." "God's wounds!" saith he, "care not thou for me:" raging still after this manner worse and worse in words, till at length, passing on their journey, they came riding over a great bridge, standing over a piece of an arm of the sea; upon the which bridge this gentleman-swearer spurred his horse in such sort, as he sprang clean over with the man on his back, who, as he was going, cried saying, "Horse and man, and all to the devil." This terrible story happening in a town in Cornwall, I would have been afraid amongst these stories here to recite, were it not that he which was then both reprehender of his swearing, and witness of his death, is yet alive, and now a minister, named Heynes. Besides this, bishop Ridley, then bishop of London, preached and uttered even the same fact and example at Paul's Cross. The name of the gentleman I could by no means obtain of the party and witness aforesaid, for dread of those (as he said) which yet remain of his affinity and kindred in the said country. Gentle exhortation neglected.

Having now sufficiently admonished, first the courtiers, then the gentlemen; now thirdly, for a brief admonition to the lawyers, we will here insert the strange end and death of one Henry Smith, student of the law. The terrible end of a swearer.

This Henry Smith, having a godly gentleman to his father, and an ancient protestant, dwelling in Campden in Gloucestershire, was by him virtuously brought up in the knowledge of God's word, and sincere religion; wherein he showed himself in the beginning such an earnest professor, that he was called, of the papists, prattling Smith. After these good beginnings, it followed that he, coming to be a student of the law in the Middle Temple at London, there, through sinister company of some,<sup>1</sup> and especially as it is thought of one Gifford, began to be perverted to popery; and afterward going to Louvain, was more deeply rooted and grounded in the same; and so continuing a certain space among the papists, of a young protestant, at length was made a perfect papist. Insomuch, that returning from thence, he brought with him pardons, a crucifix, with an Agnus Dei, which he used commonly to wear about his neck; and had in his chamber images, before which he was wont to pray, besides divers other popish trash, which he brought with him from Louvain. Now what end followed after this I were loth to utter in story, but that the fact so lately done this present year, anno 1559, remaineth yet so fresh in memory, that almost all the city of London not only can witness, but also doth wonder thereat. The end was this. The miserable end of Henry Smith, a lawyer of the Middle Temple, after he was perverted from the gospel.

Master Smith's images and Agnus Dei.

(1) Note what lewd company doth, in corrupting good natures.

*Narrative.*

Henry Smith, a lawyer, hanged himself in his chamber, and after what manner.

†

Not long after the said Henry Smith, with Gifford his companion, was returned from Louvain, being now a foul jeerer, and a scornful scoffer of that religion which before he professed; in his chamber where he lay in a house in St. Clement's parish without Temple-bar, in the evening as he was going to bed, and his clothes put off (for he was found naked), he had tied his shirt (which he had torn to the same purpose) about his middle, and so with his own girdle, or riband-garter as it seemed, fastened to the bed-post, there strangled himself. They that were of his quest, and others which saw the manner of his hanging, and the print where he sat upon his bed's side, do record, that he thrust himself down from the bed's side where he sat; the place where he had fastened the girdle being so low, that his hips well near touched the floor, his legs lying across, and his arms spread abroad. And this was the manner of his hanging, having his Agnus Dei in a silver tablet, with his other idolatrous trash in the window by him. And thus being dead, and not thought worthy to be interred in the church-yard, he was buried in a lane called Foskew-lane.

One Williams, a lawyer, and a railer against the gospel, mad.

This heavy and dreadful end of Henry Smith, although it might seem enough to gender a terror to all young popish students of the law; yet it did not so work with all, but that some remained as obstinate still as they were before; amongst whom was one named Williams, a student of the Inner Temple, who being some time a favourer of the gospel, fell in like manner from that to be an obstinate papist, and despiteful railer against true religion, and in conclusion, was so hot in his catholic zeal, that in the midst of his railing he fell stark mad, and so yet to this present day remaineth. The Lord of his mercy turn him to a better mind, and convert him if it be his pleasure; Amen.

The miserable end of Twyford is here no less to be remembered,<sup>1</sup> a busy doer sometime, in king Henry's days, by Bonner's appointment, in setting up of stakes for the burning of poor martyrs; who, when he saw the stakes consume away so fast; "Yea," said he, "will not these stakes hold? I will have a stake, I trow, that shall hold." And so provided a big tree, and cutting off the top, set it in Smith-field. But thanks be to God, ere the tree was all consumed, God turned the state of religion, and he fell into a horrible disease, rotting alive above the ground before he died. Read more of him before. But because the story both of him, and of a number such other like, is to be found in sundry places of this history sufficiently before expressed, it shall be but a double labour again to recapitulate the same.

#### THE STRANGE AND FEARFUL DEATH OF DOCTOR WILLIAMS.

*Advent.*

Ye have heard before<sup>2</sup> of the condemnation and martyrdom of a certain boy called Thomas Drowry, condemned by Williams, chancellor of Gloucester, contrary to all right and counsel of the registrar

(1) See vol. v. p. 601. —Ed.

(2) See p. 114. —Ed.

then present, called Barker. Now what punishment fell after, upon the said chancellor, followeth to be declared.

*Narrative.*  
See  
*Appendix.*

When God, of his inestimable mercy having pity of us, and pardoning our sins, for his Son Christ Jesus's sake, had now taken from us that bloody princess, and sent us this jewel of joy, the queen's majesty that now reigneth (and long may she reign) over us; and that the commissioners for restitution of religion were coming toward Gloucester; the same day Dr. Williams, the chancellor, dined with master Jennings the dean of Gloucester, who with all his men were booted ready at one of the clock to set forward to Chipping-Norton, about fifteen miles from Gloucester, to meet the commissioners which were at Chipping-Norton, and said to him, "Chancellor, are not thy boots on?"

*Chancellor* :—"Why should I put them on?"

"To go with me," quoth the dean, "to meet these commissioners."

*Chancellor* :—"I will neither meet them, nor see them."

*Dean* :—"Thou must needs see them, for now it is past twelve of the clock, and they will be here afore three of the clock: and therefore, if thou be wise, on with thy boots, let us go together, and all shall be well."

*Chancellor* :—"Go your ways, master dean, I will never see them."

As I said, W. Jennings, the dean, set forward with his company toward the commissioners; and by and by cometh one upon horseback to the dean, saying, "Master chancellor lieth at the mercy of God, and is speechless." At that word, the dean with his company pricked forward to the commissioners, and told them the whole matter and communication between them two, as above. And they sent one of their men, with the best words they could devise, to comfort him with many promises. But, to be short; albeit the commissioners were now nearer Gloucester than the dean and his company thought, making very great haste, especially after they had received these news, yet Dr. Williams, though false of religion, yet true of his promise, kept his ungracious covenant with the dean: for he was dead ere they came to the city, and so never saw them indeed.

Wherefore to pass over our own domestical examples of English persecutors plagued by God's hand (wherewith this our present story doth abound), I will stretch my pen a little further, to adjoin withal a few like examples in foreign countries.

*Declaration of foreign examples.*

#### FOREIGN EXAMPLES.

Hofmeister, the great arch-papist, and chief master-pillar of the pope's falling church, as he was in his journey going toward the council of Ratisbon, to dispute against the defenders of Christ's gospel, suddenly in his journey, not far from Ulm, was prevented by the stroke of God's hand; and there miserably died, with horrible roaring and crying out.<sup>1</sup>

*Hofmeister suddenly stricken with death going to Ratisbon.*

What a pernicious and pestilent doctrine is this of the papists, which leadeth men to seek their salvation by merits and works of the law, and not by faith only in Christ the Son of God, and so to stay themselves by grace! And what inconvenience this doctrine of

*What inconvenience cometh of the pope's doctrine.*

(1) Ex Illyrico, de vocabulo Fidei.



*Narrative.* doubting and desperation bringeth men to at length, if the plain word of God will not sufficiently admonish us, yet let us be warned by examples of such as have been either teachers or followers of this doctrine, and consider well what end commonly it hath and doth bring men unto. To recite all that may be said in this behalf, it were infinite. To note a few examples for admonition's sake, it shall be requisite.

The miserable end of Guarlacus, reader in Louvain.

In the university of Louvain was one named Guarlacus, a learned man, brought up in that school, who at length was reader of divinity to the monks of St. Gertrude's order; where, after he had stoutly maintained the corrupt errors of such popish doctrine, at last falling sick, when he perceived no way with him but death, he fell into a miserable agony and perturbation of spirit, crying out of his sins, how wickedly he had lived, and that he was not able to abide the judgment of God; and so, casting out words of miserable desperation, said, his sins were greater than that he could be pardoned; and in that desperation wretchedly he ended his life.<sup>1</sup>

The story of Arnoldus Bomelius, student at Louvain.

Another like example we have of Arnoldus Bomelius, a young man of the said university of Louvain, well commended for his fresh flourishing wit and ripeness of learning, who, so long as he favoured the cause of the gospel, and took part with the same against the enemies of the truth, he prospered and went well forward; but after that he drew to the company of Tyleman, master of the pope's college in Louvain, and framed himself after the rule of his unsavoury doctrine, that is, to stand in fear and doubt of his justification, and to work his salvation by merits and deeds of the law, he began more and more to grow in doubtful despair and discomfort of mind;<sup>2</sup> as the nature of that doctrine is, utterly to pluck away a man's mind from all certainty and true liberty of spirit, to a servile doubtfulness, full of discomfort and bondage of soul.

A horrible example of Bomelius, who killed himself with his own dagger.

Thus the young man, seduced and perverted through this blind doctrine of ignorance and dubitation, fell into a great agony of mind, wandering and wrestling in himself a long space, till at length, being overcome with despair, and not having in the popish doctrine wherewith to raise up his soul, he went out of the city on a time to walk, accompanied with three other students of the same university, his special familiars; who as they returned home again after their walk, Arnoldus for weariness, as it seemed, sat down by a spring side to rest him awhile. The others, supposing none other but that he for weariness there rested to refresh himself, went forward a little past him. In the mean time what doth Arnoldus, but suddenly taketh out his dagger, and struck himself into the body.

His fellows, seeing him shrinking down, and the fountain to be all coloured with the blood which issued out of the wound, came running to him to take him up; and so searching his body where the wound should be, at length found what he had done, and how he had stricken himself with his dagger into the breast. Whereupon they took him and brought him into a house next at hand, and there exhorted him, as well as they could to repent his fact; who then, by outward gesture, seemed to give some show of repentance. Notwith-

(1) Ex Epistola Claudii Senareclai ad Bucerum, ante Histor. de morte Diazii [p. 8. — Ed.]

(2) Note what evil instruction and company do.

standing, the said Arnoldus, espying one of his friends there busy Narrative. about him to have a knife hanging at his girdle, violently plucked out the knife, and with main force stabbed himself to the heart.<sup>1</sup>

By these Louvanian examples, as we have all to learn, no man to be sure of his life, but that he always needeth to crave and call unto the Lord to bless him with his truth and grace; so especially would I wish our English Louvanians, which now make forts in that universi- Admoni-  
tion to  
our Lou-  
vanians. ty against the open truth of Christ's gospel, to be wise in time, and not to spurn so against the prick, "Ne forte," etc.

Or if they think yet these examples not enough for sufficient admonition, let them join hereunto the remembrance also of James Latomus, a chief and principal captain of the same university of Latomus  
an enemy  
to the  
gospel,  
brought  
to mad-  
ness and  
despera-  
tion. Louvain; who, after he had been at Brussels, and there, thinking to do a great act against Luther and his fellows, made an oration before the emperor so foolishly and ridiculously, that he was laughed to scorn almost of the whole court: then, returning from thence to Louvain again, in his public lecture he fell in an open fury and mad- The ter-  
rible  
words of  
Latomus,  
in his des-  
peration. ness, uttering such words of desperation and blasphemous impiety, that the other divines which were there, and namely Ruardus Anchusianus, were fain to carry him away, as he was raving, and so shut him into a close chamber. From that time unto his last breath, Latomus had never any thing else in his mouth, but that he was damned, and rejected of God, and that there was no hope of salvation for him, because that wittingly, and against his knowledge, he withstood the manifest truth of his word.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Almighty God, not only by his word, but by examples in divers and sundry wise, doth warn us, first to seek to know the perfect will and decree of the Lord our God, appointed in his word. The perfect will and full testament of the Lord in his word, is this, that he hath sent and given his only Son unto us, being fully con- God's  
will, in  
his word,  
to accept  
our faith  
only for  
justifica-  
tion. tented to accept our faith only upon him for our perfect justification and full satisfaction for all our transgressions; and this is called in Scripture, "justitia Dei." To this will and righteousness of God, Obedi-  
ence to  
God's will  
rewarded. they that humble themselves, find such peace and rest in their souls, as no man is able to express, and have strength enough against all the invasions and temptations of Satan. Contrariwise, they that will not yield their obedience unto the will and ordinance of God expressed in his word, but will seek their own righteousness, which is of man, labouring by their merits and satisfaction to serve and please God; these not only do find with God no righteousness at all, but, instead of his favour, procure to themselves his horrible indignation; instead of comfort, heap to themselves desperation; and in the end what inconvenience they come to, by these above-recited examples of Guarlacus, Bomelius, and Latomus, it is evident to see. And out The chief  
fountain  
of all mis-  
chief in  
the world. of this fountain spring not only the punishments of these men, but also all other inconveniences, which happen amongst men, where-soever this pernicious and erroneous doctrine of the papists taketh place.

A dominic friar of Munster, as he was inveighing in the pulpit

(1) Ex Epistola Claudii Senarclæi ad Bucerum, ante Histor. de morte Diazii [p. 9.—Ed.]

(2) Ibid. [1546, p. 12.—Ed.] Item, Ex "Oratione Pauli Eberi in cemitibus Wittenburgæ habita."

*Narrative.* against the doctrine of the gospel then springing up, was struck with a sudden flash of lightning, and so ended his life.<sup>1</sup>

A friar of Munster struck with lightning. A tailor's servant in Leipsic.

Manlius, in his book, "*De dictis Philippi Melanthonis*,"<sup>2</sup> maketh mention of a certain tailor's servant in Leipsic, who, receiving first the sacrament in both kinds with the gospellers, afterward, being persuaded by the papists, received with them under one kind. Whereupon, being admonished of his master to come to the communion again in the church of the gospellers, he stood a great while, and made no answer. At last, crying out upon a sudden, he ran to the window thereby, and so cast himself out, and brake his neck.

God's punishment upon a certain popish gentleman unnamed.

In the same Manlius mention is also made of a certain gentleman of name and authority, but he nameth him not, who hearing these words in a song, "*Ein feste burg ist unser Gott*," that is, "*Our only hold or fortress is our God*,"<sup>3</sup> answered and said, "*Ich will helfen die burg zerschliessen; oder ich wil nit leben*," that is, "*I will help to shoot against thy stay or fort; or else I will not live*." And so, within three days after, he died without repentance, or confessing his faith.<sup>4</sup>

Sadolet, cardinal.

Of Sadolet, the learned cardinal, likewise, it is reported of some, that he died not without great torments of conscience and desperation.<sup>5</sup>

The commendator of St. Anthony plagued.

The commendator of St. Anthony, who sat as spiritual judge over that godly learned man, Wolfgangus, burnt in Lorraine, in Germany, and gave sentence of his condemnation, fell suddenly dead shortly after. Read before.<sup>6</sup>

See Appendix. Abbot of Clarilocus suddenly dead.

Also his fellow, the abbot of Clarilocus, and suffragan to the bishop of Metz, at the crack of guns, suddenly fell down and died.

Beaton, arch-bishop of Scotland, persecutor, slain in his own castle.

David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland, shortly after the condemning of master George Wishart, how he by the just stroke of God was slain, and wretched ended his life within his own castle, in the discourse of his story is evident to see, whoso listeth further to read of that matter.<sup>7</sup>

Cardinal Crescentius.

John Sleidan, in his 23d book, maketh relation of cardinal Crescentius, the chief president and moderator of the council of Trent, anno 1552. The story of whom is certain, the thing that happened to him was strange and notable, the example of him may be profitable to others, such as have grace to be warned by other men's evils. The narration is this.

The terrible judgment of God upon cardinal Crescentius, president to the council of Trent.

The 25th day of March, in the year aforesaid, Crescentius, the pope's legate and vicegerent in the council of Trent, was sitting all the day long until dark night, in writing letters to the pope. After his labour, when night was come, thinking to refresh himself, he began to rise; and at his rising, behold there appeared to him a mighty black dog, of a huge bigness, his eyes flaming with fire, and his ears hanging low down well near to the ground, to enter in, and straight to come toward him, and so to couch under the board. The cardinal, not a little amazed at the sight thereof, somewhat recovering himself, called to his servants, who were in the outward chamber next by, to bring in a candle, and to seek for the dog. But when the dog could not be found, neither there, nor in any other chamber

His wretched end.

(1) See Pantaleon, "*Rerum in Eccles. gestarum*," lib. vii. p. 218, Basilee, 1563.—Ed.

(2) The title more at length is, "*Locorum Communium Collectanea*, a Joh. Manlio, pleraque ex lectionibus Ph. Melanthonis excerpta;" in three or four parts; 8vo. Basil. 1563.—Ed.

(3) Psalm xlii.

(4) See vol. iv. p. 491.

(5) Ex Manlio, de Dictis Philip. Melaneth. [tom. ii. 26.]

(6) Ibid. p. 373.—Ed.

(7) Vol. v. p. 636.—Ed.

about, the cardinal, thereupon stricken with a sudden conceit of *Narrative.* mind, immediately fell into such a sickness, whereof his physicians, which he had about him, with all their industry and cunning could not cure him. And so in the town of Verona died this popish cardinal, the pope's holy legate, and president of this council; wherein his purpose was (as Sleidan saith), to recover and heal again the whole authority and doctrine of the Romish see, and to set it up for ever.

There were in this council, besides the pope's legates and cardinal of Trent, twenty-four bishops, doctors of divinity sixty-two. And thus was the end of that popish council, by the provident hand of the Almighty, dispatched and brought to nought.<sup>1</sup>

This council of Trent, being then dissolved by the death of his cardinal, was afterward, notwithstanding, re-collected again about the year of our Lord 1562; against the erroneous proceedings of which council, other writers there be that say enough. So much as pertaineth only to story, I thought hereunto to add, concerning two filthy adulterous bishops to the said council belonging, of whom the one, haunting to an honest man's wife, was slain by the just stroke of God, with a boar-spear. The other bishop, whose haunt was to creep through a window, in the same window was subtilly taken, and hanged in a gin laid for him of purpose; and so conveyed, that in the morning he was seen openly in the street hanging out of the window, to the wonderment of all that passed by.<sup>2</sup>

Amongst all the religious orders of papists, who was a stouter defender of the pope's side, or a more vehement impugnor of Martin Luther, than John Eckius; who, if his cause wherein he so travailed, had been godly, had deserved (no doubt) great favour and condign retribution at the hands of the Lord. Now, forsomuch as we cannot better judge of him than by his end, let us consider the manner of his departing hence, and compare the same with the end of master Luther.

In the which master Luther, being such an adversary as he was to the pope, and having no less than all the world upon him at once, first this is to be noted; that after all these travails, the Lord gave him to depart both in great age, and in his own native country where he was born. Secondly, he blessed him with such a quiet death, without any violent hand of any adversary, that it was counted rather a sleep than a death. Thirdly, as the death of his body was mild, so his spirit and mind continued no less godly unto the end, continually invoking and calling upon the name of the Lord; and so commending his spirit to him with fervent prayer, he made a blessed and a heavenly ending. Fourthly, over and besides these blessings, Almighty God did also add unto him such an honourable burial, as to many great princes scarce happeneth the like. And this briefly concerning the end of Martin Luther, as ye may read before more at large.

Now let us consider, and confer with this, the death of John Eckius, and the manner thereof, which we find in the English translation of the history of John Carion. folio 250,<sup>3</sup> in these words expressed.

(1) Ex Comment. Sleidan. lib. 23. [tom. iii. p. 336, Edit. Francof. 1786.]

(2) Ex Protestatione Concionatorum German. adversus Conventum Trident. etc. [p. 79, Ed. 1563.]

(3) Ex "Appendice Hist. Joan. Carionis; fol. 250;" rather the reverse of fol. 249. The Chronicles of John Carion were printed at Paris in 1543. The work from which Foxe quotes was printed in English at Nuremberg by John Funcke: it was dedicated to Edward the Sixth, and a copy of it is in the British Museum. See Gerhardt's *Loci Theolog.* loc. xxiii. cap. xi. vol. 12, p. 153, Ed. 1769.—ED.

Two adulterous bishops of Trent council justly slain in adultery.

See Appendix.

Eckius, the pope's stout champion.

The end of Martin Luther compared to the end of Eckius.



*Narrative.*

Eckius's  
last  
words; he  
dieth  
dreaming  
of his  
guilders.

"This year," saith he, "died at Ingoldstadt, Dr. Eckius, a faithful servant and champion of the pope, and a defender of the abominable papacy. But as his life was full of all ungodliness, uncleanness, and blasphemy; so was his end miserable, hard, and pitiful, insomuch that his last words (as it is noted of many credible persons) were these: 'in case the four thousand guilders were ready, the matter were dispatched,' etc. (dreaming belike of some cardinalship that he should have bought). Some say that the pope had granted him a certain deanery, which he should have redeemed from the court of Rome with the foresaid sum." Now what a heavenly end this was of master Eckius, I leave it to the reader's judgment.

God's  
judgment  
upon one  
John  
Vander  
Warfe,  
shouted  
of Ant-  
werp, a  
persecu-  
tor.

In the city of Antwerp was (as they term him there) a shouted (that is to say, the next officer to the margrave), one named John Vander Warfe, bastard son of a stock or kindred called Warfe, of good estimation amongst the chiefest in Antwerp; who, as he was of nature cruel, so was he of judgment perverse and corrupt, and a sore persecutor of Christ's flock, with greediness seeking and shedding innocent blood; and had drowned divers good men and women in the water, for the which he was much commended of the bloody generation. Of some he was called a blood-hound or bloody dog. Of other he was called shilpad,<sup>1</sup> that is to say, shelt-toad; for that he, being a short grundy, and of little stature, did ride commonly with a great broad hat, as a churl of the country. This man, after he was weary of his office (wherein he had continued above twenty years), he gave it over; and because he was now grown rich and wealthy, he intended to pass the residue of his life in pleasure and quietness. During which time, about the second year after he had left his office, he came to Antwerp, to the feast called our Lady's Oumegang, to make merry; which feast is usually kept on the Sunday following the Assumption of our Lady. The same day in the afternoon, about four of the clock, he being well laden with wine, rode homewards in his waggon, with his wife and a gentlewoman waiting on her and his fool. As soon as the waggon was come without the gate of the city, called Cronenberg-gate, upon the wooden bridge, being at that time made for a shift with rails or barriers on both sides for more surety of the passengers (half a man's height and more), the horses stood still, and would by no means go forward, whatsoever the guider of the waggon could do.

Our  
Lady's  
drunken  
feast.  
See  
Appendix.

Then he, in a drunken rage, cried out to him that guided the waggon, saying, "Ride on, in a thousand devils' names; ride on!" Whereat the poor man answered, that he could not make the horses to go forward. By and by, while they were yet thus talking, suddenly rose, as it were, a mighty \*hurlwind,\* with a terrible noise (the weather being very fair, and no wind stirring before), and tossed the waggon over the bar into the town ditch, the ropes whereat the horses had been tied, being broken asunder in such sort, as if they had been cut with a sharp knife; the waggon also being cast upside down, with the fore end thereof turned toward the town again, and he drowned in the mire: and when he was taken up, it was found, that his neck also was broken. His wife was taken up alive, but died also within three days after. But the gentlewoman and the fool, by God's

(1) Shilpad, a kind of shell-fish, fashioned like a toad, with a hard and a broad snail upon his back.

mighty providence, were preserved and had no harm. The fool, hearing the people say his master was dead, said, "And was not I dead? was not I dead too?" This was done, anno 1553.—Witness hereof not only the printer of the same story in Dutch, dwelling then in Antwerp, whose name was Francis Fraet, a good man, and afterward for hatred put to death of papists, but also divers Dutchmen here now in England, and a great number of English merchants, which then were at Antwerp, and are yet alive.

*Narrative.*  
Francis Fraet, the printer and witness hereof, a good man and martyr.

Of the sudden death of Bartholomew Chassanus, or Chassanée, persecutor, read before.<sup>1</sup>

Bartholomew Chassanée and Minerius plagued.

Of Minerius the bloody persecutor, or rather tormentor of Christ's saints, how he died with bleeding in his lower parts, ye heard before.

And what should I speak of the judge which accompanied the said Minerius in his persecution, who a little after, as he returned homeward, was drowned; and three more of the same company killed one another, upon a strife that fell amongst them?

A judge with three persecutors plagued.

Johannes de Roma, a cruel monk, whom we may rather call a hellhound than persecutor, what hellish torments he had devised for the poor Christians of Angrogne, the contents of the story before doth express. Again, with what like torments afterward, and that doublefold, the Lord paid him home again, who, in his rotting and stinking death neither could find any enemy to kill him, nor any friend to bury him; who neither could abide his own stinking carrion, nor could any man else abide to come near him. Hereof read also before.<sup>2</sup>

Terrible vengeance of God upon John de Roma.

Such a like persecutor also the same time was the lord of Revest, who likewise escaped not the revenging hand of God's justice, being stricken, after his furious persecution, with a like horrible sickness, and such a fury and madness, that none durst come near him, and so most wretchedly died: whereof read before.

The lord of Revest plagued.

Touching the like grievous punishment of God upon one John Martin a persecutor, read before.<sup>3</sup>

John Martin plagued.

Erasmus, in an Epistle or Apology, written in defence of his Colloquies, inferreth mention of a certain noble person of great riches and possessions, who, having wife and children, with a great family at home (to whom by St. Paul's rule he was bound in conscience principally above all other worldly things to attend), had purposed before his death to go see Jerusalem. And thus all things being set in order, this nobleman, about to set forward on his journey, committed the care of his wife (whom he left great with child), and of his lordships and castles, to an archbishop, as to a most sure and trusty father. To make short, it happened in the journey this nobleman to die; whereof so soon as the archbishop had intelligence, instead of a father, he became a thief and a robber, seizing into his own hands all his lordships and possessions. And moreover, not yet contented with all this, he laid siege against a strong fort of his (unto the which his wife, for safeguard of herself, did flee), where in conclusion she, with the child that she went withal, was pitifully slain, and so miserably perished. Which story was done (as testifieth Erasmus) not so long before his time, but that there remained the nephews of the nobleman then alive, to whom the same inheritance should have fallen, but they could not obtain it.

God's punishment upon a noble gentleman in going a pilgrimage.

(1) Vol. iv. p. 499.—Ed.

(2) Vol. iv. p. 476.—Ed.

(3) Vol. iv. p. 508.—F-

*Narrative.**Admonition.*

False devotion a perilous thing. Against idolatrous pilgrimage.

A wonderful example of God's judgment at Ghent.

Three causes why saints are not to be prayed unto.

Purgatory denied.

The judgment of God upon Giles Brackleman, the boroughmaster.

William de Wever martyr, burnt at Ghent, anno 1565.

What cometh of blind superstition, when a man not containing himself within the compass of God's word, wandereth in other bye-ways of his own, and not contented with the religion set up of the Lord, will bind his conscience to other ordinances, prescriptions, and religions devised by men, leaving God's commandments undone for the constitutions and precepts of men, what end and reward (I say) cometh thereof at length, by this one example, beside infinite others of the like sort, men may learn by experience: and therefore they that yet will defend idolatrous pilgrimage and rash vows, let them well consider hereof. It is rightly said of St. Jerome, "To have been at Jerusalem is no great matter; but to live a godly and virtuous life, that is a great matter in very deed." [Ad Paul. de Inst. Mon. Ep. 13.]

In the year of our Lord 1565, there was in the town of Ghent in Flanders, one William de Wever, accused and imprisoned by the provost of St. Peter's in Ghent (who had in his cloister a prison and a place of execution); and the day when the said William was called to the place of judgment, the provost sent for master Giles Brackleman, principal advocate of the council of Flanders, and boroughmaster and judge of St. Peter's in Ghent, with other of the rulers of the town of Ghent, to sit in judgment upon him, and as they sat in judgment, the boroughmaster, named master Giles Brackleman, reasoned with the said William de Wever upon divers articles of his faith. The one whereof was, why the said William de Wever denied that it was lawful to pray to saints: and he answered (as the report goeth) for three causes. The one was, that they were but creatures, and not the Creator. The second was, that if he should call upon them, the Lord did both see it, and hear it: and therefore he durst give the glory to none other, but to God. The third and chiefest cause was, that the Creator had commanded in his holy word to call upon him in troubles, unto which commandment he durst neither add nor take from it.

The boroughmaster, master Giles Brackleman, also demanded, whether he did not believe that there was a purgatory which he should go into after this life, where every one should be purified and cleansed. He answered, that he had read over the whole Bible, and could find no such place, but the death of Christ was his purgatory: with many other questions proceeding after their order, until he came to pronounce his condemnation. But ere the said condemnation was read forth, the judgment of God was laid upon the said boroughmaster, who suddenly at that present instant was struck with a palsy, that his mouth was drawn up almost to his ear; and so he fell down, the rest of the lords by and by standing up and shadowing him, that the people could not well see him; and also the people were willed to depart, who, being still called upon to depart, answered, the place was so small to go out, that they could go no faster. Then the boroughmaster of the town, being taken up, was carried to his house, and it is not yet understood, nor commonly known, that ever he spake word after he was first struck, but was openly known to be dead the next day following. And yet notwithstanding that this was done about ten of the clock, they burnt the said William de Wever within three hours after, on the same day.

The 4th day of March, 1566, the like example of the Lord's

terrible judgment was showed upon sir Garret Triest, knight, who had long before promised to the regent to bring down the preaching : for the which act (as the report goeth), the regent promised again to make him a 'grave, which is an earl. Of the which sir Garret it is also said, that he, coming from Brussels towards Ghent, brought with him the death of the preachers; and being come to Ghent, the said sir Garret with other of the lords having received from the regent a commission to swear the lords and commons unto the Romish religion, the said sir Garret, the 4th day of March above noted, at night being at supper, willed the lady his wife to call him in the morning one hour sooner than he was accustomed to rise, for that he should the next day have much business to do in the town-house, to swear the lords and people to the Romish religion. But see what happened. The said sir Garret, going to bed in good health (as it seemed), when the lady his wife called him in the morning, according to his appointment, was found dead in the bed by her, and so unable to prosecute his wicked purpose.

*Narrative.*

Another terrible example of God's judgment against sir Garret Triest, gentleman, and then alderman of Ghent, a persecutor, anno1566.

The 5th of March, 1556, which was the day that sir Garret Triest appointed to be there, and the lords of Ghent were come into the town-house (as they had afore appointed), to proceed and to give the oath, according as they had their commission, and master Martin de Pester, the secretary, being appointed and about to give the oath, as the first man should have sworn, the said Martin de Pester was struck of God with present death likewise, and fell down, and was carried away in a chair or settle, and never spake after. Witnesses hereof: Peter de Bellemaker, Abraham Rossart, Maerke de Mil, Liven Hendrickx, Jahn Coucke, Rogeyr Van Hulle, Joys Neuchans, Lyavin Neuehans, William Vanden Boegarde, and Joys de Pytte.

Another example of God's judgment upon Martin de Pester, one of the principal secretaries of Ghent, anno1566.

About the borders of Suabia in Germany, not far from the city of Uberlingen, there was a certain monastery of Cistercian monks called Salmesville,<sup>1</sup> founded in the days of pope Innocent II., by a noble baron named Guntherame, about the year of our Lord 1110.<sup>2</sup> This cell thus being erected, in process of time was enlarged with more ample possessions, finding many and great benefactors and endowers liberally contributing unto the same; as emperors, dukes, and rich barons. Amongst whom most especial were the earls of Montfort, who had bestowed upon that monastery many new liberties and great privileges, upon this condition, that they should receive with free hospitality any stranger, both horseman or footman, for one night's lodging, whosoever came. But this hospitality did not long so continue, through a subtle and devilish device of one of the monks, who took upon him to counterfeit to play the part of the devil, rattling and raging in his chains, where the strangers should lie, after a terrible manner in the night-time, to fray away the guests; by reason whereof no stranger nor traveller durst there abide; and so continued this a long space.

A story of a tame devil conjured in an abbey in Suabia.

A subtle device of the monks, to fray away their guests.

At length (as God would) it so happened, that one of the earls of the said house of Montfort, benefactors to that abbey, coming to the monastery, was there lodged, whether of set purpose, or by chance, it is not known. When the night came, and the earl was at his rest, the monk after his wonted manner beginneth his pageant, to play the

(1) "Salmesville," or Salamonis villa, *hod. Salmansweyler*.—*Ed.*

(2) Or rather A.D. 1134; see Playfair's *Geog.* vol. iv. p. 221.—*Ed.*



*Narrative.*

The punishment of God upon a monk that would counterfeit the devil.

tame, yea rather the wild devil. There was stamping, ramping, spitting of fire, roaring, thundering, bouncing of boards, and rattling of chains, enough to make some men stark mad. The earl, hearing the sudden noise, and being somewhat, peradventure, afraid at the first, although he had not then the feat of conjuring, yet taking a good heart unto him, and running to his sword, he laid about him well favouredly, and following still the noise of the devil, so conjured him at last, that the monk which counterfeited the devil in jest, was slain, in his own likeness, in earnest.<sup>1</sup>

After the imprisonment of the congregation, which were taken hearing God's word in St. James's-street in Paris, anno 1558 (as is above storied), was a letter written to the king, which was divulgate abroad, proving and declaring by divers histories, what afflictions and calamities from time to time, by God's righteous judgment, have fallen upon such as have been enemies to his people, and have resisted the free passage of his holy word. In which letter, forasmuch as besides the said examples much other good fruitful matter is contained, worthy of all men to be read, and especially of princes to be considered, I thought good here to copy out the whole, as the French book doth give it; the translation of the which letter into English, is after this tenor, as followeth.

### A Letter translated out of French into English, written to King Henry the Second, the French King.

The doings of Henry II. French king against the Lutherans, never prospered with him.

The cruel purpose of the duke of Guise disappointed.

The wicked vow of the constable of France defeated.

God's fearful hand upon Castellane, persecutor.

Consider, I pray you, sir, and you shall find that all your afflictions have come upon you, since you have set yourself against those which are called Lutherans. When you made the edict of Chateau-Briant, God sent you wars; but when you ceased the execution of your said edict, and as long as ye were enemy unto the pope, and going into Alman for the defence of the Germans afflicted for religion, your affairs prospered as ye would wish or desire. On the contrary, what hath become upon you since you were joined with the pope again, having received a sword from him for his own safeguard, and who was it that caused you to break the truce?<sup>2</sup> God hath turned in a moment your prosperities into such afflictions, that they touch not only the state of your own person, but of your kingdom also. To what end became the enterprise of the duke of Guise in Italy, going about the service of the enemy of God, and purposing after his return to destroy the valleys of Piedmont, to offer or sacrifice them to God for his victories? The event hath well declared, that God can turn upside down our counsels and enterprises; as he overturned of late the enterprise of the constable of France at St. Quintin's; having vowed to God, that at his return he would go and destroy Geneva, when he had gotten the victory. Have you not heard of S Ponchet, archbishop of Tours, who made suit for the erection of a court called Chamber-Ardent, wherein to condemn the protestants to the fire? who afterwards was stricken with a disease, called the fire of God, which began at his feet, and so ascended upward, that one member after another had to be cut off, and so died miserably without any remedy. Also one Castellane, who having enriched himself by the gospel, and forsaking the pure doctrine thereof to return unto his vomit again, went about to persecute the Christians at Orleans, and by the hand of God was stricken in his body with a sickness unknown to the physicians, the one half of his body burning as hot as fire, and the other as cold as ice; and so most miserably crying and lamenting, ended his life.

There be other infinite examples of God's judgments worthy to be remembered; as the death of the chancellor and legate Du Prat, which was the first that opened to the parliament the knowledge of heresies, and gave out the first commissions to put the faithful to death, who afterwards died at his house at

(1) Ex Gasparo Bruschio, in Chronologia Monasteriorum Germaniæ.

(2) This truce was between the French king and the emperor, which the pope caused to be broken.

Natoillet, swearing and horribly blaspheming God, and his stomach was found pierced and gnawn asunder with worms. Also John Ruze, councillor in the parliament, coming from the court, after he had made report of the process against the poor innocents, was taken with a burning in the lower part of his belly, and, before he could be brought home to his house, the fever invaded all his inward parts; and so he died miserably, without any sign or token of the acknowledging of God. Also one named Claude des Asses, a councillor in the said court, the same day that he gave his opinion and consent to burn a faithful Christian (albeit it was not done in deed as he would have it), after he had dined, committed whoredom with a servant in the house, and even in doing the act he was stricken with a disease called apoplexy, whereof he died out of hand. Peter Liset, chief president of the said court, and one of the authors of the foresaid burning chamber, was deposed from his office, for being known to be out of his right wit, and bereaved of his understanding. Also John Morin, lieutenant-criminal of the provost of Paris, after he had been the cause of the death of many Christians, was finally stricken with a disease in his legs, called the wolves, whereby he lost the use of them, and died also out of his wits, many days before denying and blaspheming God. Likewise John Andrew, bookbinder of the palace, a spy for the president Liset and of Brussard the king's solicitor, died in a fury and madness. The inquisitor John de Roma in Provence, his flesh fell from him by piecemeal, so stinking that no man might come near him. Also John Mesnier of Provence, who was the cause of the death of a great number of men, women, and children, at Cabriers and at Merindol, died with bleeding in the lower parts, the fire having taken his belly, blaspheming and despising God: besides many others whereof we might make recital, which were punished with the like kind of death.

The wicked end of Claude des Asses, persecutor.

John Andrew, book-binder, plagued John de Roma. John Minerius.

It may please your majesty to remember yourself that ye had no sooner determined to set upon us, but new troubles were by and by moved by your enemies, with whom ye could come to no agreement; which God would not suffer, forasmuch as your peace was grounded upon the persecution which ye pretended against God's servants: as also your cardinals cannot let through their cruelty the course of the gospel, which hath taken such root in your realm, that if God should give you leave to destroy the professors thereof, you should be almost a king without subjects.

The French king by sundry sorts of troubles warned of God.

Tertullian hath well said, that "the blood of martyrs is the seed of the gospel." Wherefore, to take away all these evils coming of the riches of the papists, which cause so much whoredom, sodomitry, and incest, wherein they wallow like hogs, feeding their idle bellies, the best way were to put them from their lands and possessions, as the old sacrificing Levites were, according to the express commandment which was given to Joshua: for as long as the ordinances of God took place, and that they were void of ambition, the purity of religion remained whole and perfect; but when they began to aspire to principalities, riches, and worldly honours, then began the abomination of desolation that Christ foretold.

Riches and pride of the clergy, the fountain of all evils.

It was even so in the primitive church, for it flourished and continued in all pureness as long as the ministers were of small wealth, and sought not their particular profit, but the glory of God only. But since the pope began to be prince-like, and to usurp the dominion of the empire under the colour of a false donation of Constantine, they have turned the Scriptures from their true sense, and have attributed the service to themselves, which we owe to God. Wherefore your majesty may seize with good right upon all the temporalities of the benefices, and that with a safe conscience, to employ them to their true and right use.

The pureness of the primitive church, how long it continued: False donation of Constantine.

First, for the finding and maintaining of the faithful ministers of the word of God, for such livings as shall be requisite for them, according as the case shall require. Secondly, for the entertainment of your justices that give judgment. Thirdly, for the relieving of the poor, and maintenance of colleges to instruct the poor youth in that which they shall be most apt unto. And the rest, which is infinite, may remain for entertainment of your own estate and affairs, to the great easement of your poor people, which alone bear the burden, and possess in manner nothing.

Exhortation to the king to seize upon the temporalities of the clergy.

In this doing, an infinite number of men, and even of your nobility, which live of the crucifix, should employ themselves to your service, and the commonwealths so much the more diligently, as they see that ye recompense none but those that have deserved; whereas now there is an infinite number of men in

How they ought to be employed.

*Narrative.* your kingdom, which occupy the chiefest and greatest benefices, which never deserved any part of them, etc. And thus much touching the superfluous possession of the pope's lordly clergy. Now proceeding further in this exhortation to the king, thus the letter importeth.

The malicious and lying slanders of the papists to bring the true gossellers in hatred with princes. Constantine confirmed in his kingdom the more, by receiving the gospel. Examples of England and Germany, how princes lose no honour by the gospel. Whole-some remedy showed against the pope's pride. A blind shift of the papists to stop princes from calling general councils. The contrarieties in pope's councils enough for their disproof. Prophecy against the French king.

But when the papists see that they have not to allege for themselves any reason, they essay to make odious to your majesty the Lutherans (as they call us), and say: "If their sayings take place, ye shall be fain to remain a private person; and that there is never change of religion, but there is also change of principedom." A thing as false as when they accuse us to be sacramentaries, and that we deny the authority of magistrates, under the shadow of certain furious Anabaptists, which Satan hath raised in our time, to darken the light of the gospel. For the histories of the emperors which have begun to receive the christian religion, and that which is come to pass in our time, show the contrary.

Was there ever prince more feared and obeyed, than Constantine in receiving the christian religion? was he therefore put from the empire? No, he was thereby the more confirmed and established in the same, and also his posterity which ruled themselves by his providence. But such as have fallen away, and followed men's traditions, God hath destroyed, and their race is no more known in earth: so much doth God detest them that forsake him.

And in our time the late kings of England and Germany, were they constrained in reproving superstitions, which the wickedness of the time had brought in, to forsake their kingdoms and principedoms? All men see the contrary; and what honour, fidelity, and obedience the people in our time that have received the reformation of the gospel, do, under their princes and superiors. Yea, I may say, that the princes knew not before what it was to be obeyed, at that time when the rude and ignorant people received so readily the dispensations of the pope, to drive out their own kings and natural lords.

The true and only remedy, sir, is, that ye cause to be holden a holy and free council, where ye should be chief, and not the pope and his, who ought but only to defend their causes by the holy Scriptures; that in the meanwhile ye may seek out men not corrupted, suspected, nor partial, whom ye may charge to give report faithfully unto you, of the true sense of holy Scriptures. And this done, after the example of the good kings, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josias, ye shall take out of the church all idolatry, superstition, and abuse, which is found directly contrary to the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and by that means ye shall guide your people in the true and pure service of God, not regarding in the mean time the cavilling pretences of the papists, which say that such questions have been already answered at general councils: for it is known well enough, that no council hath been lawful since the popes have usurped the principality and tyranny upon men's souls; but they have made them serve to their covetousness, ambition, and cruelty; and the contrariety which is among those councils, maketh enough for their disproof, besides a hundred thousand other absurdities against the word of God, which be in them. The true proof for such matters, is in the true and holy Scriptures, to the which no times, nor age hath any prescription to be alleged against them; for by them we received the councils founded upon the word of God, and also by the same we reject that doctrine which is repugnant.

And if ye do thus, sir, God will bless your enterprise; he will increase and confirm your reign and empire, and your posterity. If otherwise, destruction is at your gate, and unhappy are the people which shall dwell under your obedience. There is no doubt but God will harden your heart, as he did Pharaoh's, and take off the crown from your head, as he did to Jeroboam, Nadab, Baasha, Ahab; and to many other kings, which have followed men's traditions, against the commandment of God; and give it to your enemies, to triumph over you and your children.

And if the emperor Antoninus the meek, although he were a pagan and idolater, seeing himself bewrapt with so many wars, ceased the persecutions which were in his time against the Christians, and determined in the end to hear their causes and reasons, how much more ought you, that bear the name of the most christian king, to be careful and diligent to cease the persecutions against the poor Christians, seeing they have not troubled, nor do trouble in any wise, the state of your kingdom and your affairs; considering also that the Jews be suffered through all Christendom, although they be mortal enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we hold by common accord and consent for

our God, Redeemer, and Saviour; and that until ye have heard lawfully *Narrative.* debated and understand our reasons, taken out of the holy Scriptures; and that your majesty have judged, if we be worthy of such punishments. For if we be not overcome by the word of God, neither the fires, the swords, nor the cruellest torments, shall make us afraid. These be exercises that God hath promised to his, the which he foretold should come in the last times, that they should not be troubled when such persecutions shall come upon them.

[Translated out of the French book, intituled 'Commentaries of the State *See Appendix.* of the Church and Public Weal,' etc. page 7.]

#### THE STORY AND THE END OF THE FRENCH KING.

Whosoever was the author or authors of this letter above prefixed, herein thou seest, good reader, good counsel given to the king. If he had had the grace to receive it, and had followed the same, no doubt but God's blessing working with him, he had not only set that realm in a blessed state from much disturbance, but also had continued himself in all flourishing felicity of princely honour and dignity. For so doth the Lord commonly bless and advance such kings and princes as seek his honour, and submit their wills to his obedience. But commonly the fault of kings and potentates of this world is, that being set about with parasites, either they seldom hear the truth told them, or, if they do, yet will they not lightly be put from their own wills, disdaining to be admonished by their inferiors, be their counsel never so wholesome and godly; which thing many times turneth *What cometh to kings that refuse good counsel.* them to great plagues and calamities, as by plentiful examples of kings destroyed, wounded, imprisoned, deposed, drowned, poisoned, etc., may well, to them that read histories, appear. But especially this present example of Henry the French king, the second of that name, is in this our age notoriously to be considered; who, being well warned before (as may seem), would not yet surcease his cruel persecution against the Lord's people, but rather was the more hardened in heart, and inflamed against them; insomuch that he said to Anne du Bourg, one of the high court of parliament in Paris, threatening him, that he would see him burn with his own eyes.

Further, how his purpose was to extend his power and force likewise against other places more, in persecuting the gospel of Christ, and professors thereof, to the uttermost of his ability, I leave it to the report of them, which in this matter know more than I here will utter. *Henry II. the French king, wholly set to persecute the church of Christ.*

But notwithstanding all these cracks and threatenings of the king (to see what the Lord can do in making high kings to stoop), even the same day when the king was in his most rage against these good men, Almighty God, taking the cause in hand to fight for his church, so turned the matter, that he made the great enemy of his, both with his mouth and with his hand to work his own destruction; with his mouth in commanding, with his hand in giving him the lance into his hand, which the same day gave him his death's wound, as by the sequel hereof in reading, ye may understand. *God's mighty power against his enemies.*

#### THE STROKE OF GOD'S HANDS UPON HENRY THE SECOND, THE FRENCH KING.

King Henry being in the parliament house which was kept at the Friar Augustines at Paris, because the palace was in preparing against the marriage of his daughter and his sister, and having heard the opinion in religion of Anne du Bourg, counsellor in the law, a man



*Narrative.* eloquent and learned, he caused the said Anne du Bourg, and Loys du Faur, counsellors, to be taken prisoners by the constable of France, who apprehended them, and delivered them into the hands of the count of Montgomery, the which carried them to prison. Against whom the king being wrathful and angry, among other talk, said to the said Anne du Bourg, "These eyes of mine shall see thee burnt." And so, on the 19th of June, commission was given to the judges to make his process.

During this meanwhile, great feasts and banquets were preparing in the court, for joy and gladness of the marriage that should be of the king's daughter and sister, against the last day of June save one. So, when the day and time above prefixed were come, the king employed all the morning in examining as well the presidents as counsellors of the said parliament against these prisoners, and other their companions that were charged with the same doctrine; which being done, they went to dinner.

The king, after he had dined, for that he was one of the defendants at the tourney, which was solemnly made in St. Antony's-street, near to the prison where the foresaid prisoners were committed, entered into the lists; and therein jousting, as the manner is, had broken many staves right valiantly as could be, running as well against the count of Montgomery, as others more. Whereupon he was highly commended of the lookers-on. And because he had done so valiantly, and was thought now to have done enough, he was desired to cease with praise. But he, being the more inflamed with the hearing of his praise, would needs run another course with Montgomery; who then, refusing to run against the king, and kneeling upon his knees for pardon not to run, the king being eagerly set, commanded him upon his allegiance to run, and (as some affirm) did also himself put the staff in his hand, unto whose hands he had committed the foresaid prisoners a little before. Montgomery, thus being enforced, whether he would or no, to run against the king, addressed himself after the best wise to obey the king's commandment.

Whereupon he and the king met together so stoutly, that in breaking their spears the king was stricken with the counter-blow, so right in one of his eyes, by reason that the visor of his helmet suddenly fell down at the same instant, that the shivers entered into his head; so that the brains were perished, and thereupon so festered, that no remedy could be found, although physicians and surgeons were sent for from all places in the realm, as also from Brabant by king Philip; but nothing availed, so that the 11th day after, that is, the 10th of July, 1559, he ended his life in great dolour, having reigned twelve years, three months, and ten days.

Some report, that among other words he said, that he feared he was stricken for casting the poor Christians wrongfully in prison: but the cardinal of Lorrain, standing by (as he was always at hand), said unto him, that it was the enemy that tempted him, and that he should be steadfast in the faith. By this means the hall, which was prepared for a place of joy and gladness, did now serve for a chapel to keep the corpse, being dressed with black mourning-cloth, and night and day there was nothing heard but mourning and lamenting for the space of forty days.

Henry II.  
the  
French  
king, sore  
set  
against  
the poor  
protes-  
tants.

Henry II.  
the  
French  
king, in  
his tri-  
umph  
jousteth  
against  
Mont-  
gomery.

Mont-  
gomery,  
against  
his will,  
com-  
manded  
to joust  
against  
the king.  
The  
French  
king  
stricken  
and killed  
in his  
own  
jousting.  
The devil-  
ish per-  
suation of  
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nal of  
Lorrain.

About a year after this, which was the year of our Lord 1560,<sup>1</sup> there were certain gentlemen put to death at Amboise, for taking arms against the house of Guise; touching which gentlemen this is to be noted, that as one of them should be brought to the place of execution, where the other lay dead before him, he thrust his hands into the blood of two of his companions which were there beheaded, and then, lifting them up to heaven, cried with a loud voice, "Lord! behold the blood of thy children: thou wilt in time and place revenge it."

*Certain gentlemen executed at Amboise, for standing against the house of Guise.*

Not long after the same, the chancellor Olivier, who was condemner of them, at the instigation and pursuit of the cardinal of Lorraine, through great remorse of conscience fell sick, and in a frenzy casting out sighs incessantly, and afflicting himself after a fearful and strange fashion for his unrighteous sentence, and more than barbarous cruelty, shrieked upon a sudden with a horrible cry, and said, "O cardinal! thou wilt make us all to be damned." And within a very few days after he died.

*See Appendix.*

*The Lord's punishment upon the chancellor Olivier.*

Francis, the second of that name, king of France, at the persuasion of the cardinal of Lorraine, and of certain others, caused an assembly of the estates of the realm in the town of Orleans, among other things to maintain the papal see, to the overthrow of those which would live after the sincerity of the gospel: but being fallen sick, shortly after, in the foresaid place, of a fever, through an impostume in his left ear, he died the 5th of December, 1560, having reigned but one year and about five months.

*The death of Francis II., the French king, after he began to withstand the course of the gospel.*

It was said of this king Francis (as the author above mentioned reporteth), that when he was drawing toward his end, the cardinal of Lorraine made him to say and pronounce these words which follow: "Lord! forgive me my trespasses, and impute not unto me the faults which my ministers have done, under my name and authority."

*His words at his death.*

Neither is it unworthy of observation, that, after the father, it happened in much like sort (by God's mighty judgment) unto Charles IX., his second son, and brother to Francis above mentioned, in these our later days; who, after the horrible and bloody murder of the admiral,<sup>2</sup> and other true professors of Christ's gospel, both men, women, and children, to the number of many thousands of divers cities, insomuch that the prisons and streets are said to be coloured with blood, smoking after such a cruel sort, as in our time or country the like hath not hitherto been seen; by the stroke of God's just revenge, the same king, by credible report of story, is said to die of bleeding, not only at his ears and nose, but in all other places of his body, where blood might have any issue.

*The terrible stroke of God's revenge upon Charles the ninth, the French king.*

Unto these afore-recited histories of king Henry and his two sons, might also be added the death of the emperor Charles V., who, in like manner, being an enemy, and a great terror to the gospel, was cut off likewise from doing any more hurt to the church, much about the same time, anno 1558; which was but three months before the death of queen Mary, and ten months before the death of the said Henry II. Touching the death of which Charles and Henry, and Francis, this epitaph following was written in Latin verses, and printed in the French story-book above alleged. [fol. 100.]

*The death of Charles the emperor.*

(1) See Henault, "Chron. de l'Hist. de France;" vol. ii. p. 581.—Ed.

(2) Admiral Chatillon, one of the leaders of the Huguenots, murdered at the massacre of St. Bartholomew at Paris, in 1572.—Ed.

*Narrative.*

An epitaph upon Charles V. emperor, Henry II. French king, and Francis his son.

Consiliis Christum oppugnans et fraudibus ingens  
 Regum ille terror Carolus,  
 Ipsis ridiculus pueris, furiosus et excors,  
 Totus repente corruit.  
 Tuque Henrice, malis dum consultoribus utens  
 Sitis piorum sanguinem,  
 Ipse tuo vecors, inopina cæde peremptus,  
 Terram imbuisti sanguine.  
 Henrici deinceps sectans vestigia patris  
 Franciscus, infelix puer,  
 Clamantem Christum surdâ dum negligit aure,  
 Aure putrefactâ corruit.  
 Versuti, fatui, surdi, hæc spectacula, reges,  
 Vos sapere vel mori jubent.

The sudden death of president Minard.

*Appendix.*

The punishment of God upon the king of Navarre, after he had revolted from the gospel to popery.

Not long after Anne du Bourg's death, the president Minard, who was a sore persecutor, and the condemner of the said Anne du Bourg, as he returned from the palace or council-chamber to his own house, being upon his mule, even hard by his house, was slain with a dag; but who was the doer thereof, or for what cause he was slain, for all the inquisition and diligent search that could be made, it was never known.

Among many other examples worthy to be noted, let us also consider the end of the king of Navarre, brother to the worthy prince of Condé, who, after he had sustained a certain time the cause of the gospel, at length being allured by the flattering word of the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine his brother, and upon hope to have his lands restored again, which the king of Spain retained from him, was contented to alter his religion, and to join side with the papists; and so, being in camp with the duke of Guise, at the siege of Rouen,<sup>1</sup> was there shot with a pellet. After which wound received, being brought to a town three miles from the camp, called Preaux, he did vehemently repent and lament his backsliding from the gospel, promising to God most earnestly, that if he might escape that hurt, he would bring to pass that the gospel should be preached freely through all France: notwithstanding, within five or six days after he died.

Neither did the duke of Guise himself, the great arch-enemy of God and his gospel, continue in life long after that, but both he and the whole triumvirate of France, that is, three the greatest captains of popery, were cut off from doing any more hurt, to wit, the duke of Guise before Orleans, the constable<sup>2</sup> before Paris, the marshal<sup>3</sup> of St. Andrew before Dreux.

## OF THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND.

Amongst others, here is not to be past over nor forgotten, the notable example of God's just scourge upon Sigismund the emperor, of whom mention is made before, in the condemnation of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague. After the death and wrongful condemnation of which blessed martyrs, nothing afterward went prosperously with the said emperor, but all contrary; so that he both died without issue, and in his wars he ever went to the worst. And not long after, Ladislaus, his daughter's son, king of Hungary, fighting against the Turk, was slain in the field. So that in the time of one generation all the posterity and offspring of this emperor perished. Besides

(1) Oct. 15th, 1562.—Ed.

(2) Anne de Montmorenci: Nov. 10th, 1567.—Ed.

(3) Jacques d'Albon; in 1562.—Ed.

this, Barbara his wife came to such ruin by her wicked lewdness, *Narrative.* that she became a shame and slander to the name and state of all queens; whereby all christian princes and emperors may sufficiently be admonished, if they have grace, what it is to defile themselves with the blood of Christ's blessed saints and martyrs.

## A NOTE OF CHRISTOPHER PARKER.

Christopher Parker, called Parker the wild, mentioned before in this Book of Monuments, who, being a persecutor of Richard Woodman, did manacle his hands with a cord, did cast himself into a pond, and so drowned himself at Herstmonceaux, in Sussex, the 8th September, 1575.

## THE STORY OF ONE DRAINER OF KENT, COMMONLY CALLED JUSTICE NINE-HOLES.

I may not in this place omit the tragedy of one Drainer of Smarden in the county of Kent, esquire, who bearing grudge against one Gregory Dods, parson of the said town, for reproving his vicious life, sent for him by two men, which took him and brought him before him, where he was had into a parlour, as it were to breakfast; in which, behind the door, he had placed one Roger Matthew secretly, to bear witness what he should say, no more being in sight but the said Drainer and one of his men, who willed and persuaded him to speak freely his mind, for that there was not sufficient record of his words to hurt him. But the Lord kept his talk without peril, whereby the said Drainer sent him to the next justice, called master George Dorell; who, perceiving it to be done more of malice than otherwise, delivered him upon sureties, to appear at the next sessions at Canterbury, and at length he was banished the country.

This said Drainer afterward, being chosen justice, to show himself diligent in seeking the trouble of his neighbours, made in the rood-loft nine holes, that he might look about the church in mass time. In which place alway, at the sacring thereof, he would stand to see who looked not, or held not up his hands thereto; which persons not so doing he would trouble and punish very sore. Whereby he purchased a name there, and is called to this day, justice Nine-holes, who now (God be thanked) is John-out-of-office, and glad of his neighbour's good will.

It so fell out, that since this was published, the said Drainer came to the printer's house, with other associates, demanding, "Is Foxe here?" To whom answer was given, that master Foxe was not within. "Is the printer within?" quoth Drainer. It was answered, Yea. Whereupon, being required to come up into his house, he was asked what his will was. "Marry," saith he, "you have printed me false in your book." "Why," saith the printer, "is not your name master Drainer, otherwise called justice Nine-holes?" "It is false," saith he, "I made but five with a great augur, and the parson made the rest." It was answered, "I have not read that a justice should make him a place in the rood-loft, to see if the people held up their hands." He said, "Whereas you allege, that I did it to see who adored the sacrament, or who not, it is untrue; for I set as

The story of one Drainer, otherwise called justice Nine-holes.

A malicious practice to entrap a good man.



*Narrative.* little by it, as the best of you all." "Indeed," saith the printer, "so we understand now; for you being at supper in Cheapside among certain honest company, and there burdened with the matter, said then, that you did it rather to look upon fair wenches, than otherwise." He, being in a great rage, sware, saying to this purpose: "Can a man speak nothing but you must have understanding thereof? But," saith he, "did I do any man any hurt?" It was answered, that he meant little good to master Dods aforesaid, especially procuring a secret witness behind his door, to catch some words that might tend to Dods' destruction: which thing Drainer sware, as before, was not true. To whom the printer replied, that it was most true, for that the party there secretly hidden, hath since upon his knees, asking forgiveness for his intent, confessed the same to Dods himself. "I will hang that knave," saith he. And so he departed in a rage; and since is deceased, whose death and order thereof, I refer to the secret Judge.

Drainer  
convicted  
of false-  
hood.

### A Lamentable Story of John Whitman, Shoemaker,

WHO SUFFERED MOST CRUEL TORMENTS AT OSTEND IN FLANDERS, FOR THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS CHRIST, AND THE TRUTH OF HIS GOSPEL, ANNO 1572.

John Whitman shoemaker, being about the age of forty-nine years, born in Tienen, a town in Brabant, after his coming over into England, dwelt in Rye in the county of Sussex, being married twenty-three years: always a professor of the gospel, as well in the time of the freedom thereof, as in time of persecution. About Candlemas, in the year 1572, unknown to his friends in Rye, understanding of shipping in Rye, which was ready bound for Ostend in Flanders, he went aboard the Saturday morning, and arrived at Ostend that night, where he lodged with one of his kinsmen there dwelling. The next day being Sunday, in the morning he, accompanied with his said kinsman, took his journey as it were to have passed higher into the country.

When they were about three miles on their way out of the town, suddenly Whitman staid and would go no further; but immediately returned back again to Ostend, whither so soon as he was come, it being service-time in their church, he forthwith addressed himself thither, and at the time of the heave-offering stept to the sacrificer, and took from over his head his idol, saying these words in the Dutch tongue: "Is this your god?" and so breaking it, cast it down under his feet, and trod thereon. Forthwith the people in an uproar came to lay hold on him, and hardly in the church escaped he death by the soldiers there present; but, being rescued by some, to the intent to be further examined and made a public spectacle, he was carried immediately to prison. Upon the next day, being Monday, the judges and other counsellors being assembled, he was brought forth into the common-hall, and examined of his fact, the intent, the counsel and abettors thereof, and also of his faith: where he very constantly, in defence of his christian faith, and great detestation of idolatry, demeaned himself in such sort, that he wrung tears from the

Whitman, not suffering the abominable idolatry of the papists, is apprehended and brought before the judges

eyes of divers, both of the chief, and others present. So was he committed again to prison. Narrative.

The next day being Tuesday, he was brought out again before the judges into the same place. And being examined as before, he no whit abated, but increased in his constancy: whereupon sentence was given upon him to have his hand cut off, and his body scorched to death, and after to be hanged up. So the day following, being Wednesday, he was brought out of prison to the town-hall, standing in the market-place, all things belonging to execution being made ready there; which when they were all ready, the hangman went into the hall, and with a cord tied the hands of Whitman, and came out leading him thereby. So soon as Whitman was out of the house, he made such haste, and as it were, ran so to the place of execution, that he drew the hangman after him. There was a post set up with spars from the top thereof, aslope down to the ground, in manner of a tent, to the end that he should be only scorched to death, and not burned. When he was come to the place, the hangman commanded him to lay down his right hand upon a block, which he immediately with a hatchet smote off: the good man still continuing constant, the hangman stepped behind him, and bid him put out his tongue, which he forthwith did, as far as he could out of his mouth, through the which he thrust a long instrument like a pack-needle, and so let it stick. Then the judges, standing by in the common-hall, read again his fact and sentence. Whereunto he could make no answer, his tongue hanging out of his head: so was he stripped out of his cassock, his hose being put off in prison, and put within his tent, and made fast with two chains; and fire was put round about, which broiled and scorched his body most miserably, all black, he not being seen, but heard to make a noise within the tent. When he was dead, he was carried out to be hanged upon a gibbet, beside the town.<sup>1</sup> Sentence given against him. The martyrdom and death of Whitman.

#### ADMONITION TO THE READER, CONCERNING THE EXAMPLES ABOVE MENTIONED.

It hath been a long persuasion, gendered in the heads of many men these many years, that to ground a man's faith upon God's word alone, and not upon the see and church of Rome, following all the ordinances and constitutions of the same, was damnable heresy, and to persecute such men to death, was high service done to God; whereupon have risen so great persecutions, slaughters and murders, with such effusion of christian blood through all parts of Christendom by the space of these seventy years, as hath not before been seen. And of these men Christ himself doth full well warn us long before, truly prophesying of such times to come, when they that slay his ministers and servants should think themselves to do good service unto God.<sup>2</sup> Now what wicked service, and how detestable before God this is, which they falsely persuade themselves to be godly, what more evident demonstrations can we require, than these so many, so manifest, and so terrible examples of God's wrath pouring down from heaven upon these persecutors, whereof part we have already set

(1) Spectatores præsentes, Cuthbert Car, Bartholomæus Bellington, nautæ Rienses.

(2) John xvi.

*Narrative.* forth; for to comprehend all (which in number are infinite), it is impossible. Wherefore, although there be many which will neither hear, see, nor understand, what is for their profit, yet let all moderate and well-disposed natures take warning in time. And if the plain word of God will not suffice them, nor the blood of so many martyrs will move them to embrace the truth, and forsake error, yet let the desperate deaths and horrible punishments of their own papists persuade them, how perilous is the end of this damnable doctrine of papistry. For if these papists, which make so much of their painted antiquity, do think their proceedings to be so catholic, and service so acceptable to God, let them join this withal, and tell us how come then their proceedings to be so accursed of God, and their end so miserably plagued, as by these examples above specified, is here notoriously to be seen? Again, if the doctrine of them be such heresy, whom they have hitherto persecuted for heretics unto death; how then is Almighty God become a maintainer of heretics, who hath revenged their blood so grievously upon their enemies and persecutors?

*Henry II. the French king, and king Francis his son stricken.* The putting out of the French king's eyes, which promised before with his eyes to see one of God's true servants burnt, who seeth not with his eyes to be the stroke of God's hand upon him? Then his son Francis after him, not regarding his father's stripe, would yet needs proceed in burning the same man: and did not the same God, which put out his father's eyes, give him such a blow on the ear, that it cost him his life?

*Stephen Gardiner.* If the platform of Stephen Gardiner had been a thing so necessary for the church, and so grateful unto God, why then did it not prosper with him, nor he with it, but both he and his platform lay in the dust, and none left behind him to build upon it?

After the time of Stephen Gardiner, and at the council of Trent, what conspiracies and policies were devised! what practices and trains were laid, through the secret confederacy of princes and prelates, for the utter subversion of the gospel and all gospellers, which if God had seen to have been for his glory, why then came they to none effect? yea, how or by whom were they disclosed and foreprised, but by the Lord himself, which would not have them come forward?

*Queen Mary.* The vehement zeal of queen Mary was like to have set up the pope here again in England for ever, if it had so much pleased the Lord God as it pleased herself; or if it had been so godly as it was bloody, no doubt but God's blessing would have gone withal. But when was the realm of England more barren of all God's blessings? what prince ever reigned here a shorter time, or less to his own heart's ease, than did queen Mary?

*Constable of France.* The constable of France, when he covenanted with God, that if he had the victory of St. Quentin's, he would set upon Geneva, thought (no doubt) that he had made a great good bargain with God; much like unto Julian the emperor, who going against the Persians, made his vow, that if he sped well, he would offer the blood of Christians. But what did God? came not both their vows to like effect?

The examples of such as revolted from the gospel to papistry be not many; but as few as they were, scarce can any be found which

began to turn to the pope, but the Lord began to turn from them, and to leave them to their ghostly enemy; as we have heard of Francis Spira, a lawyer of Italy, of the king of Navarre in France, of Henry Smith, and Dr. Shaxton in England, with others in other countries, of whom some died in great sorrow of conscience, some in miserable doubt of their salvation, some stricken by God's hand, some driven to hang or drown themselves.

*Narrative.*  
King of  
Navarre,  
Henry  
Smith,  
Dr. Shax-  
ton.

The stinking death of Stephen Gardiner, of John de Roma, of Twyford, of the bailiff of Crowland; the sudden death of Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, called Dick of Dover; of Dr. Dunning, of Dr. Jeffrey, of Beard the promoter; the miserable and wretched end of Poncher, archbishop of Tours, of cardinal Crescentius, Castellanus; the desperate disease of Rockwood, of Latomus, of Guarlacus; the earthly ending of Henry Beaufort, cardinal of Winchester, of Eckius; the wilful and self-murder of Pavier, of Richard Long, of Bomelius, besides infinite others; the dreadful taking away and murrain of so many persecuting bishops, so many bloody promoters and malicious adversaries, in such a short time together with queen Mary, and that without any man's hand, but only by the secret working of God's just judgment.

*See  
Appendix.*

To these add also, the stinking death of Edmund Bonner, commonly named the bloody bishop of London; who, not many years ago, in the time and reign of queen Elizabeth, after he had long feasted and banqueted in durance at the Marshalsea, as he wretchedly died in his blind popery, so as stinkingly and blindly, at midnight, was he brought out and buried in the outside of all the city, amongst thieves and murderers, a place right convenient for such a murderer; with confusion and derision both of men and children, who, trampling upon his grave, well declared how he was hated both of God and man. What else be all these, I say, but plain visible arguments, testimonies, and demonstrations even from heaven, against the pope, his murdering religion, and his bloody doctrine? For who can deny their doings not to be good, whose end is so evil? If Christ bid us to know men by their fruits, and especially seeing by the end all things are to be tried, how can the profession of that doctrine please God, which endeth so ungodly? Esaias,<sup>1</sup> prophesying of the end of God's enemies, which would needs walk in the light of their own setting up, and not in the light of the Lord's kindling, threateneth to them this final malediction, "In doloribus," saith he, "dormietis," i.e. "In sorrow shall ye sleep."

The  
death of  
Edmund  
Bonner.

Let us now take a survey of all those persecutors, which of late have so troubled the earth (and almost have burned up the world with faggots and fire, for maintenance of the pope's religion), and see what the end hath been of them that are now gone, and whither their religion hath brought them, but either to destruction, or desperation, or confusion and shame of life. So many great doctors and bishops have cried out of late so mightily against priests' marriage; and have they not, by God's just judgment, working their confusion, been detected themselves, and taken the most part of them in sinful adultery, and shameful fornication? Cardinal John de Crema, the pope's legate here in England, after he had set a law that priests



*Narrative.* should have no wives, was he not the next day after, being taken with his whores, driven out of London with confusion and shame enough, so that afterwards he durst not show his face here any more? besides the two bishops in the late council of Trent most shamefully taken in adultery, mentioned before. Also besides innumerable other like foreign stories, which I let pass, to come now to our own domestic examples, I could well name half a score at least of famous doctors, and some bishops, with their great masters of popery, who in standing earnestly against the marriages of priests, have afterward been taken in such dishonest facts themselves, that not only they have carried the public shame of adulterous lecherers, but some of them the marks also of burning fornication with them in their bodies to their graves: whose names although I suffer here to be suppressed, yet the examples of them may suffice to admonish all men that be wise, and which will avoid the wrath of God's terrible vengeance, to beware of popery.

*Comparison between the end of popish persecutors and the gospelers.* And thus, having hitherto recited so many shameful lives and desperate ends of so many popish persecutors stricken by God's hand; now let us consider again, on the contrary side, the blessed ends given of Almighty God unto them, which have stood so manfully in the defence of Christ's gospel, and the reformation of his religion; and let the papists themselves here be judges. First, what a peaceable and heavenly end made the worthy servant and singular organ of God, Martin Luther!

*The godly end of the gospellers to be noted.* To speak likewise of the famous John, duke of Saxony and prince elector, of the good palsgrave, of Philip Melancthon, of Pomerane,<sup>1</sup> Urbane Regius, Berengarius, of Ulricus Zuinglius, Æcolampadius, Pellicane, Capito, Munster, John Calvin, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, John Musculus, Bibliander, Gesner, Hofman, Augustine Marloratus; Lewis of Bourbon prince of Condé, and his godly wife before him; with many more, which were known to be learned men, and chief standards of the gospel side against the pope; and yet no man able to bring forth any one example either of these, or of any other true gospeller, that either killed himself, or showed forth any signification or appearance of despair; but full of hope and constant in faith, and replenished with the fruit of righteousness in Christ Jesus, so yielded they their lives in quiet peace unto the Lord.

*The blessed end of king Edward VI. and of the duke of Somerset.* From these foreigners, let us come now to the martyrs of England, and mark likewise the end both of them, and semblably of all others of the same profession. And first, to begin with the blessed and heavenly departure of king Edward the sixth, that first put down the mass in England, and also of the like godly end of his good uncle the duke of Somerset, which died before him, with an infinite number of other private persons besides, of the like religion, in whose final departing no such blemish is to be noted, like to the desperate examples of them above recited. Let us now enter the consideration of the blessed martyrs, who although they suffered in their bodies, yet rejoiced they in their spirits, and albeit they were persecuted of men, yet were they comforted of the Lord with such inward joy and peace of conscience, that some, writing to their friends, professed they were never so merry before in all their lives, some leaped for joy,

*The quiet and joyful end of the martyrs.*

some for triumph would put on their scarfs, some their wedding garment, going to the fire; others kissed the stake, some embraced the faggots, some clapt their hands, some sang psalms; universally they all forgave and prayed for their enemies; no murmuring, no repining was ever heard amongst them: so that most truly might be verified in them, which their persecutors were wont to sing in their hymns,

*See  
Appendix.*

Cæduntur gladiis more bidentium,  
Non murmur resonat, nec querimonia:  
Sed corde tacito mens bene conscia  
Conservat patientiam, etc.

Briefly, so great was their patience, or rather so great was God's spirit in them, that some of them, in the flaming fire, moved no more than the stake whereunto they were tied. In fine, in them most aptly agreed the special tokens which most certainly follow the true children of God; that is, outward persecution, and inward comfort in the Holy Ghost. In the world (saith Christ our Saviour), ye shall have affliction; but in me ye shall have peace, etc.

*Two  
special  
notes of  
the true  
church of  
Christ.  
Outward  
affliction.  
Peace of  
con-  
science.*

And likewise the words of St. Paul be plain: "Whosoever," saith he, "studieth to live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution."<sup>1</sup>

But then, what followeth with this persecution? The said apostle again thus declareth, saying, "As the passions of Christ abound in us, so aboundeth also our consolation by Christ,"<sup>2</sup> etc., according as by the examples of these godly martyrs right perfectly we may perceive. For as their bodies outwardly lacked no persecutions by the hands of the wicked, so amongst so many hundreds of them that stood and died in this religion, what one man can be brought forth, which either hath been found to have killed himself, or to have died otherwise than the true servant of God, in quiet peace, and much comfort of conscience?

Which being so, what greater proof can we have to justify their cause and doctrine against the persecuting church of Rome, than to behold the ends of them both? first, of the Protestants, how quietly they took their death, and cheerfully rested in the Lord; and contrariwise, to mark these persecutors, what a wretched end commonly they do all come unto. Experience whereof we have sufficient in the examples above declared, and also of late in Bonner, who albeit he died in his bed unrepentant, yet was it so provided by God, that as he had been a persecutor of the light, and a child of darkness, so his carcase was tumbled into the earth in obscure darkness, at midnight, contrary to the order of all other Christians; and as he had been a murderer, so was he laid amongst thieves and murderers, a place by God's judgment rightly appointed for him.

*The  
wretched  
end of pa-  
pists,  
giveth  
testimony  
against  
their own  
doctrine.  
The end  
and death  
of Ed-  
mund  
Bonner.*

And albeit some peradventure, that have been notable persecutors in times past, do yet remain alive, who, being in the same cause as the others were, have not yet felt the weight of God's mighty hand, yet let not them think, that because the judgment of God hath lighted sooner upon others, therefore it will never light upon them; or because God of his mercy hath granted them space to repent, let not them therefore of God's lenity build to themselves an opinion of indemnity. The blood of Abel cried long, yet wrought at length.

*Admoni-  
tion to  
perse-  
cutors  
which yet  
remain  
alive.*

(1) 2 Tim. iii.

(2) 1 Cor. i.

*Narrative.* The souls of the saints slain under the altar, were not revenged at the first.<sup>1</sup> But read forth the chapter, and see what followed in the end. Blood, especially of Christ's servants, is a perilous matter, and crieth sore in the ears of God, and will not be stilled with the laws of men.

Wherefore let such blood-guilty homicides beware, if not by counsel, at least by the examples of their fellows. And though princes and magistrates, under whose permission they are suffered, do spare their lives, let them not think therefore (as some of them shame not to say), that man hath no power to hurt them; and so think to escape unpunished, because they be not punished by man; but rather let them fear so much the more. For, oftentimes, such as have been persecutors and tormentors to God's children, God thinketh them not worthy to suffer by man, but either reserveth them to his own judgment, or else maketh them to be their own persecutors, and their own hands most commonly hangmen to their own bodies.

So Saul, after he had persecuted David, it was unneedful for David to pursue him again; for he was revenged of him, more than he desired. It was needless to cause Ahithophel to be hanged; for he himself was the stiffer or strangler of his own life.

Neither for the apostles to pursue Judas that betrayed their Master; for he himself was his own hangman, and no man else, that his body burst, and his guts burst out.

Sennacherib, had he not for his persecutors his own sons, and it cost Hezekiah nothing to be revenged of him for his tyranny.

Antiochus and Herod, although the children of God, whom they so cruelly persecuted, laid no hands upon them; yet they escaped not unpunished of God's hand, who sent lice and worms to be their tormentors, which consumed and eat them up.

Pilate, after he had crucified Christ our Saviour, within few years after was he not driven to hang himself?

Nero, after his cruel murders and persecutions stirred up against the Christians, when he should have been taken by the Romans, God thought him not so worthy to be punished by the hands of them, but so disposed the matter, that Nero himself, when he could find no friend nor enemy to kill him, made his own hands to be his own cut-throat.

Dioclesian, with Maximian his fellow, emperors, which were the authors of the tenth and last persecution against the Christians, being in the midst of their furious tyranny against the name of Christ, needed no man's help, to bridle them and pluck them back: for God, of his secret judgment, put such a snaffle in the mouths of these tyrants, that they themselves, of their own accord, deposed and dispossessed themselves of their imperial function, and lived as private persons all their lives after: and notwithstanding that Maximian, after that, sought to resume his imperial state again, yet by Maxentius his son he was resisted, and shortly after slain.<sup>2</sup>

What should I here speak of the cruel emperor Maximinus? who, when he had set forth his proclamation engraven in brass, for the utter abolishing of Christ and his religion, was not punished by man, but had lice and vermin gushing out of his entrails, to be his tormentors; with such a rotten stench laid upon his body, that no physicians could abide to come near, and was caused to be slain for the same.

(1) Rev. vi.

(2) See vol. i. p. 256.

Maxentius the son of Maximian, and Pharaoh king of Egypt, as they were both like enemies against God and his people, so drank they both of one cup, not perishing by any man's hand, but both in like manner, after, were drowned with their harness in the water. Furthermore and briefly in this matter to conclude, if the kings among the Jews, which were bloody and wicked, were not spared, as Ahaz, Ahab, Jezebel, Manasseh, Jehoiachim, Zedekiah, with many others, but had at length, although it were long, the hire of their iniquity: let not these bloody catholics then think, which have been persecutors of Christ's saints, that they being in the same cause as the others above recited were, shall escape the same judgment, which the longer it is deferred, the sorer many times it striketh, unless by due repentance it be prevented in time; which I pray God it may.

*Narrative.*  
Maxentius and king Pharaoh, both drowned. Certain punished of God for their persecutions.

Innumerable examples more to the same effect and purpose might be inferred, whereof plentiful store we have in all places, and in all ages of men to be collected. But these hitherto for this present may suffice, which I thought here to notify unto these our bloody children of the murdering mother church of Rome, of whom it may well be said, "Your hands be full of blood,"<sup>1</sup> etc., to the intent that they, by the examples of their other fellows before mentioned, may be admonished to follow the prophet's counsel, which followeth and biddeth, "Be you washed, and make yourselves clean,"<sup>2</sup> etc.; and not to presume too far upon their own security, nor think themselves the further off from God's hand, because man's hand forbeareth them.

The murdering mother church with her bloody children admonished.

I know and grant, that man hath no further power upon any, than God from above doth give. And what the laws of this realm could make against them, as against open murderers, I will not here discuss, nor open that I could say (because they shall not say that we desire their blood to be spilt, but rather to be spared): but yet this I say, and wish them well to understand, that the sparing of their lives, which have been murderers of so many, is not for want of power in magistrates, nor for lack of any just law against them, whereby they might justly have been condemned, if it had so pleased the magistrates to proceed (as they might) against them; but because Almighty God, peradventure, in his secret purpose, having something to do with these persecutors, hath spared them hitherto; not that they should escape unpunished, but that peradventure he will take his own cause into his own hand, either by death to take them away (as he did by Bonner, and by all promoters in a manner of queen Mary's time), or else to make them to persecute themselves with their own hands; or will stir up their conscience to be their own confusion, in such sort as the church shall have no need to lay any hands upon them.

What the laws of this realm could say against the persecutors in queen Mary's time.

The nature of the church is not to persecute with blood.

Wherefore, with this short admonition to close up the matter, as I have exhibited in these histories the terrible ends of so many persecutors plagued by God's hand; so would I wish all such whom God's lenity suffereth yet to live, this wisely to ponder with themselves: that as their cruel persecution hurteth not the saints of God, whom they have put to death, so the patience of Christ's church, suffering them to live, doth not profit them, but rather heapeth the greater judgment of God upon them in the day of wrath, unless they repent in time; which I pray God they may.

In that the persecutors of the church be suffered of the church to live, it is to their confusion.

*See Appendix.*

(1) "Manus vestrae plenae sunt sanguine," etc. Isa. i.

(2) "Lavamini, mundi estote," etc. Ib.



*Elizabeth.*A.D.  
1559.

## QUEEN ELIZABETH.

And now to re-enter again to the time and story of queen Elizabeth, where we left before.

In her advancement and this her princely governance, it cannot sufficiently be expressed, what felicity and blessed happiness this realm hath received in receiving her at the Lord's almighty and gracious hand. For as there have been divers kings and rulers over this realm, and I have read of some, yet I could never find in English chronicle the like that may be written of this our noble and worthy queen, whose coming in was not only so calm, so joyful, and so peaceable, without shedding any blood, but also her reign hitherto (reigning now twenty-four years and more), hath been so quiet, that yet (the Lord have all the glory) to this present day, her sword is a virgin spotted and polluted with no drop of blood. In speaking whereof, I take not upon me the part here of the moral or of the divine philosopher, to judge of things done, but only keep me within the compass of an historiographer, declaring what hath been before, and comparing things done with things now present, the like whereof, as I said, is not to be found lightly in chronicles before. And this as I speak truly, so I would to be taken without flattery, to be left to our posterity, ad sempiternam clementiæ illius memoriam. In commendation of which her clemency, I might also here add how mildly her grace, after she was advanced to her kingdom, did forgive the foresaid sir Henry Benifield without molestation, suffering him to enjoy goods, life, lands, and liberty. But I let this pass.

Sir Henry  
Benifield  
forgiven.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, simply, but truly described unto thee the time, first of the sorrowful adversity of this our most sovereign queen that now is, also the miraculous protection of God, so graciously preserving her in so many straits and distresses, which I thought here briefly to notify, the rather for that the wondrous works of the Lord ought not to be suppressed, and that also her majesty, and we likewise, her poor subjects, having thereby a present matter always before our eyes, be admonished both how much we are bound to His divine majesty, and also to render thanks to Him condignly for the same. Now remaineth likewise, in prosecuting the order of this, as of other histories before, to notify and discourse of things memorable especially in the church, such as happened in the time of this her majesty's quiet and joyful government. And first, here I let pass by the way the death of Cardinal Pole, which was the next day after the death of queen Mary; the death also of Christopherson bishop of Chichester, and Hopton bishop of Norwich; omitting also to speak of Dr. Weston, who, being chief disputer against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, as is before declared, first fell in displeasure with the cardinal and other bishops, because he was unwilling to part from his deanery and house of Westminster unto the monks, whom indeed he favoured not, although in other things a maintainer of the church of Rome. Then, being removed from thence, he was made dean of Windsor, where he, being apprehended in advowtry, was by the same cardinal put from all his spiritual livings. Wherefore he

Nov. 18.

Dr. Wes-  
ton.

appealed to Rome, and, flying out of the realm, was taken by the way and clapped in the Tower of London, where he remained until this time that queen Elizabeth was proclaimed; at which time being delivered, he fell sick and died.

Elizabeth.

A. D.

1559.

Also I let pass the coronation of this our most noble and christian princess, and the order of the same, which was the 15th day of January, anno 1559. To pass over also the triumphant passage and honourable entertainment of the said our most dread sovereign, through the city of London, with such celebrity, prayers, wishes, welcomings, cries, tender words, pageants, interludes, declamations and verses set up, as the like hath not commonly been seen, arguing and declaring a wonderful earnest affection of loving hearts toward their sovereign. Item, To pretermitt in silence the letters gratulatory, sent to her majesty from divers and sundry foreign places, as from Zurich, Geneva, Basil, Bern, Wittenburg, Strasburg, Frankfort, etc.: these, I say, with many other things to let pass, we will now (God willing) begin with the disceptation or conference between the popish bishops, and the learned men exiled in Germany, had at Westminster; after that first we have inserted a certain oration of a worthy gentleman, called master John Hales, sent and delivered to the said queen Elizabeth in the beginning of her reign, the copy whereof is this.

An Oration of John Hales to the Queen's Majesty; and delivered to her Majesty by a certain Nobleman, at her first Entrance to her Reign.

To the noble Queen Elizabeth.

Albeit there be innumerable gifts and benefits of Almighty God, whereof every one would wonderfully comfort any person, on whom it should please his goodness to bestow it; yet is none of them either separate by itself, or joined with any other, or yet all mingled together, to be compared to this one: that it hath pleased God of his mercy to deliver this realm, our country, from the tyranny of malicious Mary, and to commit it to the government of virtuous Elizabeth. For if a man had all the treasure of Solomon, and might not be suffered to have the use thereof, in what better case were he, than miserable Tantalus, over whose head the apples continually hung, yet, being hunger-starved, he could never touch them? If a man had as strong a body as had Samson, and besides, were as whole as a fish, as the proverb is, yet if he were kept in bands, what should it avail him? Yea, rather if it be well considered, it is a hurt to him, if continuance of torment and pains may be a hurt.

Great benefits and treasures do nothing profit, where the use of them cannot be enjoyed.

If a man had as many children as had Gideon the judge, and might not be so suffered to bring them up in the fear of God, and good knowledge and manners, had he not been more happy to be without them, than to have them? If a man had as much knowledge of God as had St. Paul, and durst not profess it openly with mouth, as he is commanded, but for fear of death should declare the contrary in deed, slander the word of God, and deny Christ, which is forbidden, should it not rather be a furtherance to his damnation than otherwise?

And to be short, if any one man had all these gifts together, or generally all the gifts of fortune, the body, the mind, and of grace, yet if he might not have the use of them, what should they profit him? Verily nothing at all. For felicity is not in having, but in using; not in possessing, but in occupying; not in knowledge, but in doing.

Felicity, not in having, but in using.

But alas! our natural mother England, which hath been counted to be the surest, the richest, and of late also the most godly nation of the earth, hath been these whole five years most violently by tyrants forced to lack the use of all the gifts and benefits wherewith God and nature hath indued her. Her natural and loving children could not be suffered to enjoy their right inheritance, whereby they might relieve and succour her or themselves; but whatsoever they had, was, either by open force, or by crafty dealing, pulled from

*Elizabeth.* them. And surely this had been tolerable, if none other mischief had been therewith intended.

A. D.  
1559.

Wicked  
practices  
of most  
cruel  
tyrants.

He is a gentle thief (if thieves may be counted gentle), that only robbeth a man of his goods, and refraineth violent hands from his person: for such loss, with labour and diligence, may be recovered. He may be called a merciful murderer, that only killeth the aged parents, and useth no force on the children. For nature hath made all men mortal, and that in like space; and to kill the parents, is as it were but a prevention of a short time, if it were to the uttermost enjoyed. But these tyrants were more ungentle than common thieves, more empty of mercy than common murderers. For they were not only not contented to have the goods of the people, but they would have it delivered to them by the owner's own hands, that it might be said to the world, they gave it with their heart; and were not therewith pleased, but they would have their lives, that they should not bewray them; and yet herewith they were not satisfied, but they meant to root out the whole progeny and nation of Englishmen, that none should be left to revenge and cry out on their extremities, and to bring our country into the Spaniards' dominion.

It is a horrible cruelty for one brother to kill another, much more horrible for the children to lay violent and murdering hands on their parents, but most horrible of all to murder the children in the sight of their parents, or the parents in the sight of their children, as these most cruel tormentors have done.

But what do I stand in these things which have some defence, because the Turks perchance use so to do; and Ethnics kill one another, to make sacrifice of men to their fantastical gods?

Cruelty of  
late days  
far ex-  
ceeding  
all cruel-  
ties com-  
mitted by  
the an-  
cient and  
famous  
tyrants in  
times  
past.

It was not enough for these unnatural English tormentors, tyrants, and false Christians, to be the lords of the goods, possessions, and bodies of their brethren and countrymen: but, being very antichrist, and enemies of Christ's cross, they would be gods, and reign in the consciences and souls of men. Every man, woman, and child, must deny Christ in word openly, abhor Christ in their deeds, slander his gospel with word and deed, worship and honour false gods, as they would have them, and themselves did, and so give body and soul to the devil their master, or secretly flee; or, after inward torments, be burnt openly. O cruelty, cruelty! far exceeding all cruelties committed by those ancient and famous tyrants and cruel murderers, Pharaoh, Herod, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Maximian, Dioclesian, Decius, whose names, for their cruel persecution of the people of God, and their open tyranny practised on the people, have been, be, and ever shall be in perpetual hatred, and their souls in continual torment in hell. If any man would take upon him to set forth particularly all the acts that have been done these full five years, by this unnatural woman (no, no woman, but a monster, and the devil of hell covered with the shape of a woman), as it is most necessary for the glory of God, and the profit of his church, and this realm, it should be done: he shall find it a matter sufficient for a perfect great history, and not to be contained in an oration, to be uttered at one time by the voice of man. But to comprehend the sum of all their wickedness in few words: behold, whatsoever malice in mischief, covetousness in spoil, cruelty in punishing, tyranny in destruction could do, that all this poor English nation, this full five years, suffered already; or should have suffered, had not the great mercy of God prevented it.

And albeit there have been many that have hazarded and lost their lives to shake off this most rough break (wherewith this viragin, rather than virgin, as she would be called and taken, boasted herself to be sent of God, to ride and tame the people of England); albeit there have been many that have gone about to loose their brethren out of the yoke of this most miserable captivity; and albeit some have proved to break the bands of this most cruel tyranny: yet could they never bring to pass that, which they so earnestly laboured, and so manfully attempted.

And it is nothing to be wondered, let the papists boast thereof what it pleaseth them. For Almighty God, being a most indifferent governor, punishing evil, and rewarding good, could not of his justice suffer his scourge so soon to be taken from this our land, if he meant the salvation of the people, as most manifestly it appeareth he did. For having once given to this realm the greatest jewel that might be, that is, the free use of his lively word (which if they had embraced and followed, it would have reformed all disorders and sins for which

his wrath was kindled and provoked), the people nothing regarded it, but either utterly contemned it, or abused it; and many made it a cloak and colour to cover their mischief. So that if he should suddenly have withdrawn this plague, as tyrants and evil governors be the plague of God, they would neither have passed on his justice, nor yet should they have felt the sweetness of his mercy. For commonly the people regard but things present, and neither remember things past, nor yet pass on things to come, unless they be warned by exceeding extremities.

*Elizabeth*  
A. D.  
1559.

Tyrants  
and evil  
governors  
be the  
plagues  
of God,  
who  
worketh  
all things  
to his  
own  
glory.

Besides this, it is most evident, that he had determined to make this noble conquest alone, with his own hand and mighty power; and would not that it should be done by man, lest man should impute any part of the glory of this victory to his own strength, or to his own policy; or that fortune should seem to bear any stroke in so glorious a conquest, and so be partaker, in men's opinions, of the triumph so worthy.

Neither did his almighty power work this when man would have it dispatched, that is, as soon as the enemy began to gather their force; for it is not so great a victory to discomfit a few dispersed people, as it is to destroy a perfectly united army: but he suffered them to make their force as great as was possible, to work whatsoever mischiefs by spoil, banishment, prisonment, hanging, heading, burning, or otherwise could be imagined.

Neither would his most provident wisdom do it out of season; but, as the good husbandman doth not crop his tree till he hath rendered his fruit, so would he not root out these pestilent tyrannies, till the most profit might be taken thereof.

When he had given sufficient leisure to all kind of men to declare themselves; who were crocodiles, sometimes lying in water, sometimes on land, that is, both gospellers and papists; who were sponges, suspected whether they had life or not life, whether they were Christians or epicures; who were cameleons, that could turn themselves into all colours; with protestants, protestants; with papists, papists; with Spaniards, Spaniards; with Englishmen, Englishmen: who were gnathos,<sup>1</sup> that could apply themselves to every man's appetite that was in authority; who were marigolds, that followed Mary's mad affections; who were weather-cocks, that did turn with every wind; who were mastiffs, that could bite, and bark not; who were curs, ever barking; who were foxes, that would promise much, and perform nothing; who could bind themselves with many oaths, and do clean contrary; who were Cains, that sought the innocent Abels' deaths; who were the wolves, that worried the lambs. And finally, when he had suffered the spiritual shavelings to spew out their venom, and every man plainly to declare outwardly what he was inwardly; then doth he work this most victorious conquest. And with his works he seemeth plainly to say thus unto us: "Ye see, my people, what I have done for you, not for your sakes, which nothing regarded the benefits that I most plenteously poured on you, and have deserved most grievous punishment for your unthankfulness; but of mine infinite mercy, and for my glory's sake, which I will have opened to all the world in these latter days, to the fear of evildoers, and to the comfort of the welldoers. Provoke no more my wrath: ye see what will follow it. Be hereafter more prudent and wise than ye were before. Ye may, if ye will, be more circumspect in time to come, than ye have been in the time past: ye may, if ye list, put me to less trouble, and keep yourselves in more safety. I have not only discovered mine, yours, and my land of England's enemies, and all the crafts, subtleties, and policies that have been, or may be used by them, or any like hereafter; but I have also taken away their head and captain, and destroyed a great number of them, that ye should not be troubled with them; and some of them have I left, that ye may make them spectacles and examples to the terror and fear of their posterity. Love me, and I will love you: seek my honour and glory, and I will work your commodity and safety: walk in my ways and commandments, and I will be with you for ever."

God plenteously  
poureth  
his bene-  
fits upon  
us, not  
for our  
sakes, but  
of his  
infinite  
mercy,  
and for  
his glory  
sake.

Surely, if we consider the wonderful mercy that it hath pleased God to use towards us, in the delivering of the realm and us his people, out of the hands of those most cruel tyrants, as we cannot but do, unless we will declare ourselves to be the most unthankful people that ever lived, we must needs judge it not only worthy to be compared to, but also far to exceed, the deliverance of

(1) "Gnathos," flattering and deceitful men.—Ed.



*Elizabeth.* the children of Israel out of Egypt from the tyranny of Pharaoh, and from the powers of Holofernes and Sennacherib: for it is not read, that either Pharaoh, or the other two, sought any other thing, than to be the lords of the goods and bodies of the Israelites: they forced them not to commit idolatry, and to serve false gods, as these English tyrants did.

*A. D.*  
*1559.*

Wonderful is God's mercy in delivering this realm from the tyranny of the papists.

The papists' buildings stand so long only as they be propped up with rope, sword and faggot.

But besides, if we will note the wonderful works of God in handling this matter, we shall well perceive, that far much more is wrought to his glory, and to the profit of his church and people, than perchance all men at the first do see. For he hath not only dispatched the realm of the chief personages and head of these tyrants, but also as it were declareth, that he minded not that either they or their doings should continue. For, albeit that all acts done by tyrants tyrannously, be by all laws, reason, and equity, of no force, yet, because no disputation should follow on this—what is tyrannously done, and what is not tyrannously done, he hath provided that this question needeth not to come in question; for he utterly blinded their eyes, and suffered them to build on false grounds which can no longer stand, than they be propt up with rope, sword, and faggot. For her first parliament, whereon they ground and wrought a great part of their tyranny, and wherein they meant to overthrow whatsoever king Edward had for the advancement of God's glory brought to pass, was of no force or authority. For she, perceiving that her enemy's stomach could not be emptied, nor her malice spewed on the people by any good order, she committeth a great disorder. She, by force and violence taketh from the commons their liberty, that, according to the ancient laws and customs of the realm, they could not have their free election of knights and burgesses for the parliament: for she well knew, that if either christian men, or true Englishmen, should be elected, it was not possible [for] that to succeed, which she intended. And therefore in many places divers were chosen by force of her threats, meet to serve her malicious affections. Wherefore that parliament was no parliament, but may be justly called a conspiracy of tyrants and traitors. For the greater part, by whose authority and voices things proceeded in that court, by their acts most manifestly declared themselves so: the rest, being both Christians and true Englishmen, although they had good wills, yet were not able to resist or prevail against the multitude of voices and suffrages of so many evil, false to God, and enemies to their country.

Burgesses unlawfully, disorderly, and violently thrust out of the parliament house in queen Mary's days.

The third parliament in queen Mary's days, not orderly called; therefore of none effect.

Also divers burgesses being orderly chosen, and lawfully returned, as in some places the people did what they could to resist her purposes, were disorderly and unlawfully put out, and others, without any order of law, in their places placed. Dr. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, a christian bishop and a true Englishman, being lawfully and orderly called to the parliament, and placed in the Lords' house in his degree, was in his robes by violence thrust out of the house. Alexander Nowell with two others, all three being burgesses for divers shires, and christian men and true Englishmen, and lawfully chosen, returned, and admitted, were by force put out of the house of the commons: for the which cause the said parliament is also void, as by a precedent of the parliament holden at Coventry, in the thirty-eighth year of king Henry the sixth, it most manifestly appeareth. And the third parliament, called in the name of her husband, and of her evil grace, wherein they would have undone that her noble father and the realm had brought to pass for the restitution of the liberty of the realm, and for extinguishment of the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, is also void, and of none authority; for that the title and style of supreme head of the church of England, which by a statute made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the said king Henry, was ordained, that it should be united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this realm, was omitted in the writs of summoning. Wherefore, as a woman can bring forth no child without a man, so cannot those writs bring forth good and sure fruit, because this part of the title, which was ordained by the parliament for the form to be always used in the king's style, was left out. For greater error is in lack of form, than in lack of matter; and where the foundation is naught, there can nothing builded thereon be good. There is no law spiritual nor temporal (as they term them), nor any good reason, but allows these rules for infallible principles. And if any man will say, that it was in the free choice, liberty, and pleasure of the king of this realm, and the queen, whether they would express the said title in their style, or not,—as that subtle serpent Gardiner, being chancellor

of the realm, and traitorously sending out the writs of parliament without the same style, perceiving he had over-shot himself in calling the parliament, and having committed many horrible murders and most mischievous acts, would have excused it, as appeareth by a piece of a statute made in the same parliament, in the eighth chapter and two and twentieth leaf,—it may be justly and truly answered, that they could not so do. For although every person may by law renounce his own private right, yet may he not renounce his right in that which toucheth the commonwealth, or a third person.

And this title and style more touched the commonwealth and realm of England, than the king. For, as I said before, it was ordained for the conservation of the liberty of the whole realm, and to exclude the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome. And therefore no king nor queen alone could renounce such title: but it ought (if they would have it taken away) to be taken away orderly and formally by act of parliament, sufficiently called and summoned. For the natural and right way to loose and undo things, is to dissolve them by that means they were ordained. And so it most manifestly appeareth, that all their doings, from the beginning to the end, were and be of none effect, force, or authority: but all that they have done, hath been mere tyranny. O most marvellous providence of Almighty God, that always, and in all things, doth that is best for the wealth of his people! O most mighty power, that so suddenly overthroweth the counsels of the wicked, and bringeth their devices to nought! O infinite mercy, that so gently dealeth with his people, that he saveth them whom he might most justly destroy! O most joyful, most merry, and never to be forgotten "Hope-Wednesday," in which it hath pleased thee, O God, to deliver thy church, this realm, and thy people from so horrible tyranny! No tongue can express, no pen can indite, no eloquence can worthily set out, much less exornate these thy marvellous doings. No, no heart is able to render unto thy goodness sufficient thanks for the benefits we have received. Who could ever have hoped this most joyful time? Yea, who did not look rather for thy most sharp visitation, and utter destruction of this realm, as of Sodom, Gomorrah, and Jerusalem? But we see and feel, good Lord, that thy mercy is greater than all men's sins, and far above all thy works.

And albeit there is no Christian and natural Englishman, woman, or child, either present, or that shall succeed us, which is not or shall not be partaker of this most exceeding mercy and wonderful benefit of Almighty God, and therefore is bound continually to praise and thank him: yet there is not one creature that is more bound so to do, than you, noble queen Elizabeth! For in this horrible tyranny, and most cruel persecution, your grace hath been more hunted for than any other. Divers times they have taken you; sometimes they have had you in stronghold, secluded from all liberty; sometimes at liberty, but not without most cruel gaolers' custody; and many times they determined, that without justice ye should be murdered privily. They thought, if your grace had been suppressed, they should have fully prevailed: if ye had been destroyed, their doings for ever should be established: if ye had been taken out of the way, there were none left that would or could undo that they had ordained. But He that sitteth on high, and laugheth at their madness, would not suffer that the malicious purposes and most cruel devised injustice should have success. He took upon him the protection of you. He only hath been our Jehosheba, that preserved you from this wicked Athaliah: he only was the Jehoiada, that destroyed this cruel Athaliah: he only hath made you queen of this realm, instead of this mischievous Marana. No earthly creature can claim any piece of thanks there-for; no man's force, no man's counsel, no man's aid, hath been the cause thereof. Wherefore, the greater his benefits have been toward you, the more are you bound to seek his glory, and to set forth his honour. Ye see his power, what he is able to do: he alone can save, and he can destroy; he can pull down, and he can set up. If ye fear him, and seek to do his will, then will he favour you, and preserve you to the end from all enemies, as he did king David. If ye now fall from him, or juggle with him, look for no more favour than Saul had showed to him. But I have a good hope, that both his justice and benefits be so printed in your heart, that ye will never forget them; but seek by all means to have the one, and to fear to fall into the

God preserveth the innocent, and maketh frustrate the malicious purposes of the wicked.

Elizabeth.  
A. D.  
1559.

A joyful day

See Appendix.

(1) Queen Mary died on Thursday, the 17th of November; on the day before, her death was hourly expected,—an event which gave peace and hope to the persecuted flock of Christ.—Ed.

*Elizabeth.* other. I trust, also, your wisdom will not only consider the causes of this late most sharp visitation, but also to your uttermost power endeavour to out-root them.

A. D.  
1559.

An apt  
similitude.

And forasmuch as besides this infinite mercy poured on your grace, it hath pleased his divine providence to constitute your highness to be our Deborah, to be the governess and head of the body of this realm, to have the charge and cure thereof, it is requisite above all things, as well for his glory and honour, as for your discharge, quietness, and safety, to labour that the same body now at the first be cleansed, made whole, and then kept in good order. For as, if the body of man be corrupted and diseased, he is not able to manage his things at home, much less to do any thing abroad; so, if the body of a realm be corrupt and out of order, it shall neither be able to do anything abroad, if necessity should require, nor yet prosper in itself. But this may not be done with piecing and patching, cobbling and botching, as was used in time past, whilst your most noble father and brother reigned. For as if a man cut off one head of the serpent Hydra, and destroy not the whole body, many will grow instead of that one; and as in a corrupt body that hath many diseases, if the physician should labour to heal one part, and not the whole, it will in short time break out afresh: so, unless the body of a realm or commonwealth be clean purged from corruption, all the particular laws and statutes that can be devised, shall not profit it. We need no foreign examples to prove it: look upon this realm itself, it will plainly declare it. And as it is not enough to cleanse the body from its corruption, but there must be also preservatives ministered to keep it from putrefaction; for naturally of itself it is disposed to putrefy; so, after the body of a realm is purged, unless there be godly ordinances for the preservation thereof ordained and duly ministered, it will return to the old state. For this body, which is the people, is universally, naturally, disposed to evil, and without compulsion will hardly do that is its duty.

Three  
things  
which  
preserve  
the good  
estate of  
a realm  
or com-  
mon-  
wealth.

Thus must your grace do, if ye mind the advancement of God's glory, your own quietness and safety, and the wealth of this your body politic. And they be not hard to bring to pass, where good-will will vouchsafe to take to her a little pain. The realm will soon be purged, if vice and self-love be utterly condemned. It will be in good state preserved, if these three things—God's word truly taught and preached, youth well brought up in godly and honest exercises, and justice rightly ministered,—may be perfectly constituted. And without this foundation, let men imagine what it pleaseth them, the spiritual house of God shall never be well-framed nor builded, nor the public state of your realm well-ordered. For in what body God's word lacketh, the unity and charity that ought to be among the members thereof, and which knitteth them together, is soon extinguished. Where the youth are neglected, there can no good success be hoped, no more than the husbandman can look for a good crop where he sowed no good seed. And where justice is not truly and rightly ministered, there the more laws and statutes be heaped together, the more they be contemned. And surely if this thing could not without exceeding charges be compassed, as God forbid that charges should be weighed, be they never so great, where God's glory and the wealth of the realm may be furthered; yet ought it not to be neglected. What charges did king David the father, and king Solomon his son, employ to build the stony house of God! How much more charges should a Christian employ to build and set up the lively house of God! But verily, I am fully persuaded that it shall not be chargeable to do this. No, a great deal of superfluous charges, which otherwise your grace shall be forced to sustain, shall be thus clean cut away, and so your revenues by a mean most profitable, and to no good person hurtful, increased.

Charges  
not to be  
weighed  
where  
God's glo-  
ry is to be  
furthered.

Wherefore, for God's sake, noble queen, let not the opportunity, now by God offered, be by your grace omitted. A physician can in nothing so much declare his good will and cunning, nor purchase himself so great estimation, as when he findeth his patient thoroughly sick and weakened, and doth restore him to his perfect health and perfection. Likewise, if a prince should desire of God a thing whereby he might declare the zeal that he beareth to God, or whereby he might win fame and glory, he could desire nothing so much, as to come into a state corrupted, as this realm of England at this present is; not to destroy it, as did Cæsar, but to make it, as did Romulus.

If your grace can bring this to pass, as I am out of all doubt ye may quickly, ye shall do more than any of your progenitors did before you. All men shall

confess that you are not only for proximity of blood preferred, but rather of *Elizabeth.* God specially sent and ordained. And as the queen of Sheba came from far off, to see the glory of king Solomon, a woman to a man, even so shall the princes of our time come, men to a woman, and kings marvel at the virtue of queen Elizabeth. Thus shall we your subjects be most bound to praise God, and to think ourselves most happy, that coming so suddenly from the worse, be forthwith preferred to the best, rid from extremest calamity, and brought to the greatest felicity; and it shall be besides an example for all evil princes, to leave their persecution of Christ and his members, to cease from their tyranny, wherewith they continually oppress their poor subjects. And so all people, not only we of this your realm, but of all other nations, shall have just cause to pray for your grace's health, and increase of honour.

A.D.  
1559.

This oration of master Hales being premised, now let us prosecute, the Lord willing, that which we promised, concerning the disputation or conference had at Westminster. The copy whereof here followeth.

THE CONFERENCE OR DISCEPTATION HAD AND BEGUN AT WEST-<sup>See</sup>  
MINSTER THE LAST OF MARCH, UPON CERTAIN QUESTIONS *Appendix*  
OR ARTICLES OF RELIGION PROPOSED, AND ALSO OF  
THE BREAKING UP OF THE SAME, BY THE PAPISTS'  
DEFAULT, AT THE FIRST BEGINNING OF  
QUEEN ELIZABETH, A.D. 1559.

So it pleased the queen's most excellent majesty, having heard of the diversity of opinions in certain matters of religion amongst sundry of her loving subjects, and being very desirous to have the same reduced to some godly and christian concord (by the advice of the lords and others of the privy council,) as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtful, as also for the knowledge of the very truth in certain matters of difference, to have a convenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, and to confer together their opinions and reasons, and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement. And hereupon by her majesty's commandment, certain of her privy council declared this purpose to the archbishop of York (being also one of the same privy council), and required him that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten of them, and that there should be the like number named of the other part. And further also they declared to him (as then was supposed), what the matter should be. And as for the time, it was thought meet to be, as soon as possibly might be agreed upon. And then, after certain days past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there were appointed, by such of the bishops to whom he had imparted this matter, eight persons, that is to say, four bishops and four doctors: the names of whom here follow underwritten.

### The Papists.

The bishop of Winchester.  
The bishop of Lichfield.  
The bishop of Chester.  
The bishop of Carlisle.  
The bishop of Lincoln.  
Dr. Cole.  
Dr. Harpsfield.  
Dr. Langdale.  
Dr. Chedsey.

### The Protestants.

Dr. Scory, bishop of Chichester.  
Dr. Coxe.  
Master Whitehead.  
Master Grindall.  
Master Horne.  
Master Dr. Sands.<sup>1</sup>  
Master Guest.  
Master Elmer.  
Master Jewell.

(1) The bishop of Carlisle and Dr. Sandys, though probably present, took no part in the conference. See Strype on this question. *Annals*, vol. i. chap. v.—Ed.



*Elizabeth.* They were content, at the queen's majesty's commandment, to show their opinions; and, as the said archbishop termed it, render account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned, and that especially in writing; although he said, they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute upon them.

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The matter which they should talk upon, was comprehended in these three propositions, hereunder specified.

1. It is against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church, to use a tongue unknown to the people, in common prayer, and the administration of the sacraments.
2. Every church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same be to edification.
3. It cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is, in the mass, offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead.

It was hereupon fully resolved by the queen's majesty, with the advice aforesaid, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much altercation in words; and that the said bishops should, because they were in authority of degree superiors, first declare their minds and opinions to the matter, with their reasons in writing. And the other number, being also eight men of good degree in schools, and some having been in dignity in the church of England, if they had any thing to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions in like manner; and so each of them should deliver their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be improved therein, and the same to declare again in writing at some other convenient day, and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All this was fully agreed upon with the archbishop of York, and so also signified to both parties.

And immediately hereupon, divers of the nobility and states of the realm understanding that such a meeting and conference should be, and that in certain matters, whereupon (the court of parliament consequently following) some laws might be grounded; they made earnest means to her majesty, that the parties of this conference might put and read their assertions in the English tongue, and that in the presence of them of the nobility and others of her parliament house, for the better satisfaction and enabling of their own judgments, to treat and conclude of such laws as might depend hereupon.

This also, being thought very reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so fully agreed upon, and the day appointed for the first meeting, to be the Friday in the forenoon, being the last of March, at Westminster church. At which foresaid day and place, both for good order and for honour of the conference, by the queen's majesty's commandment, the lords and others of the privy council were present, and a great part of the nobility also. And notwithstanding this former order appointed, and consented unto by both parties, yet the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues alleged they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so only recited out of the book, saying their book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and dispute, and therefore they would, for that time, repeat in speech, that which they had to say to the first proposition.

*See  
Appendix.*

This variation from the former order, and specially from that

which themselves had by the said archbishop in writing before re-Elizabeth.  
 quired, adding thereto the reason of the apostle, that to contend with  
 words is profitable to nothing, but to subversion of the hearer, seemed  
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 to the queen's majesty's council somewhat strange; and yet was it  
 permitted without any great reprehension, because they excused them-  
 selves with mistaking the order, and agreed that they would not fail  
 but put it in writing, and, according to the former order, delivered it  
 to the other part; and so the said bishop of Winchester and his  
 colleagues appointed Dr. Cole, dean of Paul's, to be the utterer of  
 their minds; who, partly by speech only, and partly by reading of  
 authorities written, and at certain times being informed of his col-  
 leagues what to say, made a declaration of their meanings and their  
 reasons to their first proposition: which being ended, they were asked  
 by the lord-keeper, if any of them had any more to be said, and  
 they said, No. So, as the other part was licensed to show their  
 minds, they did it according to the first order, exhibiting all that  
 which they meant to be propounded, in a book written; which, after  
 a prayer and invocation made most humbly to Almighty God for  
 the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a protestation also to  
 stand to the doctrine of the catholic church, builded upon the Scrip-  
 tures and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, was distinctly  
 read by one Robert Horne, bachelor in divinity, late dean of Dur-  
 ham, and afterwards bishop of Winchester. The copy of which their pro-  
 testation here followeth, according as it was by them penned and  
 exhibited, with their preface also before the same.

### Copy of a Protestation, exhibited in the Conference.

Forasmuch as it is thought good unto the queen's most excellent majesty (unto whom in the Lord all obedience is due), that we should declare our judgment in writing upon certain propositions; we, as becometh us to do herein, most gladly obey.

Seeing that Christ is our only master, whom the Father hath commanded us to hear; and seeing also his word is the truth, from the which it is not lawful for us to depart, no not one hair's breadth, and against the which (as the apostle saith) we can do nothing; we do in all things submit ourselves unto this truth, and do protest, that we will affirm nothing against the same.

And forasmuch as we have for our mother the true and catholic church of Christ, which is grounded upon the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, and is of Christ the head in all things governed; we do reverence her judgment, we obey her authority as becometh children; and we do devoutly profess, and in all points follow the faith which is contained in the three creeds, that is to say, of the apostles, of the council of Nice, and of Athanasius.

And seeing that we never departed, neither from the doctrine of God which is contained in the holy canonical Scriptures, nor yet from the faith of the true and catholic church of Christ; but have preached truly the word of God, and have sincerely ministered the sacraments according to the institution of Christ, unto the which our doctrine and faith the most part also of our adversaries did subscribe not many years past (although now, as unnatural, they are revolted from the same), we desire that they render account of their backsliding, and show some cause wherefore they do not only resist that doctrine which they have before professed, but also persecute the same by all means they can. We do not doubt, but through the equity of the queen's most excellent majesty, we shall in these disputations be entreated more gently than in years late past, when we were handled most unjustly and scantily after the common manner of men. As for the judgment of the whole controversy, we refer unto the most holy Scriptures, and the catholic church of Christ (whose judgment unto us ought to be most sacred): notwithstanding by the catholic church we under-

*Elizabeth.* stand not the Romish church, whereunto our adversaries attribute such reverence, but that which St. Augustine and other fathers affirm, ought to be sought in the holy Scriptures, and, which is governed and led by the Spirit of Christ.

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The first  
proposi-  
tion.

It is against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayers and administration of the sacraments.

By these words, "the word of God," we mean only the written word of God, or canonical Scriptures: and by "the custom of the primitive church," we mean the order most generally used in the church for the space of five hundred years after Christ, in which times lived the most notable fathers, as Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostome, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, etc.

Two parts  
of the pro-  
position.

This assertion above written hath two parts. First, that the use of the tongue not understood of the people, in common prayers of the church, or in the administration of the sacraments, is against God's word.

The second, that the same is against the use of the primitive church.

The first  
part of the  
proposi-  
tion.

I. The first part is most manifestly proved by the 14th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, almost throughout the whole chapter; in the which chapter St. Paul entreateth of this matter, *ex professo*, purposely. And although some do cavil that St. Paul speaketh not in that chapter of praying, but of preaching, yet is it most evident to any indifferent reader of understanding, and appeareth also by the exposition of the best writers, that he plainly there speaketh not only of preaching and prophesying, but also of prayer and thanksgiving, and generally of all other public actions, which require any speech in the church or congregation. For of praying he saith: "I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my mind, I will sing with my spirit, and I will sing with my mind." And of thanksgiving (which is a kind of prayer), "Thou givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. And how shall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned say, Amen, to thy giving of thanks, when he understandeth not what thou sayest?" And in the end, descending from particulars to a general proposition, concludeth, that all things ought to be done to edification. Thus much is clear by the very words of St. Paul; and the ancient doctors, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and others, do so understand this chapter, as it shall appear by their testimonies which shall follow afterward.

Upon this chapter of St. Paul we gather these reasons following.

The argu-  
ment or  
probation.

1. All things done in the church or congregation, ought so to be done as they may edify the same.

But the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or administration of sacraments, doth not edify the congregation.

The  
major  
proved.

Therefore the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or administration of sacraments, is not to be had in the church.

The first part of this reason is grounded upon St. Paul's words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

The  
minor  
proved.

The second part is also proved by St. Paul's plain words. First by this similitude: "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall be prepared to battle? Even so likewise, when ye speak with tongues, except ye speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for ye shall but speak in the air, that is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying." And afterwards, in the same chapter he saith, "How can he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, say Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? for thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified." These be St. Paul's words, plainly proving, that a tongue not understood, doth not edify. And therefore both the parts of the reason thus proved by St. Paul, the conclusion followeth necessarily.

Another  
argument  
or proba-  
tion.

2. Secondly, Nothing is to be spoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, except it be interpreted to the people, that it may be understood. For saith Paul, "If there be no interpreter to him that speaketh in an unknown tongue, let him hold his peace in the church."<sup>1</sup> And therefore the common prayers and administration of sacraments, neither done in a known tongue, neither interpreted, are against the commandment of Paul, and not to be used.

Another  
argu-  
ment.

3. The minister in prayer or administration of sacraments using language

(1) "Taceat in Ecclesiâ"

not understood of the hearers, is to them barbarous, an alien; which of *Elizabeth*.  
St. Paul is accounted a great absurdity.

4. It is not to be counted a christian common prayer, where the people *A. D.*  
present declare not their assent unto it by saying Amen; wherein is implied *1559.*  
all other words of assent.<sup>1</sup>

But St. Paul affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their assent in saying  
Amen, except they understand what is said, as afore.

Therefore it is no christian common prayer where the people understand not  
what is said.

5. Paul would not suffer, in his time, a strange tongue to be heard in the  
common prayer in the church, notwithstanding that such a kind of speech was  
then a miracle, and a singular gift of the Holy Ghost, whereby infidels might  
be persuaded and brought to the faith; much less is it to be suffered now,  
amongst christian and faithful men; especially being no miracle nor especial  
gift of the Holy Ghost.

6. Some will peradventure answer, that to use any kind of tongue, in common  
prayer or administration of sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

But St. Paul is to the contrary: for he commandeth all things to be done to  
edification; he commandeth to keep silence if there be no interpreter; and in  
the end of the chapter he concludeth thus: "If any man be spiritual or a proph-  
et, let him know that the things which I write, are the commandments of the  
Lord." And so shortly to conclude, the use of a strange tongue, in prayer and  
administration, is against the word and commandment of God.

To these reasons, grounded upon St. Paul's words, which are the most firm  
foundation of this assertion, divers other reasons may be joined, gathered  
out of the Scriptures, and otherwise.

1. In the Old Testament all things pertaining to the public prayer, benedic-  
tions, thanksgivings, or sacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural  
tongue. In 2 Chron. xxix. it is written, that Hezekiah commanded the Levites  
to praise God with the Psalms of David and Asaph the prophet, which doubt-  
less were written in Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did so in the  
shadows of the law, much more ought we to do the like, who, as Christ saith,  
must pray "in spiritu et veritate."

2. The final end of our prayer, as David saith, is, "Ut populi et convenient  
in unum, et annuncient nomen Domini in Sion, et laudes ejus in Hierusalem."  
Psa. cii.

But the name and praises of God cannot be set forth to the people, unless it  
be done in such a tongue as they may understand: therefore common prayer  
must be had in the vulgar tongue.

3. The definition of public prayer out of the words of St. Paul, "Orabo  
spiritu, orabo et mente," 1 Cor. xiv., "publicè orare, est vota communia mente  
ad Deum effundere, et ea spiritu, hoc est, lingua testari." Common prayer is  
to lift up our common desires to God with our minds, and to testify the same  
outwardly with our tongues; which definition is approved by St. Augustine  
(De Magistro, cap. i.<sup>2</sup>), "Nihil opus est," inquit, "locutione, nisi forte ut sacer-  
dotes faciunt, significandæ mentis causâ ut populus intelligat."

4. The ministration of the Lord's Supper and Baptism are as it were sermons  
of the death and resurrection of Christ.

But sermons to the people must be had in such language as the people may  
perceive; otherwise they should be had in vain.

5. It is not lawful for a christian man to abuse the gifts of God: but he that  
prayeth in the church in a strange tongue, abuseth the gifts of God. For the  
tongue serveth only to express the mind of the speaker to the hearer. And  
Augustine saith, "There is no cause why we should speak, if they for whose  
cause we speak, understand not our speaking."<sup>3</sup>

6. The heathen and barbarous nations of all countries and sorts of men, were  
they never so wild, evermore made their prayers and sacrifices to their gods in  
their own mother tongue. Which is a manifest declaration that it is the very  
light and voice of nature.

(1) "Per hos enim impletur confirmatio precis, qui respondent Amen." Ambrosius.

(2) See his Works; Paris, 1532, vol. i. fol. 115, col. 2.—Ed.

(3) "Loquendi omnino nulla est causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intel-  
ligant, loquimur." De Doctrinâ Christianâ, lib. iv. [See his Works; Paris, 1532, vol. iii. fol. 2,  
col. 1.—Ed.]



*Enkabe h.*

A. D.  
1559.

The second part  
of the  
first pro-  
position.

The first  
argument  
out of  
Justin  
Martyr.

The second  
argument  
out of  
Basil.

See  
*Appendix*.

Thus much upon the ground of St. Paul and other reasons out of the Scriptures, joining therewith the common usage of all nations, as a testimony of the law of nature.

II. Now for the second part of the assertion, which is, that the use of a strange tongue in public prayer and administration of sacraments, is against the custom of the primitive church; it is a matter so clear, that the denial of it must needs proceed either of great ignorance, or else of wilful malice.

For first of all Justin Martyr, describing the order of the communion in his time, saith thus: "Upon the Sunday, assemblies are made both of the citizens and countrymen, where the writings of the apostles and of the prophets are read, as much as may be. Afterwards, when the reader doth cease, the head minister maketh an exhortation, exhorting them to follow so honest things. After this we rise all together and offer prayers; which being ended (as we have said), bread and water are brought forth. Then the head minister offereth prayers and thanksgiving, as much as he can, and the people answer Amen."<sup>1</sup>

These words of Justin, who lived about one hundred and sixty years after Christ, considered with their circumstance, declare plainly, that not only the Scriptures were read, but also that the prayers and administration of the Lord's Supper, were done in a tongue understood.

The liturgies both of Basil and Chrysostome declare, that in the celebration of the communion, the people were appointed to answer to the prayer of the minister, sometimes "Amen;" sometimes, "Lord have mercy upon us;" sometimes, "And with thy Spirit," and "We have our hearts lifted up unto the Lord," etc.: which answers they could not have made in due time, if the prayer had not been made in a tongue understood.

And for further proof, let us hear what Basil writeth in this matter to the clerks of Neocæsarea: "As touching that is laid to our charge in psalmodes and songs, wherewith our slanderers do fray the simple, I have thus to say: that our customs and usages accord and harmonize with those of all the churches of God. For in the night the people with us riseth, goeth to the house of prayer, and in travail, tribulation, and continual tears, they confess themselves to God; and at the last, rising again, go to their songs or psalmody, where, being divided into two parts, they sing by course together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the heavenly sayings, and also stirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the song, the rest follow, and so with divers songs and prayers passing the night, at the dawning of the day all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they sing unto the Lord a song of confession, every man framing to himself meet words of repentance."<sup>2</sup>

If you will fly us from henceforth for these things, ye must fly also the Egyptians, and the Lybians; ye must eschew both the Thebans, Palestines, Arabians, the Phœnicians, and the Syrians, and those that dwell beside the Euphrates; and, to be short, all those with whom watchings, prayers, and common singing of psalms, are had in honour.

*Testimonies of St. Ambrose, written upon 1 Cor. xiv., "Super illud, Qui enim loquitur linguis."*<sup>3</sup>

Ambrose. "Hoc est quod dicit: quia qui loquitur incognitâ linguâ," etc. [i. e.] "This is it that he saith, 'He which speaketh in an unknown tongue, speaketh to God:' for he knoweth all things; but men know not, and therefore there is no profit of this thing."

Another  
argument  
of his.

The same author afterwards: "Si benedixeris spiritu."

Upon these words, "If thou bless or give thanks with the spirit, how shall

(1) "Die solis urbanorum ac rusticorum cœtus sunt, ubi apostolorum prophetarumque literæ, quoad fieri potest præleguntur: deinde cessante lectore, præpositus verba facit adhortatoria, ad imitationem tam honestarum rerum invitans. Post hæc consurgimus omnes, et preces offerimus: quibus finitis profertur (ut diximus) panis, vinum et aqua: tum præpositus, quantum potest, preces offert, et gratiarum actiones: plebs vero Amen accinit." Justinus, Apol. 2. [l. 67.]

(2) "Cæterum ad obiectum in psalmodiis erimen, quo maxime simpliciores terrent calumnia tores," etc. Basilii, Epist. 63. [tom. iii. 811. § 3. Edit. 1730.]

(3) See his Works, vol. ii. fol. 210. Basil. 1519.—Ed.

he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say, Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?" "Hoc est, si laudem Dei linguâ loquaris ignotâ," etc. "That is," saith Ambrose, "if thou speak the praise of God in a tongue unknown to the hearers. For the unlearned, hearing that which he understandeth not, knoweth not the end of the prayer, and he answereth not Amen, that is as much as to say, 'true,' that the blessing or thanksgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled by them which do answer, Amen; that all things spoken may be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the testimony of the truth."

See  
Ambrose.

Afterward in the same place, upon these words, "If any infidel or unlearned come in," etc.

"Quum enim intelligit et intelligitur," etc.: "for when he understandeth, and is understood, hearing God to be praised, and Christ to be worshipped, he seeth perfectly that the religion is true, and to be revered, wherein he seeth nothing to be done colourably, nothing in darkness, as among the heathen, whose eyes are covered, lest they, seeing through the things which they call holy, should perceive themselves to be deluded with divers vanities. For all falsehood seeketh darkness, and sheweth false things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done privily, nothing covertly, but one God is simply praised, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus, by whom are all things. For if there be none which can understand, or of whom he [who is officiating] may be tried, he [the unbeliever] may say, there is some deceit and vanity, which is therefore sung in tongues not understood; because it would be shameful to open it."

Upon this place, "Omnia ad ædificationem fiant."

"Conclusio hæc est, ut nihil incassum in ecclesiâ geratur; hocque elaborandum magis, ut et imperiti proficiant, ne quid sit corporis per imperitiam tenebrosus."

"Let all things be done to edify."

"This is the conclusion, that nothing should be done in the church in vain, and that this thing ought chiefly to be laboured for, that the unlearned also might profit, lest any part of the body should be dark through ignorance."

Again, "Si non fuerit interpres, taceat in ecclesiâ."

"Hoc est, intra se tacite oret aut loquatur Deo, qui audit muta omnia. In ecclesiâ enim ille debet loqui qui omnibus prosit."

"If there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church."

"That is, let him pray secretly, or speak to God within himself, which heareth all dumb things: for in the church he ought to speak which may profit all men."

*Testimonies out of St. Jerome, upon that place of Paul, "Quomodo, qui supplet locum idiotæ," etc.*

"Per illum," saith St. Jerome, "qui supplet locum idiotæ, laicum intelligit, qui nullo gradu ecclesiastico fungitur." "It is the layman, which hath no ecclesiastical office," saith he, "whom Paul here understandeth to be in the place of the ignorant man. How shall he answer Amen, to the prayer that he understandeth not?"

And a little before upon these words, "Nam si orem lingua," etc.

"Hoc dicit, quoniam si quis incognitis aliis linguis loquatur, mens ejus non ipsi efficitur sine fructu, sed audienti. Quicquid enim dicitur, ignorat." "This is Paul's meaning," saith Jerome: "If any man speaketh in tongues strange to others, his mind is not to himself without fruit and profit, but he is not profited that heareth him."

And in the end of his commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians, he saith thus: "Quod autem 'Amen' consensum significat audientis," etc. "That 'Amen' signifieth the consent of the hearer, and is the sealing up of the truth, Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians teacheth, saying, 'But if thou shalt bless in spirit, how shall he who supplieth the place of the ignorant, at thy prayer answer 'Amen,' seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest?' Whereby he declareth that the unlearned man cannot answer, although that which is spoken is true, unless he understand what is said."

The same Jerome saith in the preface of St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians, that the noise of Amen soundeth in the Roman church, like a heavenly thunder.

*Elizabeth.*A. D.  
1559.*Testimonies out of Basil, Chrysostome, Dionysius, Cyprian, Augustine, and Justinian.*Basil, ho.  
4, hexam.

As Jerome compareth this sound of common prayer to thunder, so Basil compareth it to the sound of the sea, in these words: "If the sea be fair, how is not the assembly of the congregation much fairer? in the which a joined sound of men, women, and children, as it were of the waves beating on the shore, is sent forth in our prayers unto our God."

"Cum populus semel audivit, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων, statim omnes respondent, Amen."

"When the people once hear these words, 'World without end,' they all forthwith answer, Amen."

And the same writer upon the same chapter, upon these words, "How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen?" "En rursus amussi (quod dicitur) saxum applicat, ecclesiæ ædificationem ubique requirens," etc. "Behold again, he applieth the stone unto the square (as the proverb is), requiring the edifying of the congregation in all places."<sup>1</sup> The unlearned he calleth the common people, and sheweth that it is no small discommodity, if they cannot say, Amen.

Another  
argument  
out of  
Chrysos-  
tome.

And again, the same Chrysostome, "Yea in prayers you may see the people offer largely, both for the possessed and the penitents. For the priests and the people pray altogether commonly, and all one prayer, a prayer full of mercy and pity. And excluding out of the priests' limits all such as cannot be partakers of the holy table, another prayer must be made, and all after one sort lie down upon the earth, and all again after one sort rise up together. Now when the peace is given, we all in like manner salute one another, and the priest in the reverend mysteries wisheth well to the people, and the people unto him: for 'et cum spiritu tuo,' is nothing else but this. All things that belong to the sacrament of thanksgiving, are common to all. But he giveth not thanks alone, but all the people with him."<sup>2</sup>

Hereby it may appear, that not the priest alone communicated nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar prayer, but such as was common to them all, such as they all understood, and all were able to say with the priest; which could not have been, if he had used a strange tongue in the ministration of the sacraments.

Diony-  
sius.

Dionysius, describing the manner of the ministration of the Lord's Supper, saith, "that hymns were said of the whole multitude of the people."

Cyprian.

Cyprian saith, "The priest doth prepare the minds of the brethren, with a preface before the prayer, saying, 'Lift up your hearts:' that while the people doth answer, 'We have our hearts lifted up to the Lord,' they may be admonished that they ought to think of none other thing than of the Lord."<sup>3</sup>

Augustine.

St. Augustine, "Quod hic sit, intelligere debemus," etc. "What this should be we ought to understand, that we may sing with reason of man, not with chatting of birds. For ousels, and popinjays, and ravens, and pies, and other such like birds, are taught by men to prate they know not what. But to sing with understanding, is given by God's holy will to the nature of man."<sup>4</sup>

The same Augustine: "There needeth no speech when we pray, saving perhaps as the priests do, to declare their meaning; not that God, but that men may hear them; and so, being put in remembrance by consenting with the priests, may hang upon God."<sup>5</sup>

Justinian.

See  
Appendix.

To these testimonies of the ancient writers, we will join one constitution of Justinian the emperor,<sup>6</sup> who lived 527 years after Christ, "Jubemus ut omnes episcopi pariter et presbyteri," etc. "We command that all bishops and priests do celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers used in holy baptism, not speaking low, but with a clear and loud voice, which may be heard of the people, that thereby the minds of the hearers may be stirred up with greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For so the holy apostle teacheth in his

(1) "Idem eodem loco, in illa verba, 'Si ingrediatur infidelis, aut indoctus,'" etc.

(2) "Quin, et in precibus viderit quis populum multum simul offerre, tum pro energumenis, tum pro pœnitentibus. Communes enim preces et à sacerdote et ab illis fiunt, et omnes dicunt unam orationem, orationem misericordiâ plenam. Iterum, ubi excluderimus à sacerdotalibus ambitiibus eos qui non possunt esse participes sanctæ mensæ, alia facienda est oratio, et omnes similiter surgimus, etc." [See Chrysost. in Epist. ad Cor. 2. Hom. 18. § 3.—Ed.]

(3) Cyprian, ser. 6. de or. dominica.

(4) Aug. in Psalm xviil. [serm. ii. § 1.]

(5) Aug. de Magist.

(6) See "Novellæ Constitutiones;" Constit. 123. p. 409. Ito. Basil. 1561.—Ed.

first epistle to the Corinthians, saying, 'Truly, if thou only bless or give thanks in spirit, how doth he which occupieth the place of the unlearned say, Amen, at the giving of thanks unto God? for he understandeth not what thou sayest. Thou verily givest thanks well, but another is not edified.' And again, in the epistle to the Romans he saith, 'Corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem fit confessio ad salutem,' 'with the heart a man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.'

*Elizabeth.*  
A. D.  
1559.

Therefore for these causes it is convenient, that amongst other prayers those things also which are spoken in the holy oblation, be uttered and spoken of the most religious bishops and priests unto our Lord Jesus Christ, our God with the Father and the Holy Ghost, with a loud voice. And let the most religious priests know this, that if they neglect any of these things, neither will the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, neither will we, when we know it, rest, and leave it unrevenge.

Out of this constitution of Justinian the emperor, three things are worthy to be noted.

1. That the common prayer and ministration done with a loud voice, so as may be heard and understood of the people, is a mean to stir up devotion in the people; contrary to the common assertion of Eckius and other adversaries, who affirm that ignorance maketh a great admiration and devotion.

2. That Justinian maketh this matter of not ordering common ministration and prayers, so as it may be understood of the people, not a matter of indifference, but such a thing as must be answered for at the day of judgment.

3. That this emperor, being a christian emperor, doth not only make constitution of ecclesiastical matters, but also threateneth revenge and sharp punishment to the violators of the same.

These are sufficient to prove that it is against God's word, and the use of the primitive church, to use a language not understood of the people, in common prayer and ministration of the sacraments. Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how such an untruth and abuse crept at the first into the church, but also, how it is maintained so stiffly at this day; and upon what ground these that will be thought guides and pastors of Christ's church, are so loth to return to the first original of St. Paul's doctrine, and the practice of the primitive catholic church of Christ.

The God of patience and consolation, give us grace to be like minded one towards another in Christ Jesus; that we all, agreeing together, may with one mouth praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

John Scory.	John Jewell.
Richard Coxe.	Robert Horne.
David Whitehead.	John Ælmer.
Edmund Grindall.	Edmund Guest.

And the same being ended with some likelihood, as it seemed, that the same was much allowable to the audience; certain of the bishops began to say, contrary to their former answer, that they had now much more to say to this matter: wherein although they might have been well reprehended for such manner of cavillation, yet, for avoiding of any more mistaking of orders in this colloquy or conference, and for that they should utter all that which they had to say, it was both ordered and thus openly agreed upon of both parts, in the full audience, that upon the Monday following, the bishops should bring their minds and reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also, if they could; and first read the same: and that done, the other part should bring likewise theirs to the same. And being read, each of them should deliver to other the same writings. And in the mean time, the bishops should put in writing, not only all that which Dr. Cole had that day uttered, but all such other matters as they any otherwise could think of for the same: and as soon as they possibly could, to send the same book touching that first assertion to the

*See  
Appendix.*



*Elizabeth* other part, and they should receive of them that writing which master  
*A. D.* Horne had there read that day; and upon Monday it shall be agreed  
*1559.* what day they should exhibit their answers touching the first proposition. Thus both parts assented thereto, and the assembly was quietly dismissed.

See  
*Appendix*

#### THE ORDER OF THE SECOND DAY'S TALK.

The Lord Keeper of the great Seal, the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Norfolk, and all the Council being set, the Bishops on the one side, and the Protestants, that is, the late banished Preachers, on the other side, thus began the Lord Keeper.

"My lord and masters, I am sure ye remember well, what order of talk and writing was appointed to be had this day in this assembly, at our last meeting, which I will not refuse now to repeat again for the shortness of it; which was, that ye appointed that on both sides ye should bring in English writing, what ye had to say in the second question, and in this place appointed to read the same. Therefore begin, my lords."

*Winchester* :—"I am determined, for my part, that there shall be now read, that which we have to say for the first question."

*Lord Keeper* :—"Will ye not then proceed in the order appointed you?"

*Winchester* :—"I am, as I said, provided for the first question or proposition; and we should suffer prejudice, if ye permit us not to entreat of that first; and so we would come to the second question, and this is the order we would use. I judge all my brethren are so minded."

*Bishops* :—"We are so determined."

*Lord Keeper* :—"I know not what you would do for your determined order, but ye ought to look what order is appointed you to keep, which ye by this means do break, and little regard."

*Winchester* :—"Sith our adversaries' part, if it please your grace and honours, have so confirmed their affection and purpose, we suffer a prejudice or damage, if ye permit us not the like." Hereat Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, being at this talk very desirous to have spoken, said now to the bishop of Winchester, "I pray you let me speak:" which was permitted him. "We are not used indifferently, since that you allow us not to open in present writing what we have to say for the declaration of the first question, insomuch as that which ye take for the infirmation of the same, was meant nothing to that purpose; for that which master Cole spake in this last assembly, was not prepared to strengthen our cause, but he made his oration of himself, and *ex tempore*, that is, with no fore-studied talk."

At such the bishop's words, the nobility and others of the audience much frowned and grudged, sith that they all well knew, that master Cole spake out of a writing which he held in his hand, and often read out of the same; and that in the same places which the bishops informed him, and appointed him unto with their fingers; all which things do well declare the matter to be premeditated, and not done *ex tempore*, for that master Cole was appointed by them to be their speaker. Whereupon this of the bishop of Lincoln was the worse taken; notwithstanding he went onward complaining, and said, "We are also evil-ordered as touching the time, our adversaries' part having warning long before, and we were warned only two days before the last assembly in this place. What with this business, and other trouble we have been driven to, we have been occupied the whole last night. For we may in no wise betray the cause of God, nor will do, but sustain it to the uttermost of our powers; as we ought so to endeavour by all manner of means. But hereunto we want presently indifferent using."

*Lord Keeper* :—"Take ye heed that ye deceive not yourselves when it shall come to just trial of the matter, and that then it be not proved against you, that ye complain without cause, when the order and your manner towards it shall be duly weighed. I am willing and ready to hear you after the order taken and appointed for you to reason therein; and further or contrary to that I cannot deal with you."

*The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry* :—"Let us suffer no misorder or injury

herein, but be heard with indifferency, that is to saye, convenient and meet we should have here." *Elizabeth*

*Lord Keeper* :—" I pray you, sirs, hear me, and mark it you well. It was concluded on by my lords of the council, of whom you well know, that their writing, which ye are now so willing to have heard, should have been read the first day; and then did we understand that master Cole had said what you would have him, and as much as you willed him to say; and, upon that indifferency among us, I judge ye were asked in the end of master Cole's rehearsal, whether that which he spake, was it ye would have him say; and ye granted it. Then, whether ye would, that he should say any more in the matter: ye answered no. Whereupon the other part was heard, which you hearing, then indeed, without all good indifferency or plain dealing, ye pretended that ye had more to say. So mark you with how small equity you used yourselves."

*The Bishops* :—" We had indeed more to say, if we might have been indifferently heard."

*Lord Keeper* :—" Give me leave, I say, and look what gains you should have, if your present request should be granted you, that call so much of indifferent using, how you should use those other men? For many who are here present, were then away; so would you have your writing now read to them, which heard not this. Mark ye whether it had not been more fit that ye had provided it against the first day, when they orderly read theirs, sith to my knowledge, and as far as I have had to do in the matter, you were of both sides (I am sure) warned at one time. Howbeit, to satisfy your importunacy and earnestness of this crying out to have your first writing heard, I might well allow, if it so pleased the rest of the queen's most honourable council, that you dispatch the work of the second question, appointed for this day, and give us up your writing for the first; so that when the day cometh that each of you shall answer the other in confirmation of the first question, then the same day ye shall have time to read this your first writing, which ye now would so fain read." To this order all the council willingly condescended.

*Lichfield and Coventry* :—" Nay, my lords, they reading one, and we two books in one day, we should not have time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much time."

*Lord Keeper* :—" For my part, I might well stay at the hearing of them both, and so I judge would the rest of the council, and likewise the whole audience." At which saying there was a shout, crying on all sides, "Yea, yea, we would hear it gladly."

*Lincoln* :—" We cannot read them both at one time; for their writing, I am sure, would require an hour and a half, if so be it be so long as their last was; and then our answer would require no less time after the first question."

*Lord Keeper* :—" I have showed you we could be well contented to tarry out the time when it cometh thereunto: therefore ye need not to be therein so curious. And we granting you thus much, and yet ye will obey no orders, I cannot tell what I shall say unto you."

*Lincoln* :—" We have been wonderfully troubled in the order of this dispute: for first it was appointed us by my lord the archbishop, that we should dispute, and that in Latin. And then had we another commandment that we should provide a Latin writing, and now at last we are willed to bring forth our writings in English."

At these words the lord keeper of the great seal, the archbishop, with all the council, much mused, and many murmured at such his wrong report of the order well taken. Whereupon, with an admiration, the lord keeper answered, "I marvel much of the using of yourself in this point, sith I am assured the order was never otherwise taken, than that you should bring forth in English writing, what you had to say for your purpose."

Hereupon the bishops of Lichfield and Chichester, to excuse my lord of Lincoln, said, "We so understood the order, my lords."

*Lord Keeper* :—" How likely is that, sith that it was so plainly told you? But to end these delays, I pray you follow the order appointed, and begin to entreat of the second question."

*Lichfield and Coventry* :—" We were appointed this day, by your honours, to bring in what we had to say in the first question." At the which saying the audience much grudged, who heard the former talk, contrary to such his report.

*Elizabeth.* *Lord Keeper* :—"The order was taken, for that your writings were not ready the last time, that ye should yield the same to these men, meaning the Protestants, as soon as ye might; and upon the receipt of your writings, you should have theirs. And this day you should entreat of the second question, and of the third, if that ye had leisure enough. This was the order, my lords, except my memory much fail me." The same all the council affirmed.

*Lincoln* :—"We were willed then to bring in this day our writing for the first question also."

*Lord Keeper* :—"Ah sirs! if ye be so hard to be satisfied, and to incline to the truth, let my lords here say what was then determined."

*Archbishop of York* :—"Ye are to blame to stand in this issue, for there was a plain decreed order taken, for you to entreat of the second question. Wherefore leave you your contention herein, and show what ye have to say in the second question."

*Lord Keeper* :—"Go to now, begin my lords."

*Lichfield and Coventry* :—"It is contrary to the order in disputations, that we should begin."

*Chester* :—"We have the negative, they the affirmative; therefore they must begin."

*Lichfield and Coventry* :—"They must first speak what they can bring in against us, sith we are the defending part."

*Chester* :—"So is the school manner; and likewise the manner in Westminster-hall is, that the plaintiff's part should speak first, and then the accused party to answer."

*Lichfield and Coventry* :—"I pray you let the proposition be read, and then let us see who hath the negative part, and so let the other begin."

*Lord Keeper* :—"The order was taken that ye should begin."

*Lichfield and Coventry* :—"But then we should do against the school order."

*Lord Keeper* :—"My masters, ye enforce much the school orders. I wonder much at it, sith divers of those orders are oftentimes taken for the exercise of youth, and ought to maintain a fashion, and many prescriptions, which we need not here to recite, much less observe. We are come hither to keep the order of God, and to set forth his truth, and hereunto we have taken as good order as we might, which lieth not in me to change."

*Carlisle* :—"We are of the catholic church, and abide therein, and stand in the possessions of the truth; and therefore must they say what they have to allege against us; and so we to maintain and defend our cause."

*Lichfield and Coventry* :—"Yea, even so must the matter be ordered."

*Chester* :—"When they bring any thing against us, it is sufficient for us to deny it: therefore must they begin."

*Lichfield and Coventry* :—"And when they affirm any thing, and we say nay, the proof belongeth to them, and so it behoveth them to show first, what they affirm, and for what cause and purpose."

*Lord Keeper* :—"Here resteth our purpose and whole matter, whether you will begin; if they do not, sith it was determined ye should begin."

*Lichfield and Coventry* :—"We heard of no such order."

*Lord Keeper* :—"No did? Yes, and in the first question ye began willingly. How cometh it to pass that ye will not now do so?"

*Chester* :—"Then had we the affirmation, which sith that our adversaries have now, they should presently begin."

This the Protestants denied, saying, that they in the first day had the negative, wherein they did not yet refuse to begin.

*Lord Keeper* :—"If you have any thing to say, my lords, to the purpose, say on."

*Lichfield and Coventry* :—"A particular sort of men can never break a universal church, which we now maintain: and as for these men, our adversary part, I never thought that they would have done so much as have named themselves to be of the catholic church, challenging the name as well as we."

*Protestants* :—"We do so, and we are of the true catholic church, and maintain the verity thereof."

*Lincoln* :—"Yet would ye overthrow all catholic order."

*Horne* :—"I wonder that ye so much stand in who should begin."

*Lincoln* :—"You count it requisite that we should follow your orders, as we

have taken the questions at your hands, in that sort as you have assigned them" *Elizabeth.*

*Lichfield and Coventry* :—" Yea, even so are we driven to do now." A.D.

*Lord Keeper* :—" Nay, I judge if ye mark the matter well, the questions are neither of their propounding them to you, nor of your device to them, but offered indifferently to you both." 1559.

*Horne* :—" Indeed, my lords of the queen's most honourable council, these questions or propositions were proposed unto us by your honours; and they then having the pre-eminence, chose to themselves the negative, and yet freely began first. Now, again, why do they not the like?"

Lichfield being angry that he should so straitly speak against them, went quite from the matter, saying, "My lord keeper of the great seal, and you the rest of the queen's most honourable council, I hope that you all, and the queen's majesty herself, are inclined to favour the verity in all things, and the truth of the catholic church, which we must, will, or can do no otherwise, but earnestly maintain to the uttermost of our power; and to this purpose let us now well weigh who are of the true catholic church, they, or we."

*Lord Keeper* :—" Tarry now, you go from the matter, and make questions of your own."

Lichfield, yet not staying from his digression, said thus: "We must needs go to work, and try that first, what church they be of: for there are many churches in Germany. Master Horne, master Horne, I pray you which of these churches are you of?"

*Horne* :—" I am of Christ's catholic church."

*Lord Keeper* :—" Ye ought not thus to run into voluntary talk of your own inventing, nor to devise new questions of your own appointment, and thereby enter into that talk: ye ought not so to do. But say on, if you have any thing to say in this matter."

*Lichfield and Coventry* :—" Nay, we must first thus go to work with them as I have said, if that we will search a truth: howbeit of the truth we have no doubt, for that we assuredly stand in it. These men come in, and they pretend to be doubtful. Therefore they should first bring what they have to impugn or withstand us withal."

*Winchester* :—" Let them begin; so will we go onward with our matter."

*Chester* :—" Otherwise, my lords, if they should not begin, but end the talk, then should the verity on our sides be not so well marked; for they should depart speaking last, 'cum applausu populi,' with the rejoicing triumph of the people."

*Winchester* :—" Therefore I am resolved that they shall begin ere that we say any thing."

*Chester* :—" I am sorry, my lords, that we should so long stand in the matter with your honours, and make so many words, and so much ado with you, whom we ought to obey: howbeit there is no indifferency if they begin not; and surely we think it meet, that they should, for their parts, give us place."

*Lichfield* :—" Yea, that they should, and ought to do, where any indifferency is used."

*Elmer* :—" We give you the place: do we not? and deprive you not of the pre-eminence, because you are bishops; therefore I pray you begin."

*The Bishop* :—" A goodly giving of place, I assure you: yea marry, ye gave place:" such words they used, with more scoffs.

*Lord Keeper* :—" If ye make this assembly gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us rise and depart."

*Winchester* :—" Contented, let us be gone; for we will not in this point give over. I pray you, my lords, require not at our hands that we should be any cause of hinderance or let to our religion, or give any such evil example to our posterity, which we should do, if we gave over to them; which in no wise we may, or will do."

*Lord Keeper* :—" Let us then break up, if you be thus minded." With these words the bishops were straightways rising. But then said the lord keeper, "Let us see whether every one of you be thus minded. How say you my lord of Winchester, will you not begin to read your writing?"

*Winchester* :—" No surely, I am fully determined, and fully at a point therein, howsoever my brethren do."



*Elizabeth.*A. D.  
1559.

Then the lord keeper asked how the bishop was called, who sat next to Winchester in order. It was the bishop of Exeter, who, being inquired his mind herein, answered that he was none of them. Then the lord keeper asked the other, in order; and first Lincoln, who said he was of the same mind that Winchester was of: and likewise answered Lichfield and Coventry, Cole, and Chedsey. Then Chester, being asked his sentence, said, "My lords, I say not that I will not read it, if ye command us; but we ought not to do it: yet I desire your honours not so to take it, as though I would not have it read. I mean not so."

*Lord Keeper* :—"How say you to it, my lord of Carlisle?"

*Carlisle* :—"If they should not read theirs this day, so that our writing may be last read, so am I contented that ours shall be first read."

*Lord Keeper* :—"So would ye make orders yourselves, and appoint that we should spend one day in hearing you."

Then the abbot of Westminster was asked his mind; who said, "If it please your honours, I judge that my lords here stay most on this point, that they fear when they shall begin first, and the other answer thereupon, there shall be no time given to them to speak; which my lord misliketh."

*Lord Keeper* :—"How can it otherwise be in talk appointed in such assembly and audience: think you that there can be continual answering one another? when should it after that sort have an end?"

*Lichfield and Coventry* :—"It must be so in disputation, to seek out the truth."

*Lord Keeper* :—"But how say you, my lord abbot, are you of the mind it shall be read?"

*Abbot* :—"Yea forsooth, my lord, I am very well pleased withal."—Harpfield being inquired his mind, thought as the other did.

*Lord Keeper* :—"My lords, sith that ye are not willing, but refuse to read your writing after the order taken, we will break up and depart: and for that ye will not that we should hear you, you may perhaps shortly hear of us."

Thus have we declared the order and manner of this communication or conference at Westminster, between these two parties, wherein if any law or order were broken, judge, good reader, where the fault was; and consider withal what these papists be, from whom if ye take away their sword and authority, you see all their cunning, how soon it lieth in the dust; or else why would they not abide the trial of writing? Why would they, or durst they, not stand to the order agreed upon? Whether should we say ignorance or stubbornness to be in them more, or both together? who first being gently (as is said) and favourably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then being, secondly (as appeared by the lord keeper's words), pressed more earnestly, they neither regarding the authority, etc. of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterly refused that to do. And finally, being again particularly every of them apart distinctly by name required to understand their opinions therein, they all, saving one (which was the abbot of Westminster, having some more consideration of order and his duty of obedience than the others), utterly and plainly denied to have their book read, some of them, as more earnestly than others, so also some others more indiscreetly and unreverently than others. Whereupon giving such example of disorder, stubbornness, and self-will, as hath not been seen and suffered in such an honourable assembly, being of the two estates of this realm, the nobility and the commons, besides the presence of the queen's majesty's most honourable privy council, the same assembly was dismissed, and the godly and most christian purpose of the queen's majesty made frustrate. And afterward, for the contempt so notoriously made, the bishops of Winchester and

Lincoln, having most obstinately both disobeyed common authority, *Elizabeth.* and varied manifestly from their own order, and specially Lincoln, who showed more folly than the other, were condignly committed to the Tower of London, and the rest (saving the abbot of Westminster) stood bound to make daily their personal appearance before the council, and not to depart the city of London and Westminster, until further order were taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

A. D.  
1559.

Bishops  
commit-  
ted to the  
Tower.  
*See  
Appendix.*

Besides the former protestation or libel written and exhibited by the protestants concerning the first question, there was also another like writing of the the said protestants made of the second question, but not published, which, if it come to our hand, we will likewise impart it unto thee.

As these bishops above named were committed to the Tower, so Bonner, bishop of London, about the same time was commanded to the Marshalsea, where he both in his blind bloody heresy, and also in his deserved captivity, long remained, abiding the queen's pleasure. God's pleasure, I beseech him, so be wrought on that person, that the church of Christ's flock, if they can take or look for no goodness of that man to come, yet they may take of him and of others no more harm hereafter, than they have done already. We all beseech thee this, O Lord eternal, per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen.

Bonner  
cast into  
the Mar-  
shalsea.

About this time, at the beginning of the flourishing reign of queen Elizabeth, was a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, wherein was much debating about matters touching religion, and great study on both parties employed, the one to retain still, the other to impugn, the doctrine and faction which before, in queen Mary's time, had been established. But especially here is to be noted, that though there lacked no industry on the papists' side, to hold fast that which they most cruelly from time to time had studied, and by all means practised to come by; yet, notwithstanding, such was the providence of God at that time, that for lack of the other bishops, whom the Lord had taken away by death a little before, the residue that there were left, could do the less; and in very need, God be praised there-for, did nothing at all, in effect: although yet notwithstanding there lacked in them neither will nor labour to do what they could, if their cruel ability there might have served. But, namely, amongst all others, not only the industrious courage of Dr. Story, but also his words in this parliament, are worthy to be known of posterity; who, like a stout and furious champion of the pope's side, to declare himself how lusty he was, and what he had and would do in his master's quarrel, shamed not openly, in the said parliament-house, to brast out into such an impudent sort of words, as was a wonder to all good ears to hear, and no less worthy of history. The sum of which his shameless talk was uttered to this effect:—

Dr.  
Story's  
impudent  
words in  
the parlia-  
ment.

First, beginning with himself, he declared, that whereas he was noted commonly abroad, and much complained of, to have been a great doer, and a setter forth of such religion, orders, and proceedings, as of his late sovereign that dead is, queen Mary, were set forth in this realm, he denied nothing the same; protesting moreover, that he therein had done nothing, but that both his conscience

The  
words of  
Dr. Story  
in the  
parlia-  
ment-  
house.

*Elizabeth.* did lead him thereunto, and also his commission did as well then command him, as now also doth discharge him for the same, being no less ready now also to do the like, and more, in case he by this queen were authorized likewise, and commanded thereunto: "wherefore, as I see," saith he, "nothing to be ashamed of, so less I see to be sorry for;" but rather said, that he was sorry for this, because he had done no more than he did, and that in executing those laws, they had not been more vehement and severe. Wherein he said there was no default in him, but in them, whom he both oft and earnestly had exhorted to the same, being therefore not a little grieved with them, for that they laboured only about the young and little sprigs and twigs, while they should have stricken at the root, and clean have rooted it out, etc. And concerning his persecuting and burning them, he denied not, but that he was once at the burning of an ear-wig (for so he termed it) at Uxbridge,<sup>1</sup> where he tossed a faggot at his face, as he was singing psalms. and set a wyn-bush of thorns under his feet, a little to prick him, with many other words of like effect. In the which words he named moreover sir Philip Hobby, and another knight of Kent, with such other of the richer and higher degree, whom his counsel was to pluck at, and bring them under *coram*, wherein (said he) if they had followed my advice, then had they done well and wisely.

This, or much like, was the effect of the shameless and tyrannical excuse of himself, more meet to speak with the voice of a beast, than a man.

Although in this parliament some diversity there was of judgment and opinion between parties, yet, notwithstanding, through the merciful goodness of the Lord, the true cause of the gospel had the upper hand, the papists' hope was frustrate, and their rage abated, the order and proceedings of king Edward's time concerning religion were revived again, the supremacy of the pope abolished, the articles and bloody statutes of queen Mary repealed; briefly, the furious fire-brands of cruel persecution, which had consumed so many poor men's bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the old bishops were deposed, for that they refused the oath in renouncing the pope, and not subscribing to the queen's just and lawful title: in whose rooms and places, first for cardinal Pole succeeded Dr. Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury. In the place of Heath<sup>2</sup> succeeded Dr. Young. Instead of Bonner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London. For Hopton, Thirlby, Tonstall, Pates, Christopherson, Petow, Cotes, Morgan, Voysey, White, Oglethorpe, etc.,<sup>3</sup> were placed Dr. John Parkhurst in Norwich, Dr. Coxe in Ely, Jewell in Salisbury, Pilkinton in Durham, Dr. Sands in Worcester, master Downham in West-Chester, Bentham in Coventry and Lichfield, Davies in St. David's, Alley in Exeter, Horne in Winchester, Scory in Hereford, Best in Carlisle, Bullingham in Lincoln, Scambler in Peterborough, Barkley in Bath, Guest in Rochester, Barlow in Chichester, etc.

*See  
Appendix.*

(1) This martyr. burnt at Uxbridge, was master Denley.

(2) Dr. Heath, formerly archbishop of York.—Ed.

(3) To this list might be added, Turberville, Watson, Bourne, and Poole.—Ed.

THE APPENDIX OF SUCH NOTES AND MATTERS,  
AS EITHER HAVE BEEN IN THIS HISTORY  
OMITTED, OR NEWLY INSERTED.

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IN the story of sir Roger Acton above mentioned, I find that with *Appendix.* him were taken many other persons, that all the prisons in and about London were replenished with people. The chief of them, which were twenty and nine, were condemned of heresy; and attainted of high treason, as movers of war against their king, by the temporal law in the Guildhall, the 12th day of December; and adjudged to be drawn and hanged for treason, and for heresy to be consumed with fire, gallows, and all: which judgment was executed in January following on the said sir Roger Acton, and twenty-eight others.

Some say that the occasion of their death was the conveyance of the lord Cobham out of prison. Others write, that it was both for treason (as the adversaries termed it), and heresy.

Certain affirm, that it was for feigned causes surmised by the spirituality, more of displeasure than truth, as seemeth more near to the truth.

CONCERNING JOHN FRITH, OF HIS LIFE AND STORY THIS  
FOLLOWETH MORE TO BE ADDED.

First, this John Frith was born in the town of Westerham in Kent, who after, by diligent espials was taken in Essex, flying beyond the seas, and brought before the council, sir Thomas More then being chancellor; and so from them committed unto the Tower, where he remained prisoner the space of a quarter of a year, or thereabout. It chanced that Dr. Currein, ordinary chaplain unto king Henry the eighth, preached a sermon in Lent before his majesty: and there, very sore inveighing against the sacramentaries (as they them termed and named), which favoured not the gross opinion that Christ's body was carnally real in the sacrament, he so far discoursed in that matter, that at the length he brake out thus far and said, "It is no marvel though this abominable heresy do much prevail amongst us; for there is one now, in the Tower of London, so bold as to write in the defence of that heresy, and yet no man goeth about his reformation:" meaning John Frith, who then had answered sir Thomas More in writing against a confutation of that erroneous opinion, which of late, before, the said master More had written against John Frith's assertion in that behalf. This sermon of purpose was devised and appointed by the bishop of Winchester and others, to seek the destruction of Frith, by putting the king in remembrance that the said Frith was in the Tower there staid, rather for his safeguard



*Appendix.* than for his punishment, by such as favoured him ; as the lord Cromwell, who, being vicegerent in causes ecclesiastical, came then into suspicion there-for : for in such sort was the matter handled before the king, that all men might well understand what they meant. The king then, being in no point resolved of the true and sincere understanding of the doctrine of that article, but rather a perverse stout adversary to the contrary, called to him my lord of Canterbury and my lord Cromwell, and willed them forthwith to call Frith unto examination, so that he might either be compelled to recant, or else by the law, to suffer condign punishment.

Frith's long protract in the Tower without examination, was so heinously taken of the king, that now my lord of Canterbury, with other bishops (as Stokesley then bishop of London, and other learned men), were undelayedly appointed to examine Frith. And for that there should be no concourse of citizens at the said examination, my lord of Canterbury removed to Croydon, unto whom resorted the rest of the commissioners. Now, before the day of execution appointed, my lord of Canterbury sent one of his gentlemen, and one of his porters, whose name was Perlebeane, a Welshman born, to fetch John Frith from the Tower unto Croydon. This gentleman had both my lord's letters and the king's ring unto my lord Fitzwilliam, constable of the Tower, then lying in Cannon-row at Westminster in extreme anguish and pain of the strangury, for the delivery of the prisoner. Master Fitzwilliam, more passionate than patient, understanding for what purpose my lord's gentleman was come, banned and cursed Frith and all other heretics, saying, " Take this my ring unto the lieutenant of the Tower, and receive your man your heretic with you ; and I am glad that I am rid of him." When Frith was delivered unto my lord of Canterbury's gentleman (they twain, with Perlebeane, sitting in a wherry, and rowing towards Lambeth), the said gentleman, much lamenting in his mind the infelicity of the said Frith, began in this wise :

He exhorted him to consider in what estate he was, a man altogether cast away in the world, if he did not look wisely to himself. And yet, though his cause were never so dangerous, he might somewhat (in relenting to authority and so giving place for a time) help both himself out of the trouble, and when opportunity and occasion should serve, prefer his cause which he then went about to defend : declaring further, that he had many well-willers and friends, which would stand on his side so far forth as possibly they were able and durst do ; adding hereunto, that it were great pity that he, being of such singular knowledge both in the Latin and Greek, and both ready and ripe in all kind of learning, and that namely as well in the Scriptures, as in the ancient doctors, should now suddenly suffer all those singular gifts to perish with him, with little commodity or profit to the world, and less comfort to his wife and children, and other his kinsfolk and friends. " And as for the verity of your opinion in the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, it is so untimely opened here among us in England, that you shall rather do harm than good : wherefore be wise, and be ruled by good counsel, until a better opportunity may serve."

" This I am sure of," quoth the gentleman, " that my lord Cromwell, and my lord of Canterbury, much favouring you, and knowing you to be an eloquent learned young man, and now towards the felicity of your life, young in years, old in knowledge, and of great forwardness and likelihood to be a most profitable member of this realm, will never permit you to sustain any open shame, if you will somewhat be advised by their counsel. On the other side, if you stand stiff to your opinion, it is not possible to save your life : for like as you have good friends, so have you mortal foes and enemies."

"I most heartily thank you," quoth master Frith unto the gentleman, "both *Appendix.* for your good will and for your counsel; by the which I well perceive that you mind well unto me. Howbeit my cause and conscience is such, that in no wise I either may or can, for any worldly respect, without danger of damnation, start aside and fly from the true knowledge and doctrine which I have conceived of the supper of the Lord, or the communion, otherwise called the sacrament of the altar: for if it be my chance to be demanded what I think in that behalf, I must needs say my knowledge and my conscience, as partly I have written therein already, though I should presently lose twenty lives, if I had so many. And this you shall well understand, that I am not unfurnished, either of Scriptures or ancient doctors, schoolmen, or others for my defence; so that if I may be indifferently heard, I am sure that mine adversaries cannot justly condemn me or mine assertion, but that they shall condemn with me both St. Augustine, and the most part of the old writers; yea, the very bishops of Rome of the oldest sort shall also say for me, and defend my cause."

"Yea marry," quoth the gentleman, "you say well; if you might be indifferently heard. But I much doubt thereof, for that our Master Christ was not indifferently heard, nor should be, as I think, if he were now present again in the world; specially in this your opinion, the same being so odious unto the world, and we so far off from the true knowledge thereof."

"Well, well," quoth Frith then unto the gentleman, "I know very well, that this doctrine of the sacrament of the altar, which I hold, and have opened contrary to the opinion of this realm, is very hard meat to be digested both of the clergy and laity. But this I will say to you," taking the gentleman by the hand, "that if you live but twenty years more, whatsoever become of me, you shall see this whole realm of mine opinion concerning this sacrament of the altar; namely, the whole estate of the same, though some sort of men particularly shall not be fully persuaded therein. And if it come not so to pass, then account me the vainest man that ever you heard speak with tongue. Besides this, you say that my death would be sorrowful and uncomfortable to my friends. I grant," quoth he, "that for a small time it would so be. But if I should so mollify, qualify, and temper my cause in such sort, as to deserve only to be kept in prison, that would not only be a much longer grief unto me, but also to my friends would breed no small disquietness both of body and mind. And therefore, all things well and rightly pondered, my death in this cause shall be better unto me and all mine, than life in continual bondage and penuries. And Almighty God knoweth what he hath to do with his poor servant, whose cause I now defend, and not mine own; from the which I assuredly do intend (God willing) never to start, or otherwise to give place, so long as God will give me life."

This communication, or like in effect, my lord of Canterbury's gentleman and Frith had, coming in a wherry upon the Thames from the Tower to Lambeth.

Now when they were landed, after some repast by them taken at Lambeth, the gentleman, the porter, and Frith, went forward towards Croydon on foot. This gentleman, still lamenting with himself the hard and cruel destiny towards the said Frith (namely, if he once came amongst the bishops); and now also perceiving the exceeding constancy of Frith, devised with himself some way or means to convey him clean out of their hands; and thereupon considering that there were no more persons there to convey the prisoner but the porter and himself, he took in hand to win the porter to his purpose.

Quoth the gentleman unto Perlebeane the porter (they twain privately walking by themselves without the hearing of Frith), "You have heard this man, I am sure, and noted his talk since he came from the Tower." "Yea, that I have right well marked him," quoth the porter, "and I never heard so constant a man, nor so eloquent a person."

"You have heard nothing," quoth the gentleman, "in respect both of his knowledge and eloquence: if he might liberally either in university or pulpit declare his learning, you would then much more marvel at his knowledge. I take him to be such a one of his age, in all kind of learning and knowledge of

*Appendix.* tongues, as this realm never yet in mine opinion brought forth; and yet those singular gifts in him are no more considered of our bishops, than if he were a very dolt or an idiot; yea, they abhor him as a devil there-for, and covet utterly to extinguish him, as a member of the devil, without any consideration of God's special gifts."

"Marry," quoth the porter, "if there were nothing else in him but the consideration of his personage both comely and amiable, and of natural disposition, gentle, meek, and humble; it were pity he should be cast away." "Cast away!" quoth the gentleman, "he shall be sure cast away, if we once bring him to Croydon; and surely," quoth the gentleman, "before God I speak it, if thou, Perlebeane, wert of my mind, we would never bring him thither."

"Say you so?" quoth the porter; "I know that you be of a great deal more credit than I am in this matter; and therefore if you can devise honestly, or find some reasonable excuse, whereby we may let him go and provide for himself, I will, with all my heart, condescend to your device."

"As for that," quoth the gentleman, "it is already invented how and which ways he shall convey himself without any great danger or displeasure taken towards us, as the matter shall be handled. You see," quoth the gentleman, "yonder hill before us, named Bristow Cawsie,<sup>1</sup> two miles from London; there are great woods on both sides. When we come there, we will permit Frith to go into the woods on the left hand of the way, whereby he may convey himself into Kent among his friends (for he is a Kentish man born); and when he is gone, we will linger an hour or twain about the highway, until that it somewhat draw towards the night. Then in great haste we will approach unto Streatham, which is a mile and a half off, and make an outcry in the town that our prisoner is broken from us into the woods on the right hand towards Waynesworth,<sup>2</sup> so that we will draw as many as we may, of the town, to search the country that way for our prisoner, declaring that we followed above a mile or more, and at length lost him in the woods, because we had no more company. And so we will, rather than fail, lie out one night in searching for him, and send word from Streatham to my lord of Canterbury at Croydon in the evening of the prisoner's escape, and to what coast he is fled: so that by the morning, if he have any good luck at all, he will so provide for himself, that the bishops shall fail of their purpose." "I assure you," quoth Perlebeane, "I like very well the device herein; and therefore go ye to Frith, and declare what we have devised for his delivery: for now we are almost at the place."

When my lord of Canterbury's gentleman came nigh to the hill, he joined himself in company with the said Frith, and calling him by his name, said, "Now, master Frith, let us twain commune together another whiles. You must consider, that the journey which I have now taken in hand thus in bringing you to Croydon, as a sheep to the slaughter, so grieveth me, and as it were overwhelmeth me in cares and sorrows, that I little pass what danger I fall in, so that I could find the means to deliver you out of the lion's mouth. And yet yonder good fellow and I have so devised a means, whereby you may both easily escape from this great and imminent danger at hand, and we also be rid from any vehement suspicion." And thereupon declared unto Frith the full process discoursed before, how every thing in order should be handled.

When Frith had diligently heard all the matter concerning his delivery, he said to the gentleman, "Oh good Lord," with a smiling countenance; "is this the effect of your secret consultation, thus long between you twain? Surely, surely, you have lost a great deal more labour in times past, and so are you like to do this; for if you should both leave me here, and go to Croydon, declaring to the bishops, that you had lost Frith, I would surely follow after as fast as I might, and bring them news that I had found and brought Frith again. Do you think," quoth he, "that I am afraid to declare my opinion unto the bishops of England, in a manifest truth?"

"You are a fond man," quoth the gentleman, "thus to talk; as though your reasoning with them might do some good. But I do much marvel, that you were so willing to fly the realm before you were taken, and now so unwilling to save yourself."

"Marry, there was and is a great diversity of escaping between the one and the other," quoth Frith. "Before, I was indeed desirous to escape, because I

(1) Brixton Causeway. Ed.

(2) "Waynesworth," Wandsworth. Ho.

was not attached, but at liberty; which liberty I would fain have enjoyed for the maintenance of my study beyond the sea, where I was reader in the Greek tongue, according to St. Paul's counsel. Howbeit now, being taken by the higher power, and as it were by Almighty God's permission and providence delivered into the hands of the bishops, only for religion and doctrine's sake (namely, such as in conscience, and under pain of damnation, I am bound to maintain and defend), if I should now start aside and run away, I should run from my God, and from the testimony of his holy word, worthy then of a thousand hells. And therefore I most heartily thank you both, for your good wills towards me, beseeching you to bring me where I was appointed to be brought; for else I will go thither all alone." And so with a cheerful and merry countenance he went with them, spending the time in pleasant and godly communication, until they came to Croydon; wherefore that night he was well entertained in the porter's lodge.

On the morrow Frith was called before certain bishops and other learned men, sitting in commission with my lord of Canterbury, to be examined, where he showed himself passing ready and ripe in answering to all objections, as some then reported, incredibly and contrary to all men's expectations. And his allegations, both out of St. Augustine, and other ancient fathers of the church, were such, that some of them much doubted of St. Augustine's authority in that behalf: insomuch, that it was reported of such as were nigh and about the archbishop of Canterbury (who then was not fully resolved of the sincere truth of that article), that when they had finished their examination of Frith, the archbishop, conferring with Dr. Heath, privately between themselves, said, "This man hath wonderfully travailed in this matter, and yet, in mine opinion, he taketh the doctors amiss." "Well, my lord," should Dr. Heath say, "there was no man that could avoid his authorities of St. Augustine." "Wherein?" said my lord. Then Dr. Heath began to repeat the said authorities of St. Augustine again, inferring and applying them so straitly against my lord of Canterbury, that my lord was driven to this sheet-anchor, and said, "I see by it," quoth he to Heath, "that you, with a little more study, will be easily brought to Frith's opinion;" or such like words in effect. And some chaplains there were of my lord of Canterbury's, which openly reported, that Dr. Heath was as able to defend Frith's assertions in the sacrament, as Frith was himself.

This learned young man being thus thoroughly sifted at Croydon, to understand what he could say or do in his cause, there was no man willing to prefer him to answer in open disputation as poor Lambert was. But now, without regard of learning or good knowledge, he was sent and detained unto the butcher's stall (I mean bishop Stokeley's consistory), there to hear, not the opinion of St. Augustine, and other ancient fathers of Christ's primitive church of the said sacrament, but either to be instructed and to hear the maimed and half-cut-away sacrament of antichrist, the bishop of Rome, with the gross and fleshly imagination thereof, or else to perish in the fire, as he most constantly did, after he had, before the bishop of London, Winchester, and Chichester, in the consistory in Paul's church, most plainly and sincerely confessed his doctrine and faith in this weighty matter, etc.



*Appendix.*

## A NOTE OF WILLIAM PLANE.

In the latter days of king Henry the eighth, about that time Anne Askew was in trouble, one Dr. Crome was travailed withal to recant, for that he had preached somewhat against things maintained of the papists in the church.<sup>1</sup> And one master Tracy, hearing thereof, brought a letter secretly to one Plane, dwelling in Budge-row, and desired him to carry it to Dr. Crome, which letter tended to the end to persuade him not to recant, but to stand to the truth. When this good man, William Plane, had it, as he was ever willing to further the truth, so he gladly delivered the same to Dr. Crome: which when he had received, and read it, he laid it down upon the table. And after the said William Plane was gone, an arch-papist came thither to persuade him to recant; and, in travelling with him, he found the said letter on the board, which when he had read, he examined him from whence it came; so, what through flattery and threatening, he declared who was the messenger that brought it. Then was William Plane sent for, and cast in the Tower, where he lay miserably thirteen weeks, none admitted to come to him; in which time he was extremely racked, within half a finger breadth as far as Anne Askew: but they could never get of him of whom he had the letter, nor never for all their extremity would he accuse any man; so in the end he was delivered out of the Tower, and lived about three years after, and so godly ended his life. But unto this day would that Tracy never inquire in what condition his wife and children were left, although he was his messenger in carrying the letter. But (good Lord!) the strange disease that grew upon him by that extreme racking, as it is odious to rehearse, so I will wish them to repentance that were the instruments of his torments, if they be alive, and warn other papists to the same, in whom any cruelty hath been in the like cause.

## A NOTE OF LADY JANE.

*See Appendix.*

The lady Jane, she whom the lord Guilford married, being on a time, when she was very young, at Newhall in Essex, at the lady Mary's, was by one lady Anne Wharton desired to walk: and they passing by the chapel, the lady Wharton made low curtesy to the popish sacrament hanging on the altar; which when the lady Jane saw, she marvelled why she did so, and asked her whether the lady Mary were there, or not. Unto whom the lady Wharton answered, No: but she said, that she made her curtesy to him that made us all. "Why," quod the lady Jane, "how can he be there, that made us all, and the baker made him?" This her answer coming to the lady Mary's ear, she did never love her after, as is credibly reported, but esteemed her as the rest of that christian profession.

## A Letter of Queen Mary to the Duke of Norfolk.

Right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin, we greet you well; and having by the assistance of God, and our loving subjects, discomfited Wyat and the other rebels of our county of Kent, who having passed the river at Kingston, came back again towards London, and were encountered above Charing-cross, and there were overthrown, and the most part of them were there slain; Wyat,

(1) See Strype's Mem. under Mary, vol. iii. part 1, chap. xi. The sermon was preached on the 9th of May, 1541, upon "I am the good Shepherd."—Ed.

and three of the Cobhams, Bret, Knevet, Rudstone, Iseley, and other the chief captains taken prisoners: We have thought good as well to give you knowledge hereof, to the end ye may with us, and the rest of our loving subjects, rejoice, and give God thanks for this our victory, as also further to signify unto you, that whereas the said rebel did alway pretend the matter of our marriage to be the cause of this unlawful stir, now plainly appeareth, by good and substantial examinations of divers of the said traitors, that whatsoever they pretended, the final meaning was to have deprived us from our estate and dignity royal, and consequently, to have destroyed our person. Which thing, as we do ascertain you of our honour to be matter of truth, so we pray you to cause the same to be published in all places of those our counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, to the intent our good and loving subjects thereof be no more abused with such false pretenses, or other untrue rumours or tales, by whomsoever the same shall be set forth. And now, things being in this sort quieted, we cannot but give you thanks for the readiness that you have been in with the force of our said country, to have served us, if need had been; praying you to do the like on our behalf to all the gentlemen and others with you, with whom nevertheless we require you to take such orders as the force of our said country may be still in like readiness, to be employed under good and substantial captains, to be chosen of the gentlemen inheritors within the said shire, for our further service upon one hour's warning, whensoever we shall require the same. And in the mean time our pleasure is, that ye have good regard to the quietness and good order of the country, specially to the apprehension of spreaders of false and untrue tales and rumours, whereby ye shall both deserve well of your whole country, and also do acceptable service, which we will not fail to remember accordingly.

Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster, the 8th of February, the first year of our reign.

In haste.

A TREATISE OF MASTER NICHOLAS RIDLEY<sup>1</sup>, IN THE NAME, AS IT SEEMETH, OF THE WHOLE CLERGY, TO KING EDWARD THE SIXTH, CONCERNING IMAGES NOT TO BE SET UP, NOR WORSHIPPED IN CHURCHES.

Certain Reasons which move us that we cannot with safe consciences give our assent, that the Images of Christ, etc., should be placed and erected in Churches.

First, the words of the commandment, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image,"<sup>2</sup> etc. And the same is repeated more plainly, "Cursed is the man which maketh a graven or molten image, etc., and setteth it in a secret place. And all the people shall say, Amen."<sup>3</sup>

In the first place, these words are to be noted: "Thou shalt not make to thyself," that is, to any use of religion. In the latter place, these words, "and setteth it in a secret place;" for no man durst then commit idolatry openly. So that conferring the places, it doth evidently appear, that images, both for use of religion and in place of peril for idolatry, are forbidden.

God, knowing the inclination of man to idolatry, sheweth the reason why he made this general prohibition, "Lest peradventure thou, being deceived, shouldst bow down to them and worship them."<sup>4</sup>

This general law is generally to be observed, notwithstanding that, peradventure, a great number cannot be hurt by them; which may appear by the example following. God forbade the people to join their children in marriage with strangers, adding the reason, "For she will seduce thy son, that he shall not follow me."<sup>5</sup>

Moses was not deceived nor seduced by Jethro's daughter, nor Boaz by Ruth, being a woman of Moab. And yet for all that, the general law was to be observed, "Thou shalt join no marriage with them." And so likewise, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," etc.<sup>6</sup>

(1) This is probably a mistake: see Appendix.—ED.

(2) Exod. xx.

(3) "Maledictus homo qui facit sculptile et conflatile, etc. ponitque illud in abscondito," etc. Deut. xxvii.

(4) "Ne forte errore deceptus adores ea et colas."

(5) "Quia seducet filium tuum, ne sequatur me." Deut. vii.

(6) Deut. iv.

*Appendix.* God giveth a special charge to avoid images. "Beware," saith he, "that thou forget not the covenant of the Lord thy God which he made with thee, and so make to thyself any graven image of any thing which the Lord hath forbidden thee; for the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, and a jealous God. If thou have children and nephews, and do well in the land, and being deceived, do make to yourselves any graven image, doing evil before the Lord your God, and provoke him to anger, I do this day call heaven and earth to witness, that you shall quickly perish out of the land which ye shall possess; ye shall not dwell in it any longer time, but the Lord will destroy you, and scatter you amongst all nations."<sup>1</sup>

Note, what solemn obtestation God useth, and what grievous punishments he threateneth, to the breakers of the second commandment.

In the tabernacle and temple of God no image was by God appointed openly to be set, nor by practice afterwards used or permitted, so long as religion was purely observed; so that the use and execution of the law is a good interpreter of the true meaning of the same.

If by virtue of the second commandment images were not lawful in the temple of the Jews, then, by the same commandment, they are not lawful in the churches of Christians: for, being a moral commandment, and not ceremonial (for by consent of writers, only a part of the precept of observing the sabbath is ceremonial), it is a perpetual commandment, and bindeth us, as well as the Jews.

The Jews by no means would consent to Herod, Pilate, or Petronius, that images should be placed in the temple at Jerusalem, but rather offered themselves to the death, than to assent unto it; who, besides that they are commended by Josephus for observing the meaning of the law, would not have endangered themselves so far, if they had thought images had been indifferent in the temple of God.<sup>2</sup> For, as St. Paul saith, "Quid templo Dei cum simulacris,"<sup>3</sup> etc.

God's Scripture doth in no place commend the use of images, but in a great number of places doth disallow and condemn them.

They are called in the book of Wisdom, "The trap and snare of the feet of the ignorant." It is said that the invention of them was the beginning of spiritual fornication; and that they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end.<sup>4</sup> In the 15th chapter of the same book it is said, "Umbra picturæ, labor sine fructu," etc. And again, "They are worthy of death, both that put their trust in them, and that make them, and that love them, and that worship them."

The Psalms and Prophets are full of like sentences; and how can we then praise the thing which God's Spirit doth always dispraise?

Furthermore, an image made by a father (as appeareth in the same book) for the memorial of his son departed, was the first invention of images, and occasion of idolatry.<sup>5</sup> How much more then shall an image made in the memory of Christ, and set up in the place of religion, occasion the same offence?<sup>6</sup> Images have their beginning from the heathen, and of no good ground; therefore they cannot be profitable to Christians. Whereunto Athanasius agreeth, writing of images against the Gentiles: "The invention of images came of no good, but of evil; and whatsoever hath an evil beginning, can never in any thing be judged good, seeing it is wholly naught."<sup>7</sup>

St. John saith, "My little children, beware of images." But to set them in the churches, which are places dedicated to the service and invocation of God, and that over the Lord's table, being the highest and most honourable place where most danger of abuse both is, and ever hath been, is not to beware of them, nor to flee from them, but rather to embrace and receive them. Tertulian expounding the same words, writeth thus: "Filioli, custodite vos ab idolis; non jam ab idololatria quasi ab officio, sed ab idolis; i. e. ab ipsa effigie eorum;" that is to say, "Little children, keep yourselves from the shape itself, or form of them."<sup>8</sup>

Images in the church either serve to edify or to destroy. If they edify, then

(1) Deut. iv. 25—27.

(2) 2 Cor. vi. [Jus. de B. J. ii. 10.]

(3) Wisdom xiv. 15.

(4) Ἡ τὴν εἰδωλῶν εἰσαγωγή οὐκ ἀπὸ ἀγαθοῦ ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κακῶν γέγονε, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀσέβειας ἔργον καὶ τῆς ἀπειθείας. Athanasius contra Gentes. [§ 7. tom. i. edit. Ben — Ed.]

(5) Lib. de Coronâ Militis, [cap. 10.]

(6) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17, cap. 8, et lib. 18, cap. 5 et 10.

(7) Wisd. xiv. 11—14.

(8) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 7, cap. 18.

there is one kind of edification which the Scriptures neither teach nor command, *Appendix.* but always disallow : if they destroy, they are not to be used ; for in the church of God all things ought to be done to edify.<sup>1</sup>

The commandment of God is, "Thou shalt not lay a stumbling-block or a stone before the blind : and cursed is he that maketh the blind wander in his way."

The simple and unlearned people, who have been so long under blind guides, are blind in matters of religion, and inclined to error and idolatry. Therefore to set images before them to stumble at (" *Nam laquei pedibus insipientium sunt,*" that is, "they be snares and traps for the feet of the ignorant"), or to lead them out of the true way, is not only against the commandment of God, but deserveth also the malediction and curse of God.<sup>2</sup>

The use of images, is to the learned and confirmed in knowledge, neither necessary nor profitable : to the superstitious, a confirmation in error : to the simple and weak an occasion of fall, and very offensive and wounding of their consciences ; and therefore very dangerous. For St. Paul saith, offending the brethren, and wounding their weak consciences, they sin against Christ.<sup>3</sup> And "Woe be to him by whom offence or occasion of falling cometh : it were better that a millstone were tied about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than to offend one of the little ones that believe in Christ."<sup>4</sup> And whereas objection may be made, that such offence may be taken away by sincere doctrine and preaching ; it is to be answered, that that is not sufficient ; as hereafter more at large shall appear.

And though it should be admitted as true, yet should it follow, that sincere doctrine and preaching should always, and in all places, continue as well as images ; and so wheresoever an image to offend were erected, there should also of reason a godly and sincere preacher be continually maintained : for it is reason that the remedy be as large as the offence, the medicine as general as the poison ; but that is not possible in the realm of England that images should be generally allowed, as reason and experience may teach.

As good magistrates, which intend to banish all whoredom, do drive away all naughty persons, specially out of such places as be suspected ; even so images, being meretrices, i. e. whores, for that the worshipping of them is called in the prophets fornication and adultery, ought to be banished ; and especially out of churches, which is the most suspected place, and where the spiritual fornication hath been most committed. It is not expedient to allow and admit the thing which is hurtful to the greatest number ; but in all churches and common-wealths the ignorant and weak are the greatest number, to whom images are hurtful, and not profitable. And whereas it is commonly alleged, that images in churches do stir up the mind to devotion, it may be answered, that contrariwise they do rather distract the mind from prayer, hearing of God's word, and other godly meditations ; as we read that in the council-chamber of the Lacedemonians no picture or image was suffered, lest in consultation of weighty matters of the commonweal, their minds, by the sight of the outward image, might be occasioned to be withdrawn, or to wander from the matter.

The experience of this present time doth declare, that those parts of the realm, which think and are persuaded that God is not offended by doing outward reverence to an image, do most desire the restitution of images, and have been most diligent to set them up again : restitution, therefore, of them by common authority, shall confirm them more in their error to the danger of their souls, than ever they were before. For as one man writeth, "*Nihil magis est certum, quàm quod ex dubio factum est certum :*" that is to say, "Nothing is more certain or sure, than that which of doubtful is made certain."

The profit of images is uncertain ; the peril, by experience of all ages and states of the church (as afore) is most certain. The benefit to be taken of them (if there be any), is very small ; the danger in seeing of them, which is the danger of idolatry, is the greatest of all other. Now, to allow a most certain peril for an uncertain profit, and the greatest danger for the smallest benefit, in matters of faith and religion, is a tempting of God, and a grievous offence.

(1) 1 Cor. xiv.

(2) Wisd. xiv.

(3) 1 Cor. viii.

(4) Matt. xviii.



## Probations out of the Fathers, Councils, and Histories.

First, it is manifest, that in the primitive church images were not commonly used in churches, oratories, and places of assembly for religion; but they were generally detested and abhorred, inasmuch that the want of imagery was objected to the Christians for a crime.

Origen reporteth, that Celsus objected the lack of images.<sup>1</sup>

Arnobius saith also, that the Ethnics accused the Christians, that they had neither altars nor images. [lib. vi. § 1.]

See  
Appendix.

Zepherus, in his Commentary upon the Apology of Tertullian, gathereth thus of Tertullian's words: "Which place of persuasion were very cold, and to no purpose at all, except we hold this always: that Christians in those days did hate most of all images, with their trim decking and ornaments."<sup>2</sup>

Irenæus reproveth the heretics called Gnostici,<sup>3</sup> for that they carried about the image of Christ made in Pilate's time after his own proportion (which were much more to be esteemed than any that can be made now); using also, for declaration of their affection towards it, to set garlands upon the head of it.

Lactantius affirmeth plainly, "It is not to be doubted, that there is no religion, wheresoever is any image."<sup>4</sup> If Christians then had used images, he would not have made his proposition so large.

St. Augustine commendeth Varro the Roman in these words: "When Varro thought religion might be kept more purely without images, who doth not see how near he came to the truth?"<sup>5</sup> So that not only by M. Varro's judgment, but also by St. Augustine's approbation, the most pure and chaste observation of religion, and nearest the truth, is to be without images.

The same St. Augustine,<sup>6</sup> hath these words: "Images have more force to bow down and crook the silly soul, than to teach it."<sup>7</sup>

And upon the same psalm he moveth this question: "Every child, yea every beast, knoweth that it is not God which they see: why then doth the Holy Ghost so oft give warning to beware of that thing which all do know?"<sup>8</sup>

St. Augustine's answer [is this]: "For when they are set in churches, and begin once to be worshipped of the multitude or common people, straightway springeth up a most filthy affection of error."<sup>9</sup>

This place of St. Augustine doth well open how weak a reason it is to say, images are a thing indifferent in chambers and in churches. For the alteration of the place, manner, and other circumstances, doth alter oftentimes the nature of the thing. It is lawful to buy and sell in the market, but not so in churches. It is lawful to eat and drink, but not so in churches. And therefore saith St. Paul, "Have you not houses to eat and drink in? Do you condemn the church of God?"<sup>10</sup>

Many other actions there be, which are lawful and honest in private places, which are neither comely nor honest, not only in churches, but also in other assemblies of honest people.

Tertullian saith, he used sometimes to burn frankincense in his chamber, which was then used of idolaters, and is yet in the Romish churches. But he joineth withal, "But not after such a rite or ceremony, nor after such a fashion, nor with such preparation or sumptuousness, as it is done before the idols."<sup>11</sup>

So that images placed in churches, and set "in an honourable place of estimation,"<sup>12</sup> as St. Augustine saith, and especially over the Lord's table, which is done (using the words of Tertullian) "after the same manner and fashion,"<sup>13</sup> which the

[1] Orig. lib. 8. contra Celsum. [§ 17.]

(2) "Qui locus persuadendi frigeret penitus, nisi perpetuo illud teneamus: Christianos tunc temporis odisse maximè statuas cum suis ornamentis," etc.

(3) Iren. lib. i. cap. 24.

(4) "Non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, ubicunque simulacrum est." Lib. Divin. Instit. 2. cap. 19.

(5) "Quum Varro existimaverit castius sine simulacris observari religionem, quis non videt, quantum appropinquaverit veritati?" De Civitate Dei, lib. iv. cap. 31.

(6) In Psalm cxlii.

(7) "Plus valent simulacra ad curvandam infelicem animam, quàm ad docendam." [Ser. ii. 56]

(8) "Quivis puer, imo quævis bestia, scit non esse Deum quod vident: cur ergo Spiritus Sanctus toties monet cavendum quod omnes sciunt?"

(9) "Quoniam cum ponuntur in templis, et semel incipiunt adorari à multitudine, statim nascitur sordidissimus affectus erroris."

(10) "Annon habetis domos ad edendum ac bibendum? An ecclesiam Dei contemnitis?"

(11) "Sed non eodem ritu, nec eodem habitu, nec eodem apparatu, quo agitur apud idola."

(12) "In honorabili sublimitate." (13) "Eodem ritu, et eodem habitu"

papists did use, especially after so long continuance of abuse of images, and so many being blinded with superstitious opinion towards them, cannot be counted a thing indifferent, but a most certain ruin of many souls. *Appendix*

Epiphanius, in his epistle to John, bishop of Jerusalem (which epistle was translated out of the Greek by St. Jerome, being a likelihood that Jerome disliked not the doctrine of the same), doth write a fact of his own, which doth most clearly declare the judgment of that notable learned bishop concerning the use of images. His words are these: "When I came to a village called Anablatha; and saw there, as I passed by, a candle burning, and inquiring what place it was, and learning that it was a church, and had entered into the same to pray, I found there a veil or cloth hanging at the door of the same church, dyed and painted; having on it the image of Christ as it were, or of some saint (for I remember not well whose it was). Then when I saw this, that in the church of Christ, against the authority of the Scriptures, the image of a man did hang, I cut it in pieces, etc., and commanded that such manner of veils or clothes, which are contrary to our religion, be not hanged in the church of Christ."<sup>1</sup> *See Appendix.*

Out of this place of Epiphanius divers notes are to be observed.

First, that by the judgment of this ancient father, to permit images in churches is against the authority of the Scriptures, meaning against the second commandment, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," etc.

Secondly, that Epiphanius doth reject not only graven and molten, but also painted images; forso much as he cut in pieces the image painted in a veil hanging at the church door; what would he have done, if he had found it over the Lord's table?

Thirdly, that he spareth not the image of Christ: for no doubt that image is most perilous in the church of all others.

Fourthly, that he did not only remove it, but with a vehemency of zeal cut it in pieces, following the example of the good king Hezekias, who brake the brazen serpent, and burnt it to ashes.

Last of all, that Epiphanius thinketh it the duty of vigilant bishops to be careful, that no such kind of painted images be permitted in the church.

Serenus bishop of Marseilles broke down images, and destroyed them when he did see them begin to be worshipped."<sup>2</sup>

Experience of the times since hath declared, whether of these two sentences were better. For since Gregory's time, the images standing in the West church, it hath been overflowed with idolatry, notwithstanding his or other men's doctrine; whereas, if Serenus's judgment had universally taken place, no such thing had happened: for if no images had been suffered, none could have been worshipped; and consequently, no idolatry committed by them.

To recite the Process of Histories and Councils about the Matter of Images, it would require a long Discourse; but it shall be sufficient here briefly to touch a few.

It is manifest to them that read histories, that not only emperors, but also divers and sundry councils in the East church, have condemned and abolished images both by decrees and examples.

Petrus Crinitus,<sup>3</sup> in his Book of Honest Discipline,<sup>4</sup> wrote out of the emperor's books these words: "Valentinian and Theodosius the emperors wrote to the high marshal or lieutenant in this sort: 'Whereas we are very careful that the religion of Almighty God should be in all things kept, we permit no man to cast,

(1) "Quum venissem ad villam quæ dicitur Anablatha, vidissemque ibi præteriens lucernam ardentem, et interrogassem quis locus esset, didicissemque esse ecclesiam, et intraissem ut orarem: inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem ecclesiæ tinctum atque depictum, et habens imaginem quasi Christi vel sancti cujusdam, non enim satis memini cujus fuit. Cum ergo hoc vidissem, in ecclesiâ Christi contra auctoritatem Scripturarum hominis pendere imaginem. scidi illud," etc. Et paulo post: "Et præcepi in ecclesiâ Christi istiusmodi vela, quæ contra religionem nostram veniunt, non appendi," etc.

(2) Greg. in regist. lib. 7. epist. 109.

(3) He was a Florentine of the name of Ricci, or, as he denominated himself according to the custom of the times, P. Crinitus. "Scriptis libros de Poetis Lat., qui unâ cum opere ejus 'De honestâ disciplinâ' excudi solet. Basil. 1532. Paris, 1520." See "Supplementum ad Vossium," Hamb. 1709, p. 768. He did not excels as a writer in the judgment of Vossius, "De Hist. Lat." p. 673, edit. 1651.—Ed.

(4) De Honestâ Disciplinâ, et de Poetis Latinis, fol. Paris, 1520.—Ed.

*Appendix.* grave, or paint the image of our Saviour Christ, either in colours, stone, or other matter; but wheresoever it be found, we command it to be taken away, punishing them most grievously that shall attempt any thing contrary to our decrees and empire."<sup>1</sup>

Leo the third,<sup>2</sup> a man commended in histories for his excellent virtues and godliness, who (as is judged of some men) was the author of the book "*De Re Militari*," that is, "*Of the Feat of War*," being translated out of the Greek by sir John Cheeke, and dedicated to king Henry the eighth, your highness's father, by public authority commanded abolishing of images; and in Constantinople caused all the images to be gathered together on a heap, and burned them unto ashes.

Constantine V., his son, assembled a council of the bishops of the East church,<sup>3</sup> in which council it was decreed as followeth: "It is not lawful for them that believe in God through Jesus Christ, to have any images, either of the Creator, or of any creatures, set up in temples to be worshipped; but rather that all images by the law of God, and for the avoiding of offence, ought to be taken out of churches:" which decree was executed in all places where any images were, either in Greece or in Asia. But in all these times, the bishops of Rome rather maintaining the authority of Gregory, weighing like christian bishops the peril of the church, always in their assemblies allowed images.

Not long after, the bishop of Rome, practising with Tharasius patriarch of Constantinople, obtained of Irene the empress (her son Constantine being then young), that a council was called at Nice, in the which the pope's legates were presidents, which appeared well by their fruits: for in that council it was decreed, that images should not only be permitted in churches, but also worshipped: which council was confuted by a book written by the emperor Charlemagne, calling it a foolish and an arrogant council.

Soon after this council, arose a sharp contention between Irene the empress, and her son Constantine the sixth, the emperor, who destroyed images. And in the end, as she had before wickedly burned the bones of her father in law, Constantine the fifth, so afterward unnaturally she put out the eyes of her son Constantine the sixth. About which time, as Eutropius writeth, the sun was darkened most terribly for the space of seventeen days, God showing, by that dreadful sign, how much he misliked those kinds of proceedings.

To be short, there was never thing that made more division, or brought more mischief into the church, than the controversy of images: by reason whereof, not only the East church was divided from the West, and never since perfectly reconciled, but also the empire was cut asunder and divided, and the gate opened to the Saracens and Turks, to enter and overcome a great piece of Christendom. The fault whereof most justly is to be ascribed to the patrons of images, who could not be contented with the example of the primitive church, being most simple and sincere, and most agreeable to the Scripture. For as Tertullian saith, "What is first, that is true, and that which is later is counterfeit:"<sup>4</sup> but with all extremity maintained the use of images in churches, whereof no profit nor commodity did ever grow to the church of God. For it is evident, that infinite millions of souls have been cast into eternal damnation by the occasion of images used in place of religion; and no history can record, that ever any one soul was won unto Christ by having of images. But lest it might appear that the West church had always generally retained and commended images, it is to be noted, that in a council holden in Spain, called the council of Elvira, the use of images in churches was clearly prohibited in this form of words: "We decree, that

(1) "*Petrus Crinitus de Honestâ Disciplinâ, lib. ix. cap. 9. ex libris Augustalibus hæc verba transcripsit: 'Valens et Theodosius Augusti Imperatores præfecto prætorio ad hunc modum scripserunt. Quum sit nobis cura diligens in rebus omnibus superni Numinis religionem tueri, signum Salvatoris Christi nemini quidem concedimus coloribus, lapide, aliâve materiâ fingere, insculpere, aut pingere: sed quocunque reperitur loco tolli jubemus, gravissimâ penâ eos multando qui contrarium decretis nostris et imperio quicquam tentaverint.'*" [See Justinian's *Cod. i. 8.*]

(2) This occurred in 726: the reflections of the Latin chroniclers upon the circumstance are given in "*Goldasti Imperialia Decret. de Cultu Imag.*" Francorf. 1608, p. 17. See also Mosheim, cent. xviii., part 2. ch. 3, § 10.—Ed.

(3) A. D. 754; the arguments and Decrees of the council are included in what was intended for a refutation. "*The Acts of the Second Nicene Council in 787*," but the express words, cited by Ridley as a decree, do not appear, though the substance doubtless may. See Labbe, tom. vii. col. 396, 513—529. As the existing accounts of the Nicene council are supposed to have been corrupted, the decrees of the council assembled by Constantine may also have similarly suffered. See "*Dallâi de Imaginibus*;" Lug. Bat. 1642, p. 419.—Ed.

(4) "*Quod primum verum, quod posterius adulterinum.*" [adv. Prax. cap. 2.]

pictures ought not to be in churches, lest that be painted upon the walls, which *Appendix.*  
is worshipped or adored." <sup>1</sup>

But this notwithstanding, experience hath declared, that neither assembling in councils, neither writings, preachings, decrees, making of laws, prescribing of punishments, hath holpen against images, to the which idolatry hath been committed, nor against idolatry whilst images stood. For these blind books and dumb schoolmasters (which they call laymen's books) have more prevailed by their carved and painted preaching of idolatry, than all other written books and preachings in teaching the truth, and the horror of that vice.

Having thus declared unto your highness a few causes of many which do move our consciences in this matter; we beseech your highness most humbly not to strain us any further, but to consider that God's word doth threaten a terrible judgment unto us, if we, being pastors and ministers in his church, should assent unto the thing which in our learning and conscience we are persuaded doth tend to the confirmation of error, superstition, and idolatry: and finally, to the ruin of the souls committed to our charge, for the which we must give an account to the Prince of pastors at the last day.<sup>2</sup> We pray your majesty also not to be offended with this our plainness and liberty, which all good and christian princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of godly bishops.

St. Ambrose, writing to Theodosius the emperor, useth these words: "But neither is it the part of an emperor to deny free liberty of speaking, nor yet the duty of a priest not to speak what he thinketh." And again: "In God's cause whom wilt thou hear, if thou wilt not hear the priest, to whose great peril the fault should be committed? Who dare say the truth unto thee, if the priest dare not?"<sup>3</sup> These and such like speeches of St. Ambrose, Theodosius, and Valentinian the emperors did always take in good part, and we doubt not but your grace will do the like, of whose not only clemency, but also beneficence, we have largely tasted.

We beseech your majesty also, in these and such like controversies of religion, to refer the discussment and deciding of them to a synod of your bishops and other godly learned men, according to the example of Constantine the Great, and other christian emperors, that the reasons of both parts being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful matters.

And to return to this present matter, we most humbly beseech your majesty to consider, that besides weighty causes in policy, which we leave to the wisdom of your honourable councillors, the stablishment of images by your authority shall not only utterly discredit our ministers, as builders up of the things which we have destroyed, but also blemish the fame of your most godly father, and such notable fathers as have given their life for the testimony of God's truth, who by public law removed all images.

The almighty and everliving God plentifully endue your majesty with his Spirit and heavenly wisdom, and long preserve your most gracious reign and prosperous government over us, to the advancement of his glory, to the overthrow of superstition, and to the benefit and comfort of all your highness's loving subjects.

#### A NOTE OF MASTER RIDLEY.

Master doctor Ridley, sometime bishop of London, of whom mention is made, was a man so revered for his learning and knowledge in the Scripture, that even his very enemies have reported him to have been an excellent clerk, whose life if it might have been redeemed with the sum of ten thousand marks, yea, ten thousand pounds, the lord Dacres of the North, being his kinsman, would have given it to queen Mary, rather than he should have been burned. And yet was

(1) "Placuit in ecclesiis picturas esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur." [Can. 36.]

(2) Heb. xiii. 17. 1 Pet. v. 4.

(3) "Sed neque imperiale est libertatem dicendi negare, neque sacerdotale quod sentiat non dicere." Item, "In causâ verò Dei quem audies, si sacerdotem non audies, cuius majori peccator periculo? quis tibi verum audebit dicere, si sacerdos non audeat?" Epist. lib. v. Epist. xxix. [See his Works, vol. iii. p. 29. Basil. 1516.—Ed.]



*Appendix.* she so unmerciful, for all his gentleness in king Edward's days, that it would not be granted for any suit that could be made. Oh, that she had remembered his labour for her to king Edward the sixth with Cranmer before mentioned, in such sort that even she had yielded but the reward of a publican;<sup>1</sup> then had the earth not so been bereft of him as it was. But the Lord forgive us our sins which were the cause thereof, and grant that we never so provoke his anger again, if it be his blessed will, Amen.

#### ANOTHER NOTE OF MASTER RIDLEY.

*See  
Appendix.*

Master Ridley, late bishop of London, being prisoner in the Tower, had there given him the liberty of the same, to prove belike whether he would go to mass or no, which once he did. And master Bradford being there prisoner also the same time, and hearing thereof, taketh his pen and ink, and writeth to him an effectual letter to persuade him from the same, and sheweth the occasion that thereby should ensue, which (God be honoured) did master Ridley no little good: for he repented his fact therein, as he himself maketh mention, writing again in the latter end of the book of Marcus Antonius, which he sent to master Bradford, and never after that polluted himself with that filthy dregs of antichristian service.<sup>2</sup>

#### A NOTE CONCERNING DR. CRANMER IN HIS DISPUTATION.

That day wherein Dr. Cranmer, late bishop of Canterbury, answered in the divinity school at Oxford, there was alleged unto him by Dr. Weston, that he (the said Cranmer) in his book of the sacrament falsely falsified the saying of the doctors, and specially the saying of St. Hilary, in these words, "vero" for "vere," showing a print or two thereof, to have defaced his doings therein: but Dr. Cranmer, with a grave and fatherly sobriety answered, that the print of St. Hilary's works, whereout he took his notes, was verbatim according to his book; and that could his books testify, if they were there to be seen: saying further, that he supposed Dr. Smith in that order rehearsed it in his book of the sacrament: to the which Dr. Smith there present (though he were demanded the answer thereof) stood in silence, as "*canis mutus non valens latrare.*" But by and by Dr. Weston without shame, to shadow Dr. Smith's silence, spitefully said to Cranmer, "Belike you took your learning out of master Dr. Smith's book."<sup>3</sup>

There chanced, at that present, to be in the school one William Holcot gentleman, then a sojourner in the University college. He, hearing the same untruth, and remembering that he had amongst his books in his study the said book of Dr. Smith, at his return to his said study desirous to see the truth therein, found it agreeable to the writing and affirmation of Dr. Cranmer. And the said Holcot, then and there better remembering himself, found amongst his books the book of Stephen Gardiner, intituled "*The Devil's Sophistry.*" In

(1) Matt. v.

(2) The proceedings connected with the degradation of archbishop Cranmer, which follow here in some Editions, will be found at p. 77 of this volume. See Appendix.—Ed.

(3) All this already is testified before.

which book was the said saying of St. Hilary alleged<sup>1</sup> by the said *Appendix.* Stephen verbatim, both in Latin and English, according to Dr. Cranmer's confirmation. Then the said William Holcot intending (for the manifest opening and trial of the truth therein) to have delivered the said Gardiner's book to Dr. Cranmer, brought it to Bocardo the prison of Oxford, where Dr. Cranmer then remained; but there, in the delivery thereof, he was apprehended by the bailiffs, and by them brought before Dr. Weston and his colleagues then at dinner at Corpus Christi college, who straightways laid treason to the charge of the said William Holcot for the maintenance of Cranmer in his naughtiness (as they called it); and so, upon strait examination to know who were privy to his doings in delivery of the said Gardiner's book, committed him to the said prison of Bocardo, where he sojourned and slept in the straw that night.

And in the morrow in the morning, Dr. Cole yet alive, then dean of Paul's, and Dr. Jeffery, two of them then visitors, further examined the said Holcot of that his doings; threatening him to lay treason to his charge, and so to send him to the trial thereof to the then lord chancellor Stephen Gardiner, willing him presently to subscribe to the articles then in question; but he refused, desiring respite until the laws of the realm had determined the same. And so was he again committed to the said prison. And after three days Dr. Weston and the residue of the visitors solemnly, in St. Mary's church, pronouncing sentence against the late bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; amongst others called there before them the said Holcot, willing him to subscribe to their three articles. He demanding them then these demands, first, whether they thought in their consciences that the articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe, were according to the Scriptures, and that the religion then they went about to plant, were the true religion of Christ: they answered all with one voice, "Yea, yea." Then asked he them whether they thought themselves able to answer, and would answer before God for him, if he subscribed thereunto as they willed him. And they likewise answered, "Yea, yea." And so he, the said Holcot, through fear and frailty of the flesh (as being a novice), upon their threats subscribed. Then they with many fair and flattering words delivered him, but would not let him have again his book brought to Bocardo, lest (as it seemed) he should show it to their shame. And they privily willed the master and the fellows of the said University college to see the said William Holcot forthcoming: and if they, within a fortnight after, did not hear from the then lord chancellor what should be done with him, that then they, at the fortnight's end, should expel him out of the said college; which they would have done, if the then vice-chancellor had not willed them to the contrary. This Holcot, though then an apostate, is yet now a penitent preacher.

(1) A fuller title of Gardiner's book is, "A Detection of the Devil's Sophistrie, wherewith he robbeth the unlearned people of the true byleef, in the most blessed Sacrament of the Aulter;" printed in Aldersgate-strete by John Hereforde, 1546. (Herbert's Typogr. Antiq. by Dibdin, vol. iii. p. 557.) The passage from Hilary may be seen, and the discussion upon it, in "The Remains of Th. Cranmer," edited by Jenkyns, (Oxford, 1833) vol. iii. pp. 249—253.—Ed.

*Appendix.*An Epistle of Bishop Hooper in Latin, sent to the Convocation-House touching Matters of Religion.<sup>1</sup>

Episcopis, decanis, archidiaconis, et cæteris cleri ordinibus in synodo Londinensi congregatis, gratiam et pacem a Domino.

Non vos latet, viri doctissimi, in rebus arduis et ambiguis et causis difficilioribus, iudicium apud veteres (juxta mandatum Dei) delatum fuisse semper ad sacerdotes, Levitas, et ad Præsidentem, qui, pro tempore, iudicis munere fungebatur; ut omnes hi causas et lites difficiliores explicarent, ex præscripto legis Dei. Ita qualescunque controversiæ fuerunt; ex sententiâ sacerdotum et Præsidis ad normam et præscriptum legis Dei latâ componebantur. Et ab eo quod iudices partibus litigantibus statuissent, nullo modo erat declinandum. Quòd si quis contumacius sacerdoti aut Præsidi non paruiisset, juxta legem Dei sententiam pronuncianti, pœnas contumaciæ morte luebat; quo populus, hâc ultione et contumaciæ vindictâ admonitus, metueret, et deinceps insolescere desisteret. Quàm difficiles, imo quàm periculosæ, inter nos et vos de re eucharisticâ lites agantur, vestræ conciones, scripta, et libelli testantur; nos vero—qui meliorem, veriorum, et antiquissimam fidem sustinemus—confiscatione omnium bonorum nostrorum, durâ et inhumanâ carceris servitute, sentimus. Quare mei ipsius nomine, ac omnium fratrum qui mecum eandem catholicæ ac sanctæ religionis veritatem profitentur, vos omnes in Christo Jesu obtestor, ut causam hanc, vel aliquam quameunque ob religionem ortam inter nos et vos, deferre dignemini ad supremam curiam parliamenti; ut ibi utraque pars coram sacro et excelso senatu sese, religiosè et animo submisso, iudicio et auctoritati verbi Dei subiciat. Et si vestram religionem, quam sanctam, orthodoxam, ac catholicam esse contenditis, ex verbo Dei asserere potestis, illam et nos libentur amplexabimur; nostram, quam modo pro sacrosanctâ defendimus, repudiantes, gratias item Deo et vobis agentes quàm maximas, quòd, per vos ab erroribus liberati, ad veritatis cognitionem revocemur. Non solum autem hoc à vobis obtestamur, ut vos vestramque causam iudicio verbi Dei coram summo parlamento deferatis; verum etiam ut nobis commodum detur tempus, quo veterum scripta et sacras literas evolvamus, à sacro senatu impetrare dignemini. Et si ibi justas ac legitimas rationes fidei nostræ non reddiderimus, iudicio magistratûs nos ipsos submittimus, ut debitam ultionem nostri sceleris et impietatis nobis infligat. Si hæc facere non recusaveritis, religio, quam castam, illibatam, et salvam, ac ab omnibus amplectendam esse contenditis, gloriosius de vestrâ fide et religione, ac de nobis ipsis (qui illam impiam esse et falsam contestamur), victoriam reportabit. Nam si vestra religio et cultus in causâ eucharistiæ fontem et originem ducunt ex verbo Dei, proculdubio sanctam et sempiternam esse oportet. Et scitis quòd res sancta et vera quo magis examinatur, et per verbum Dei exploratur, eo sit illustrior et purior; et quanto purior et illustrior fit, tanto magis ab omnibus desideratur, et obviis ulnis excipitur. Quis enim non desideraret et amplecteretur religionem et cultum à Deo mandatum. et ab illius verbo sancitum ac confirmatum? Quare si vestra religio et cultus Dei res sit adeo vera, sancta, et à Deo mundo exhibita, non est quod ei metuatis. Nam quod variis modis tentatur ac probatur, modò pium ac sanctum fuerit, jacturam ab hostibus nullam sentit, sed potius hostes conculcat ac interficit. Solis radii sterquiliniorum sordibus non coinquinantur; veritasque divini verbi errorum tenebris et caligine non offunditur. Nec est quod vobis ipsis metuatis; modo reipsâ id præstetis, quod ubique jactatis. Nam quotquot vestras partes non sequuntur, aliquo gravissimo ignominie genere nimis superbè afficitis: nos omnes omnino indoctos esse prædicatis, aut planè dementatos affirmatis. Vobis autem plusquam divinam vindictam prudentiam; nobis vero plusquam belluinam stoliditatem tribuitis. Jam quàm facile erit doctis indoctos, hominibus sanctæ mentis insaniam percitos, ingenio et prudentiâ flagrantibus stolidos et ignaros vincere, sacer parlamenti conventûs nullo negotio intelliget. Ideo, si omnino ob Christum et illius causæ gloriam quam nos defendimus, aut ob salutem nostram, ut vestrâ prudentiâ nos stultiitiæ arguamur, vestrâque doctrinâ et eruditione nos ignorantie accusemur, hoc facere non vultis; tamen, ut publicè impietatis con-

(1) This epistle is referred to Notes 1, p. 662 vol. vi.—Ed

vincamur coram summo senatu, hoc præstate. Et si istis rationibus nihil *Appendix.* moveamini; tamen vestra ipsorum causa certè postulat, ut palam eæ lites inter nos componantur, idque coram competenti iudice; ne apud omnes pios male audiat, et fortassis hæc suspicione laboret, quasi lucem et publicum examen fugiat, ne impietatis et idololatriæ per verbum Dei rea deprehendatur; et vos qui malam causam, imo pessimam, ferro et igne defenditis, non tam docti nec pii (ut omnino videri et haberi vultis) inveniamini, sed potius ignorantiae et stultitiæ, quas nobis impingitis, redarguamini. Non vos fugit quomodo publicè, palam, et in facie ac in præsentia omnium statuum hujus regni, in summâ curiâ parliamenti, veritas verbi Dei per fidos, doctos, et pios ministros de vestrà impiâ missâ gloriosè victoriam reportavit: quamvis per trecentos annos non solum locum et templum Dei occupaverit, verum etiam corda hominum (tanquam Deus) inhabitaverit. Sed quocunque titulo, nomine, honore, reverentiâ, sanctitate, tempore, patronis, universalitate splenduit, ubi per sanctissimum regem Edovardum sextum sanctissimæ memoriæ ad vivum lapidem Lydium verbi Dei examinari per proceres, heroas, ac doctos hujus regni viros erat mandatum; statim evanuit, et nihil aliud apparuit, quàm spurcissimum et immundissimum idolum sub pallio et nomine Dei impie contextum. Æqua et justa petimus, ut palam et publicè lites inter nos componantur. Si igitur vestræ causæ et vobis ipsis non diffidatis, una nobiscum apud sanctum senatum agere dignemini, ut coram illo, autoritate verbi Dei, quis nostrum vioriorem partem defenderit, dignoscatur. Nullis enim legibus sanctis et justis unquam fuit permissum, ut una pars litigans de alterâ parte iudex constitueretur. Nam in omnibus controversiis et causis difficilioribus (maximè in religione) medius aliquis, et neutra litigantium pars, in iudicem eligendus est. Nec Christus ipse (quamvis ipsa veritas, æterni Patris filius) hanc potestatem et imperium iudicandi sibi vindicavit, quandocunque lites de ejus doctrinâ inter illum et Phariseos vel quoscunque alios contigerunt; sed semper ad legem appellavit, adversariosque suos, ut legis præscripto et sententia starent, rogavit; Scrutamini (inquiens) Scripturas. Nos etiam à vobis nihil aliud in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi supplices petimus et rogamus, nisi ut causa, de quâ inter nos litigatur, sententiâ et autoritate verbi Dei decidatur ac finiatur. Et si per verbum Dei fidem nostram parum candidam et piam ostendere valetis, porrigemus vobis herbam, dabimusque dexteras. Nec in impios Arianos pii et sancti patres hanc iudicandi potestatem sibi assumpserunt; sed adfuit disputationi pius princeps Constantinus imperator, qui rationes partium litigantium diligenter perpendit, et sententiam atque iudicium causæ soli autoritati verbi Dei detulit. Quid hoc est igitur? quo jure contenditis? vultis et nostrî et causæ nostræ testes, accusatores, et iudices esse? Nos tantum legem et evangelium Dei, in causâ religionis, iudicem competentem agnoscimus; illius iudicio stet vel cadat nostra causa. Tantum (iterum atque iterum) petimus, ut coram competenti iudice detur nobis, qui vincula et carceres sustinemus, amicum christianumque auditorium: tunc haud dubitamus, quin nostras rationes et argumenta autoritate verbi divini simus stabilituri, ac vestras planè subversuri. Hactenus præjudicio injuste gravamur; nec mirum, cum una pars litigantium iudex alterius partis constituatur. Quapropter ad verbum Dei, tanquam unicum et solum competentem in causâ religionis iudicem, appellamus. Si (præter et contra hanc legem Dei) falsâ et impiâ (ut cœpistis) vi et dolo promovere non desistetis, sed fratres vestros truculenter persequendo pergetis; nos, in tantis periculis constituti, ad misericordiam Dei confugiemus, qui solus et possit et velit nos à vestris erroribus incolumes et salvos conservare. Præterea, ut olim aliqui ex nobis, pro salute et incolumitate aliquot vestrum apud magistratum civilem intercessimus; sic et nunc pro omnium vestrum salute in Christo Jesu apud Patrem cœlestem intercedere non desistemus, ut tandem ad meliorem et sincerio rem mentem reversi unicum Christum Jesum, quem præcinerunt prophætæ, prædicaverunt apostoli, quemque omnes pii agnoscunt jam (quoad humanitatem) sedentem ad dextram Patris in cœlis, amplectamini, et exosculemini; repudiato conficto et ementito illo Christo, ex pane confecto, quem non solum juvenes, virgines, et senes, verum etiam oves et boves, pecoraque campi, volucres cœli, et pisces maris, panem agnoscunt ac sentiunt, et non Deum. Desistite, rogamus igitur enixe, ulterius oculos piorum perstringere. Verus enim Christus, quatenus homo, jam amplius sursum ac deorsum per manus sacerdotum agitari et immolari non potest. Infernum vicit, peccata vestra in cruce expiavit, mortem destruxit, et jam astra tenet; quem



*Appendix.* olim videbitis venientem in nubibus cœli cum potestate magnâ et gloriâ, sempiternisque pœnis vos plangetis, nisi hic pœnitentiam falsæ et impiæ vestræ doctrinæ egeritis. Si Deus autem, pro suâ inexhaustâ bonitate et clementiâ, per verbum suum lites istas inter nos et vos componi dignetur, non dubito quin oculos vestros ita sit aperturus, ut quàm horribiliter et impiè Dei ac hominum testimonio et scriptis vos abutimini videatis. Sed si furioso et excalescenti spiritu vestras partes, citra auctoritatem verbi Dei, defendere velitis, actum est omnino de vestrâ æternâ salute: quod Dominus propter Filium suum unicum avertat! Cogitate etiam apud vos ipsos an hoc sit piorum ministrorum ecclesiæ officium, vi, metu, et pavore, corda hominum in vestras partes compellere? Profecto Christus non ignem, non gladium, non carceres, non vincula, non violentiam, non confiscationem bonorum, non reginæ majestatis terrorem, media organa constituit, quibus veritas sui verbi mundo promulgaretur: sed miti ac diligenti prædicatione evangelii sui mundum ab errore et idololatriâ converti præcepit. Vos non Christi sed antichristi armis utimini, quibus populum invitum ad vestra sacra compellitis; et non volentem et instructum verbo Dei trahitis. Sed quàm malus custos perpetuitatis sit timor, non ignoratis. Certè qui timet, nisi Dei Spiritu semper revocetur, odit. Tradite igitur saluberrima præcepta legis et evangelii populo Dei, ut pro Christi ministris per verbum Christi ab omnibus agnoscaminus. Ideo enim ministri ecclesiæ Christi estis constituti, ut tantum Christi doctrinam populum Dei doceretis, et non ut novam et à Christo alienam obtruderetis. Quæ jam vos in Ecclesiâ agitis (si coram æquo judice amicam ac christianam disputationem non recusaveritis) ex verbo Dei ostendemus—vel à lege Mosaicâ mutuata, vel per antichristum et pseudo-ministros in ecclesiam fuisse introducta, ut hoc brevi tractatu excelsæ parliamenti curiæ destinato facile constabit. Scio inter vos esse tam turgido et iniquo spiritu prædicatores, qui putant nos tantum inanem gloriæ, superbiæ, arrogantiae, et famæ nostræ, fumo duci; et ideo velle potius semper male currere, quàm admonitos de errore bene recurrere. Sed hoc Deus novit, quod tantum illius gloriam nostramque salutem in Christo quærimus, dicant adversarii quicquid velint. Meminerint autem nostri adversarii et cogitent, quanquam apud illos nec pro doctis nec piis hominibus habeamur (et haud dubie nos ipsos omnis impietatis et peccati apud Deum quotidie accusamus), tamen homines sumus ratione præditi. Et quis (nisi insanus) jacturâ et amissione omnium bonorum suorum, uxoris, liberorum, libertatis et vitæ redimeret famæ aut inanem gloriæ titulum? Profecto tanti pœnitere (ut dicitur) non emeremus. Igitur illius verbi veritatem nostris bonis omnibus ac vitæ ipsi præferimus: et si centies moriendum nobis fuerit, (Deo nos adjuvante) ad idololatriam et impium cultum Dei, quæ Dei misericordiâ hactenus reliquimus, non revertemur. Domini sumus, sive vivimus, sive morimur; ejus igitur voluntas in vobis et in nobis cum misericordiâ fiat, Amen.

Vestræ salutis in Christo studiosissimus,  
Johannes Hooperus, nuper Vigorniensis et Glocestrensis Episcopus.

#### A NOTE OF BISHOP FERRAR.

Dr. Leyson, doctor of law, a civilian, a justice of peace, the same who is mentioned before, would not suffer bishop Ferrar, when he was at the stake to be burnt, to speak his mind; and about half a year after the said Dr. Leyson died; and when he would have spoke himself, he could not.

#### The Trouble of Thomas Hitton, Martyr,

WITH HIS EXAMINATIONS, ANSWERS, CONDEMNATION, AND MARTYRDOM, ANNO 1529, THE 20TH OF FEBRUARY.

Thomas Hitton of Martham in the diocese of Norwich, an honest poor man and religious, ever fearing God from his youth, and loving his word; when persecution for the same word in the days of king

Henry the eighth grew to be somewhat hot, took his journey toward Rochester in Kent, intending to have gone to Dover, and so to have crossed the seas into France and other countries for a time, where reposing himself a while, he might be free from the heat of persecution. As he was going on his intended journey, one Thomas Swainesland, bailiff to William Warham archbishop of Canterbury, meeting him by the way, and suspecting him to be (as they called them) a heretic, caused him to be staid and brought before the said William archbishop of Canterbury, his master; who demanded of him from whence he came, and whither he intended to have gone, if he had not been intercepted? The same Thomas answered, that he came out of the diocese of Norwich, and purposed to have gone beyond the seas, if God had so permitted. Then the bishop asked him, if he had ever been beyond the seas before, and what books he had brought over. He answered, that he had been once beyond the seas before, and had brought certain books with him from thence, namely, two New Testaments, and one primer in English. The bishop asked him to whom he gave the said books. He answered, he would not declare: "for," saith he, "such is your bloody cruelty, that you would never sleep quietly till you have sucked their blood, as you mean to do mine." The bishop, seeing he could extort no more out of him, and perceiving his constant spirit and fervent zeal to the truth, commanded him to prison till further opportunity might serve for the shedding of his blood.

His first appearance before Warham archbishop of Canterbury.

Examination of Hitton.

THE SECOND APPEARANCE OF THOMAS HITTON, BEFORE WARHAM ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Within a while after, the bishop commanded the said Thomas to be brought before him again, who demanded of him how he judged and believed of the religion then in force, and of the authority of the bishop of Rome. The said Thomas answered, that the religion then used, was most abominable idolatry, and contrary to the holy word of God: "And as for the pope," quoth he, "he is Antichrist, the first-born of Satan, and hath no more power or authority than any other bishop hath in his own diocese, nor so much neither." The bishop hearing this, was in such a pelting chafe, that at that time he would talk no more with him, but returned him from whence he came, namely to Bocardo, with commandment to appear before him again upon the 13th day of the same month following, at his manor of Knoll, to answer to such articles and interrogatories as should be objected *ex officio* against him.

HIS THIRD APPEARANCE, ETC.

The said Thomas Hitton, at the day prefixed, made his personal appearance before the bishop at the place appointed; to whom the bishop ministered certain articles and interrogatories for him to answer unto, commanding him to swear to answer truly and unfeignedly unto them, and every part of them. The said Thomas Hitton refused to swear, saying, "It is against God's laws and good conscience, for any man to swear to shed his own blood, for so he should be a murderer of himself, and become guilty of his own death." But notwithstanding

His third appearance before the archbishop of Canterbury. Hitton refuseth to swear against himself.

*Appendix.* ing that he refused to swear to answer, yet he answered truly and directly to every particuler article and interrogatory propounded unto him; but so as was smally to their contentation, yet no doubt to the great glory of God, and comfort of the godly.

This done, the bishop brake off his session for that time, and commanded him to prison again, and to appear before him in the place aforesaid upon the Friday next following, to answer further as should be demanded of him, granting him liberty withal to add to, or subtract from his former answers, or else utterly to deny and revoke the same.

#### HIS FOURTH APPEARANCE, ETC.

His  
fourth ap-  
pearance  
before the  
same.

The day and time approaching, the said Thomas Hitton appeared again accordingly, and having heard his former answers and confessions distinctly by the notary read unto him, he reformed them in certain points; to some he added, from other some he subtracted, but none he denied. Then the bishop, perceiving his unmovable constancy in the truth, setting learning and reason apart, being not able to convince him by arguments and truth, nor yet to reprove the spirit which spake in him, fell to exhorting of him to have respect to his soul's health, and not so wilfully (as he termed it) to cast away himself for ever, but to repent, and abjure his errors, and in so doing, he would be good unto him, he said.

Constancy of Hit-  
ton in his  
confes-  
sion.

When the bishop with all his persuasions could do no good with him to withdraw him from the truth of God's word, then the doctors and other the assistants attempted the like: all which notwithstanding, the said Thomas Hitton would not desist nor shrink one jot from the truth, but both affirmed and confirmed his former articles and confessions to the end; inferring withal, that they sinned against the Holy Ghost, inasmuch as they knew that God's word was the truth, and that the mass and all popish religion is nothing but idolatry, lies, and open blasphemy against the majesty of God and his word, and contrary to God's word in every respect, and yet they would allow and maintain the same, contrary to their own consciences: whereat all the bench was greatly offended, and commanded him to prison again, assigning him a day to come before them again.

#### HIS FIFTH APPEARANCE, ETC.

His fifth  
appear-  
ance be-  
fore the  
same.

At the day appointed, the said Thomas Hitton appeared, to whom the bishop said, "Thomas, dost thou believe that any man either spiritual or temporal, is of sufficient authority to set forth any law or sanction of himself, the breach whereof is mortal or venial sin? To whom Thomas Hitton answered, that no man either spiritual or temporal might make any law or sanction, the breach whereof is mortal or venial sin, except the same law or sanction be drawn out of the word of God, or else grounded upon the same with a good conscience; and therefore the church cannot set forth any law, the breach whereof is mortal or venial sin, unless it be grounded upon the word of God also. But if any man, or the church of God itself, do set forth any law grounded upon the word of God and good conscience, the breach thereof to the violater is mortal and deadly sin. After all manner of ways and means attempted to draw this poor man from Christ and his

truth, the bishop, seeing that he could not prevail, determined to send him to the bishop of Rochester, and so did; who assayed by all means possible to remove him from his former professed truth. But seeing all his endeavours frustrate, and that he profited nothing, he signified the same to the archbishop, and withal both went himself unto him, and carried the poor prisoner with him thither also. *Appendix.*

In the afternoon of the same day, the said archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and divers other assistants, called the said poor man before them again, and caused all the former articles, interrogatories, and demands to be read unto him in English, to the end he should either have revoked the same, or else, recanted them altogether, using both threats and fair promises, to the performance thereof, but all in vain: for his faith was built upon the rock Christ Jesus, and therefore unable to be removed with any storms of persecution whatsoever. *The sentence of condemnation against Hatton.*

In fine, the archbishop (with mature judgment you must believe) consulting with the bishop of Rochester, and others, proceeded to his condemnation, reading the bloody sentence of death against him; and so was he, being condemned, delivered to the secular power, who carried him to the prison; and soon after he was burnt for the testimony of Jesus Christ, as you may see more at large in his story, for whose constancy in the truth, the everlasting God be praised, Amen. *His burning.*

#### A Note of a certain good man troubled in Boulogne the first year of King Edward the Sixth, for the Gospel.

The examination of me, William Hastlen, gunner, in the castle of High Boulogne, in the year of our Lord 1547, and the first year of the reign of king Edward the sixth. As I was in the church of Boulogne, called the Stals, upon the 12th of April, being Easter Tuesday, reading of a godly book, called 'The Lamentation of a Christian against the Citizens of London,' between the hours of three and four at afternoon, there came certain men to me as I stood at an altar in the church reading to myself, and asked me what good book I had; and I said, they should hear if they pleased. Then they desired me to read out that they might hear, and so did I very gladly; but I had not read long (the priests and clerks were at their Latin evensong, I reading mine English book) but there came a tipstaff for me, taking my two books from me, and commanded me to go with him; for he said I must go before the council of the town. *See Appendix*

Then went I forthwith with him; and a little without the church-door, sir John Bridges met us, and bade the tipstaff carry me to sir Leonard Beckwith, knight, to be examined; and coming before his presence, he asked me what books they were that I had at the church; and was reading of one of them openly in the church to the people. And I said, so far as I had read them they were good godly books. And he said, they were heresy. And with that he asked me how I did believe of the sacrament of the altar, whether I did not believe that to be the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bones: and I asked him whether he meant that that was in the pix or no? and he said, Yea, even that in the pix. And I said, that since I had sure knowledge of Scriptures, I did not believe it to be the body of Christ, but a bare piece of bread; nor by God's help will I ever believe it otherwise to be. Then he said, I was a heretic, and asked me what I made of the sacrament: and I said, if it were duly ministered according to Christ's institution, that then I did believe that the faithful communicants, in receiving that blessed sacrament, did receive into their inward man or soul, the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Then said he, "Dost thou not believe it to remain the very body of Christ after the words of consecration pronounced by the priest?" And I said, No. Then said he, "What dost thou make of the church?" I said, "As it is now used, it is a den of thieves, and the synagogue of Satan." "Thou heretic," said he, "there remaineth the very body



*Appendix.* of Christ." But I said, that Christ being God and Man, dwelleth not in the temples made with men's hands. Much other communication had we at that time, but this was the effect that day. Then he asked me whether I would be forthcoming till to-morrow. And I said, "Sir, if you think that I will not, you may lay me where I shall be so." Then he let me go for that night, and said, "We shall talk further with thee to-morrow; so I departed home."

And about the space of two hours after, master Huntingdon the preacher (which did much good with his preaching in Boulogne at that time) came to me, and said, that he heard me spoken of at my lord Gray's, who was then lord deputy of the town and country of Boulogne; "and I perceive," said he, "that you are in great danger of trouble, if you escape with your life: for there are some of the council marvellously bent against you." I said, "The Lord's will be done." "Well," said he, "without you feel in yourself a full purpose, by God's help, to stand earnestly to the thing that ye have spoken, you shall do more hurt than good. Wherefore," said he, "if you will go to Calais, I will send you where you shall be well used, and be out of this danger." Then I thanked master Huntingdon, saying, "I purpose by God's assistance to abide the uttermost that they can do unto me." "Well then," said he, "I can tell you you will be sent for to-morrow betimes before the whole council." "That is," said I, "the thing that I look for."

Then rose I betimes in the morning and went into the market-place, that I might spy which way the officer should come for me. I had not tarried there long, but I spied a tipstaff, and went toward him, and asked him whom he sought; and he said, "A gunner of the great ordnance in the castle of Boulogne;" and I said, "I am he:" then said he, "You must go with me to my lords:" and I said, "There-for I looked."

When I came there, I saw my lord and the whole council were assembled together in a close parlour. Doing my duty to them, my lord said to me, "It is informed me that thou hast seditiously congregated a company together in the church, and there in the time of service thou didst read unto them an heretical book, and hast not reverently used silence in the time of the divine service. What sayest thou to this?"

I said, "If it please your honour, I was in the church a good while before any service began, and nobody with me, reading to myself alone, upon a book that is agreeable to God's word, and no heresy in it that I read; and when it drew toward service time, there came men to the church, and, some of them coming to me whom I knew not, asking me what good book I had, I said it was a new book that I had not yet read over. Then they prayed me that I should read so that they might hear some part with me; and so I did, not calling, pointing, nor assembling any company to me. And the service being in Latin, that for the strangeness of the tongue, besides much superstition joined with it, was not understood of the most part of them that said or sung it, much less of them that stood by and did hear it; whereas, by the word of God, all things in the church or congregation should be done to the edifying of the people, and seeing I could have no such thing by their service; I did endeavour to edify myself, and others that were desirous of reading godly books. And because the church is so abused contrary to the word of God, being beset round about with a sort of abominable idols, before whom no man ought to kneel, nor do any manner of reverence, because the Scriptures do curse both the idol and the idol-maker, and all that do any worship or reverence unto them, or before them, for that cause I used no reverence there."

"Well," said my lord, "I would thou couldst answer to the rest, as well as thou hast done to this; but I fear me thou canst not: for it is told me that thou hast spoken against the blessed sacrament." And I said, "If it please your lordship, that did I never in all my life, nor ever will do, by the grace of God."

With that my chief accuser, sir Leonard Beekwith, knight, said to me, "Didst thou not say to me yesterday, that thou didst not believe the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration by the priest, to be the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bones, as it was born of the Virgin Mary?"

"It is true indeed that I said so; for neither do I believe it to remain Christ's body, nor ever will by the grace of God believe it so to be: for I believe that Christ with that body that was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary, did ascend up into heaven; and there (according to our belief) he sitteth on the

right hand of God the Father; and from thence that body shall come at the day of judgment to judge the quick and the dead. And yet, in the mean while, I believe, that (the sacrament duly ministered according to Christ's institution) all the faithful receivers of this sacrament, lifting up the eyes of their mind into heaven where Christ's body is, do receive in that sacrament into their soul or inward man the very body of our Saviour Jesus Christ: yea, and I believe further, that Christ concerning his divine power, or the power of his Godhead, is wheresoever two or three be gathered together in his name, that he is in the midst even amongst them; and that he is so with his faithful flock even to the world's end." Appendix.

Then they laid their heads together and had privy talk. After that two of them said to me, that it was rank heresy, that I did believe it to remain bare bread after the priest had consecrated it; and not believing it to be the very body of Christ, I was worthy to be burned. Then said I earnestly unto them, "Think you not, though I be a vile abject in your sight, and he that is most busy among you to seek my blood, but that my blood shall be required at his or their hands?"

Then had they privy talk together again, after the which my lord said unto me, "Thou hearest that they here lay heresy to thy charge, and I am a man of war, and have no skill in such high mysteries; wherefore thine accusers say, that thou must suffer here as a heretic, that all the rest of the garrison may beware by thee, that they fall not into the like heresy, and so cast away themselves." Then said I, "I appeal from this council to the council of England." Then said my lord, "I am very glad that thou hast appealed to the council of England, for there are learned men and divines that can skill of such matters: thither shalt thou be sent ere it be long."

Then was I carried to sir John Bridges' house; and having pen and ink, I was bidden to write mine articles, which were in effect those points of religion which you have heard before in my examination. Then on the morrow, being Thursday, and the 14th of April, I was brought to the prison in the town, called the Marshalsea, where I was very gently used: for a good gentleman, one master Waghan, was the keeper there at that time. But surely, when I was apprehended, I had not so much as one penny to help myself with, for we had been long unpaid. Furthermore I thought in that town of war, that there were very few or none that favoured the word of God; for I looked for no help there, but to be hated and despised of all men there: for I knew not past two or three there that had any love to the gospel till I was in prison; and then there came very many soldiers unto me that I never knew before, and gave me money, so that I had as good as three pounds given me in a small time that I was in prison. The 14th day of May toward night, I was sent into England; one master Messenger and one other man brought me to London even the same day, being Sunday at night and the 15th day of May. There was a great talk over all the city of one Dr. Smith that recanted that day. They brought me to the Marshalsea and there left me, I hearing no more of them that brought me thither: but master Huntingdon as a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, that gave me warning before of all this trouble, came from Boulogne to London, causing my articles to be seen, so that by his painful diligence to the council for me, after that I had been there little more than one month, I was discharged out of prison, and bid get me home to Boulogne, to my living again.

But surely if I had not appealed to the council of England, I had been burnt in Boulogne; for it was told me of them that knew much in that matter, that it was already determined shortly to have been accomplished, if I had not appealed: for the which deliverance I give praise to the everliving God.

Verses laid in Queen Mary's Closet upon her Desk, against her coming unto her Prayers.

O lovesome rose, most redolent,  
Of vading flowers most fresh,  
In England pleasant is thy scent,  
For now thou art peerless.

This rose which beareth such a smell,  
Doth represent our queen;  
O listen, that I may you tell  
Her colours fresh and green.

*Appendix* The love of God within her heart  
 Shall beautify her grace :  
 The fear of God on the other part,  
 Shall stablish her in place.  
 This love and fear her colours are,  
 Whereby if she be known ;  
 She may compare both nigh and far,  
 Unable to be overthrown.  
 The love of God, it will her cause  
 (Unfeigned if it be),  
 To have respect unto his laws,  
 And hate idolatry.  
 If that she have the fear of God,  
 And be thereto right bent,  
 She will do that that he her bode,  
 And not her own intent.  
 O noble queen take heed, take heed,  
 Beware of your own intent :  
 Look ere you leap ; then shall you speed :  
 Haste maketh many shent.  
 Remember Saul that noble king,  
 What shame did him befall,  
 Because that unto the Lord's bidding  
 He had no lust at all.  
 The Lord hath bid you shall love him,  
 And other gods defy :  
 Alas, take heed ! do not begin  
 To place idolatry.  
 What greater disobedience  
 Against God may be wrought,  
 Than this : to move men's conscience  
 To worship things of nought ?  
 What greater folly can you invent  
 Than such men to obey ?  
 How can you serve your own intent,  
 Not foreseeing your own decay ?  
 And whereas first ye should maintain  
 Your realm in perfect unity :  
 To rent the people's hearts in twain  
 Through false idolatry.  
 Is this the way to get you fame,  
 Is this to get you love ?  
 Is this to purchase you a name,  
 To fight with God above ?  
 Is this your care to set up mass,  
 Your subjects' souls to 'stroy ?  
 Is this your study no more to pass,  
 God's people to annoy ?  
 Is this to reign, to serve your will,  
 Good men in bonds to keep ;  
 And to exalt such as be evil,  
 And for your grace unmeet ?  
 Such as made that fond divorce,  
 Your mother to deface ;  
 Are nighest you in power and force,  
 And bounden most unto your grace.  
*See*  
*Appendix.* Well, yet take heed of "had-I-wist,"  
 Let God's word bear the bell :  
 If you will reign, learn to know Christ,  
 As David doth you tell.  
 What great presumption doth appear,  
 Thus in a week or twain ;

To work more shame than in seven  
 year  
 Can be redrest again ?  
 All is done without a law,  
 For will doth work in place :  
 And thus all men may see and know  
 The weakness of your case.  
 That miserable masking mass,  
 Which all good men do hate ;  
 Is now by you brought up again,  
 The root of all debate.  
 Your ministers that love God's word,  
 They feel this bitter rod ;  
 Who are robbed from house and goods,  
 As though there were no God.  
 And yet you would seem merciful  
 In the midst of tyranny,  
 And holy, whereas you maintain  
 Most vile idolatry.  
 For fear that thou shouldst hear the  
 truth,  
 True preachers may not speak ;  
 But on good prophets you make ruth,  
 And unkindly them entreat.  
 Him have you made lord chancellor,  
 Who did your blood most stain :  
 That he may suck the righteous blood,  
 As he was wont again.  
 Those whom our late king did love,  
 You do them most disdain ;  
 These things do manifestly prove  
 Your colours to be but vain.  
 God's word you cannot abide,  
 But as your prophets tell :  
 In this you may be well compared  
 To wicked Jezebel,  
 Who had four hundred prophets false,  
 And fifty on a rout :  
 Through whose false preaching poor  
 Eli  
 Was chased in and out.  
 God's prophets you do evil entreat,  
 Baal's priests defend your grace :  
 Thus did the Jews put Christ to death,  
 And let go Barrabas.  
 Hath God thus high exalted you,  
 And set you on a throne,  
 That you should prison and deface  
 His flock that maketh moan ?  
 The Lord which doth his flock de-  
 fend,  
 As the apple of an eye ;  
 Of this full quickly will make an end,  
 And banish cruelty.  
 Therefore my counsel pray you take,  
 And think thereof no scorn :  
 You shall find it the best counsel,  
 Ye had since you were born.  
 Put away blind affection ;  
 Let God's word be umpire,  
 To try our true religion,  
 From this evil-favoured gear.  
 Finis, quod W. M., as it is supposed.

The Instruction of King Edward the Sixth, given to Sir Anthony *Appendix.*  
St. Leger, Knight of his Privy-Chamber; being of a corrupt  
Judgment of the Eucharist, upon this saying of an ancient Doctor  
of the Catholic Church: "Dicimus eucharistiam panem vocari  
in Scripturis: Panis in quo gratiæ actæ sunt," etc.

In eucharist then there is bread, Whereto I do consent:	For he is now a spiritual meat, And spiritually we must
Then with bread are our bodies fed, But further what is meant?	That spiritual meat spiritually eat, And leave our carnal lust.
I say that Christ in flesh and blood Is there continually,	Thus by the Spirit, I spiritually Believe, say what men list:
Unto our soul a special food, Taking it spiritually.	None other transubstantiation I Believe—of the eucharist;
And this transubstantiation I Believe as I have read:	But that there is both bread and wine, Which we see with our eye:
That Christ sacramentally Is there in form of bread.	Yet Christ is there, by power divine, To those that spiritually
St. Austin saith, "the Word doth come Unto the element:	Do eat that bread and drink that cup, Esteeming it but light;
And there is made," he saith, "in sum A perfect sacrament."	As Judas did, which eat that sop, Not judging it aright.
The element doth then remain; Or else must needs ensue,	For I was taught not long ago, I should lean to the Sprite;
St. Austin's words be nothing plain, Nor cannot be found true.	And let the carnal flesh alone, For it doth not profit.
For, if the Word, as he doth say, Come to the element,	God save him that teaching me taught, For I thereby did win,
Then is not the element away, But bides there verament.	To put from me that carnal thought, That I before was in.
Yet, whoso eateth that lively food, And hath a perfect faith,	For I believe Christ corporally In heaven doth keep his place:
Receiveth Christ's flesh and blood, For Christ himself so saith.	And yet Christ sacramentally Is here with us by grace.
Not with our teeth his flesh to tear, Nor take blood for our drink.	So that in this high mystery We must eat spiritual meat,
Too great an absurdity it were, So grossly for to think.	To keep his death in memory, Lest we should it forget.
For we must eat him spiritually, If we be spiritual;	This do I say, this have I said; This saying say will I:
And whoso eats him carnally, Thereby shall have a fall.	This saying though I once denaid, I will no more to die.

This young prince became a perfect schoolmaster unto old erroneous men, so as no divine could amend him; and therefore this piece is worthy of perpetual memory to his immortal fame and glory.

When queen Mary came to her reign, a friend of master St. Leger charged him with this his pamphlet. "Well," quoth he, "content yourself: I perceive that a man may have too much of God's blessing. And even Peter began to deny Christ; such is men's frailty."

### A Letter of one John Melvyn, Prisoner in Newgate.

Christi Electis salutem.

"The Almighty Lord hath made this world for many; but the world or life to come, but for a few."<sup>1</sup>

Most certain it is, dearly beloved, that Christ's elect be but few in comparison of that great number which go in the broad way into everlasting perdition, which live after the flesh, loving this present evil world, deny God in word and deed, whose eyes are blinded, and their hearts hardened.

Pauci electi.  
Matt. xx.  
Pauci qui salva buntur,  
Luke xiii.

(1) "Hoc seculum fecit Altissimus propter multos; futurum autem propter paucos." 2 Esdr viii. 1.



*Appendix.* Most certain it is also, that our Saviour Jesus Christ hath and knoweth his own, whose names are written in the book of life, redeemed with the most precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. So that the eternal Father knoweth them that be his.

*2 Tim. ii.* The almighty and eternal God grant, that we may have the testimony of our conscience, and the Spirit of God to bear record with our spirits, that we be his elect children, walking in the Spirit, not fulfilling the lusts of the flesh, but as Christ's members, having Christ Jesus fixed before our eyes, he being to us the true way, the infallible verity, and the eternal life. Christ hath given us example; let us follow him as dear children, for God's delight is to behold his saints which be in the earth. Let us put on the whole armour of God, and walk in the light in these evil days, in the which Satan, with his angels, seeketh whom he may devour. The almighty Lord deliver us from the mouths of those unshamefaced dogs! They truly seek ours, and not us unto the Lord. Esdras saith and writeth truly, "The world is made for them, and they for the world."

*Sanctis qui sunt in terrâ, et præclaris his, toto animo delector.* Dearly bought, let us remember Christ which saith: "I have chosen you out of the world; you shall be hated of all worldly men." Did ever the covetous, idolaters, oppressors, or whoremongers, love us? Nay, they love mass-mongers, which say, "Peace, peace," when there is no peace. Nay, either they flatter the ears, or else they say nothing, as dumb dogs not able to bark,<sup>1</sup> of whom be you ware; for though they come in sheep's clothing, they be ravening wolves, whose damnation sleepeth not, from whose captivity the holy will of God save and preserve you, Amen!

*Ego vos elegi e mundo. Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo.* Dearly beloved, we having the record of our conscience, that we be very members in Christ's body, separate from that malignant antichrist's church: let us rejoice in conscience, and in the Lord, having heavenly hope in all his promises, which be eternal and most sure to us in Christ our Saviour, who loseth none of all them, whom the eternal Father hath given him,<sup>2</sup> but at his appearing to be our merciful Judge, shall raise us up at the last day; for the trumpet of God shall blow, and be heard of all Adam's posterity, sounding, "Venite ad judicium," "Come unto judgment," come and be judged. Let us therefore be prepared, having the wedding garment, yea, the whole armour of God, the marriage garment, clear lumps, that is, pure hearts, and burning heavenly light in the same. Let us prepare ourselves richly to restore to our Lord and Master our talents, with the increase of heavenly living and occupying. Then without all doubt, we shall hear that most blessed wish of our alone Saviour Jesus Christ, who shall then say, Rejoice good servants, I will make you stewards over many things: enter into the everlasting rest and kingdom, which hath been prepared for you from the beginning. This is the kingdom of Jesus Christ, which at this present is in Babylon, and banished to the desert, the troublesome waters of Satan in the antichrist and his shavelings, spewed out of Christ's mouth. The Lord be our aid, avenger, and deliverer, when his holy will is, Amen!

*Augustine.*

Dearly bought with the most precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ! that we be not deceived by the antichrist, let us ponder, weigh, mark, and study, the heavenly doctrine of our Saviour Christ in his last supper: the text is, "Benedixit, dixit bene, gratias egit;" he spake heavenly and well; he gave thanks; he took bread, brake it and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Take, eat this sacramental bread, and me the bread of life which came down from heaven, which giveth life to the world. Take true faith, heavenly hope kindled with christian charity, thanksgiving for my death. Let these heavenly virtues enter into your souls; then enter I. This is my body: this is the true eating of my body, which is given to the death of the cross, for the ransom and sins of God's elect." Likewise after supper he took the cup, he spake well, gave thanks, and gave it them, saying, "Drink ye all of this: drink, I say, by this infallible verity and everlasting word joined and annexed with this cup, my blood, which is shed from before the beginning of the world, for many, in remission of sins: he or she that thus dwelleth in me, and I in him, eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood." St. Augustine saith, "Why preparest thou thy tooth and belly? believe and thou hast eaten."<sup>3</sup> St. Bernard saith, "When

(1) Ezek. xxxiii. and xxxiv.

(2) John xvii.

(3) Quid parat dente et ventrem? crede et manducasti. [See Tractatus in Joh. xxv. § 12. tom. iii. edit. Benedict. 1680. It is remarkable that this interpretation, which we find in vol. v. p. 428 branded with the charge of heresy, should appear in the Romish "Manuale ad usum Ecclesie"]

faith, hope, christian love, and thanksgiving for Christ's death enter into a Christian, Christ entereth. And again St. Augustine saith, upon these words of Christ, "You shall always have the poor with you, but me shall ye not have always with you:" the church had him but a few days touching his humanity; now they have him by faith, with these eyes they do not see him. O Jesus Christ, thou Son of the living God, which art in the bosom of thy Father, God with God, the very image of God the Father eternal, give us victory over this antichrist in thy most precious blood. Be faithful to the end, and our Saviour shall crown us in glory; let us sanctify the name of God in thought, word and deed.

*Appendix.*  
Ecclesia  
eum pau-  
cis diebus  
habuit  
quantum  
ad huma-  
nitatem,  
modo fide  
tenet,  
oculis non  
videt.

I say unto the papist, and will not flatter,  
Our God is in heaven whom they will not see:  
And is no such little pretty matter,  
As their god the pope feigneth him to be.  
Pray for all the preachers of the verity,  
That God may give us grace and constancy.  
They sing and say, they have him in a string:  
Tie not the dog so, for fear of hanging.  
To all the faithful, whose names in general,  
In the book of life, by Christ are written all;  
The godly thought and patient mind,  
Doth liberty in prison find.  
Whoso to patience can attain,  
Shall find in prison is no pain.  
Thrall, trouble, bound or free,  
As pleaseth God, so shall all be.  
Wherefore I never will forsake  
What pleaseth God lay on my back.

John Melvyn, preacher, and prisoner in Newgate.

#### A NOTE CONCERNING THE TROUBLE OF JULINS PALMER, LATELY COME TO MY HANDS.

To his assured Friend and Brother in Christ, Master Perry, Preacher  
at Beverstone.

Master Perry, after my hearty commendations in the Lord Jesus Christ unto you and your wife, etc. Whereas you have written unto me for my help in stopping the malicious and envious mouth of Thomas Thackam, I would be as glad as any man to testify the truth, both for that I know of the shameless malice of the said party against the members of Christ, as also the godly and virtuous behaviour of Palmer, both before he was in prison, and after in prison, with the credit of that good and godly work of that history: but surely many things are out of my head, which I cannot as yet remember. And for those things I know, I write unto you. And first, as touching the friendship showed unto the lady Vane, and his zeal therein uttered, truth it is that he received her into his house for money for a small space, in the which time they two did not well agree, for that she could not suffer his wickedness of words and gestures unreprieved, but that his wife many times, being of more honesty, made the matter well again: but to be short, such was his friendship in the end towards that good lady, being out of his house, that she feared no man more for her life than him. And I being her man, she gave me great charge always to beware of him. As touching his friendship towards John Bolton in prison, I am sure he never found any, as they that used to visit him can somewhat say: except you account this friendship, that he, being bereft of his senses, Thackam wrought him to yield unto the papists, and as a right member of them became his surety, that he should be obedient unto them. And he, being burdened in conscience therewith, fled away unto Geneva: for the which flying Thackam had nothing

Sarisburyensis," (Londini, 1554, fol. xcvi.; or fol. cx. verso edit. Antverpiæ, 1542) where the following provision under certain circumstances is made: "Frater in hoc casu sufficit tibi vera fides et bona voluntas; tantum crede et manducasti."—Ed.]

*Appendix.* said unto him, which sheweth that he was their instrument. And this friendship to John Bolton : for Downer, I have heard no evil of him : for Gately, and Radley now vicar of St. Lawrence, and Bowyer a tanner, they three left no means unpractised to catch and persecute the members of Christ, as I myself can well prove.

As touching Palmer, for that I many times frequented his company in his lodging, he would utter sometimes unto me the grief of his mind. Among other things once he told me, that for that he heard he was somewhat suspected with the woman of the house, he was much grieved withal, the which he uttered with many tears, I then counselling him to depart thence to avoid the occasion of offence, he said No, but the Lord should try him ere it were long : for, said he, Thackam hath let me his school, and now would have it again, and because I will not let him have it, this he hath brought upon me ; but God forgive him ! Afterward, being in prison, I talking with him at the grate, he showed me his judgment of the Scriptures, and delivered it unto me : what became of it, I know not now. He praised God highly for his estate, and then he said, he trusted it would appear whether Thackam had said of him well or not. And further he said, that now Thackam hath his will to have his school again : for if I would have yielded up the school, he would have sent me away. I never trusted him so well, said he, to communicate my mind unto him before witness, but sometimes alone ; and therefore he hath devised a letter in my name, and brought it to light, to cause me to be examined of my conscience. This is as much as I can say at this time. Thus fare you well in the Lord, Amen.—From Corsley, this 18th of May.

Yours to command in Christ, John Moyer, Minister.  
Have me commended, I pray you, to all my friends at Reading.

#### ANOTHER NOTE OF JULIUS PALMER.

Also being at Magdalen college about a month before he was burned, and reasoning against one Barwick, master of arts, sometime his familiar friend and old acquaintance in the said college ; after much talk Barwick said unto him, “ Well, Palmer, now thou talkest boldly and stoutly at thy pleasure ; if thou wert brought to a stake, thou wouldst tell me another tale. Take heed, it is a hard matter to burn.” Hereunto Palmer answered, “ Indeed it is a hard matter for him to burn, that hath his soul linked to his body, as a thief’s foot is tied in a pair of fetters. But if a man be once able, through God’s help, to separate and divide the soul from the body, for him it is no harder thing to burn, than for me to eat this crumb of bread.

*See  
Appendix*

A true Copy of the Confession of Patrick Patingham, sent out of Newgate to certain of his Friends.

I Patrick Patingham, being condemned for the verity of God’s truth, that is to say, in confessing of one God, which was the Creator of all things visible and invisible, and also that he made those by his Son, whom he hath made heir of all things. And also I confess, that he is the only-begotten Son of God, in whom we have redemption, even the forgiveness of sins. And also in confessing God’s most holy church, being builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus being the head corner-stone. In whom, saith St. Paul, every building coupled together groweth to a holy temple in the Lord, in whom I believe I am builded together as a member, and made a habitation for God in the Spirit. And also I confess, that Christ is the head of the holy church, as St. Paul saith, and that God is Christ’s head.

And also I had ten articles, that is to say, against their wicked traditions and commandments which they use, which are against the commandments of God, whereof they did condemn me, not suffering me to speak in the consistory-house, but condemning me, my cause not heard. But yet I did protest unto them, that their church or synagogue is of Satan, that is to say, Satan being the head

thereof. Furthermore, my friend or friends unknown, I have received your *Appendix* letter, and read it over, wherein you say, that I am in a blasphemous error. Indeed, friends, I confess, that it is an error: if you will make my belief, that is to say, that Christ is the Son of the living God to be an error, and to believe that there is one God, as St. Paul saith, and one Mediator betwixt God and man, even the Man Christ Jesus. And although there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be gods many, and lords many, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him. I believe that there is but one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God in all, and above all, and through all; which only God, as St. Paul saith, worketh in all creatures that believe in him; and speaketh in them, as St. Paul saith, "God in times past diversely, and many ways, spake unto the fathers by prophets, but in these last days he spake unto us by his Son, whom he hath made heir of all things." My friend or friends, be it known unto you, that this is no error, as ye suppose, but it is the truth of God's will, that we should believe, as St. John saith, that Christ Jesus is the Son of the living God; and in so believing, we should have everlasting life. Thus with love I write unto you, praying God night and day to deliver you from evil which is in you, and to keep you from it. Wherefore, my friend or friends, you are not crucified with Christ, you are not dead with him as concerning sin, you are not grafted with him in baptism, nor do you know God, or his Son whom he hath sent, or his commandments which he hath commanded; and yet will ye teach others. With most hearty prayer praying to God for you continually;

Patrick Patingham.

### A certain Letter of William Tymes.

Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, through the mercies of his dear Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and only Saviour, with the comfort of his Holy Spirit, that as you have full godly begun, even so you may continue to the end to the glory of God, and your everlasting comfort, which thing to do I pray God to give you grace, who is the giver of all good and perfect gifts, to the glory of his holy name. Amen.

My dear sisters, after most hearty commendations unto you, and also most hearty thanking unto you for all the great kindness that you have always showed unto me most unworthy of the same: I certify you that I am very glad to hear of your good health, which I pray God long to continue to his glory. And especially I do much rejoice in your most godly constancy in the gospel of Christ, which is the power of God unto salvation, unto so many as believe it. Therefore, my dear hearts, go forward as you have godly begun: for the time will come that these cruel tyrants, which now so cruelly persecute the true members of Christ, shall say for very anguish of mind, "These are they, whom we sometime had in derision, and jested upon. We fools thought their life to have been very madness, and their end to have been without honour: but lo, how they are counted among the children of God, and their portion is amongst the saints. Therefore we have erred from the way of truth. The light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the Sun of understanding rose not upon us. We have wearied ourselves in the way of wickedness and destruction. Tedious ways have we gone, but as for the way of the Lord we have not known it. What good hath our pride done unto us? or what profit hath the pomp of riches brought us? All these things have passed away as a shadow, or as a messenger running before: as a ship that passeth over the waves of the water, which when it is gone, by the trace thereof cannot be found, neither the path in the floods, etc. For as soon as we were born, we began inordinately to draw to our end, and have showed no token of virtue, but are consumed in our own wickedness"<sup>1</sup> Such words shall they that thus have sinned, speak in the hell. "But the righteous shall live for evermore; their reward is also with the Lord, and remembrance with the Highest: therefore shall they receive a glorious kingdom, and a beautiful crown at the Lord's hands; for with his right hand shall he cover them, and with his holy arm shall he defend them," etc.<sup>2</sup> "The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and the pains of death shall not touch them; but in the sight of the unwise they appear to die, and their end is taken for

(1) *Wisd. v.*

(2) *Ibid.*



*appendix.* very destruction, but they are in rest. And though they suffer pain before men, yet is their hope full of immortality. They are punished but in few things, nevertheless in many things shall they be well rewarded; for God proveth them, and findeth them meet for himself: yea, as the gold in the furnace doth he try them, and receiveth them as a burnt-offering; and when the time cometh, they shall be looked upon, the righteous shall shine as the sparks that run through the red bush; they shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever. They that put their trust in him shall understand the truth, and such as be faithful will agree unto him in love."<sup>1</sup> "And he shall be a pillar in the temple of God, and shall no more go out, and there shall be written upon him the name of God. And they shall lie under the altar (which is Christ) crying with a loud voice, saying: How long tarriest thou, Lord! holy and true! to judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And they shall have long white garments given unto them, and it shall be said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, till the number of their fellows and brethren of them that should be killed as they were, were fulfilled."<sup>2</sup> For, as St. John saith, they are worthy that thus overcome, to be clothed in white array, and their names shall not be put out of the Book of Life, but shall be separated from the goats, and set on Christ's right hand, hearing his sweet and comfortable voice, when he shall say, "Come ye blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world." And the very ready way to obtain the same, is, as our Master Christ saith, to forsake ourselves, taking up our cross, following our Master Christ, which for the joy that was set before him abode the cross, and despised the shame, and is set down on the throne, at the right hand of God.<sup>3</sup> Therefore let us follow his example in suffering for his word, seeing that he, of his merciful goodness, suffered so much for us when we were his enemies: for it was our sin that killed Christ, and he by his death hath made us alive. Therefore with joy (seeing all these his merciful benefits purchased for us only by his death and blood-shedding) let us with boldness confess his holy word before this wicked generation, even to death, when we be called thereto; and so be well assured, that our lives be not in the hands of men, but in God's hands. Therefore, my dear sisters, as you have godly begun, so go forward even through many tribulations, even into the everlasting kingdom of heaven. To the which, God the Father of all mercy, for his dear Son Christ's sake, bring both you and all yours, Amen.

Yours to command, to my poor power,

William Tyms.

Continue in prayer, ask in faith, and obtain your desire: praying for you, as I know that you do for me.<sup>4</sup>

#### A NOTE OF WILLIAM GIE.

One William Gie, servant with master Revet, merchant, bought a Bible and Service-book of Richard Waterson, who then dwelt with master Duixile in Paul's churchyard, and one Spilman bound the book: and when the said Gie had inquired for the said Richard to have his book at Duixile's, answer was made that he was not within; and so the said Gie went his way to Spilman's for the book; and because he found it not done, he left it there, and immediately search was made in Spilman's house, and the said Bible and Service-book was found and carried to Bonner then bishop of London. He having the books, commanded Spilman for the binding thereof to Lollards' Tower; and as Cluney went for the key thereof Spilman conveyed himself away. After that, Waterson and Gie being apprehended by Robin Calic, John Hill, and John Auales, and being two days in the Counter, were brought before Bonner and other commissioners. Being examined, Dr. Story demanded of Gie, wherefore he bought

(1) Wisd. iv.

(2) Rev. vi.

(3) Heb. xii.

(4) The Second Sermon of Latimer, introduced here in some Editions, will be found in vol. vii of this Edition, page 439.—Ed.

the Bible? He answered, "To serve God withal." Then said *Appendix.* Bonner, "Our Lady Matins would serve a christian man to serve God." "The Bible," said Story, "would breed heresies; a bible-babble were more fit for thee." So they concluded that either of them should have forty stripes lacking one; and Bonner said, it was the law. And they said to Waterson, if he would pay forty pounds, he should be released of his stripes. At length they came to ten pounds; and when they saw he would not, they made a warrant to master Grafton, and sent Waterson and Gie to Bridewell, to be beaten upon the cross. And because the matter should not be slightly handled, Story was sent with them to see it done. Gie being whipped upon the cross, intercession was made, that he might be forgiven part of his penance.

#### A NOTE OF MICHAEL'S WIFE.

Michael's wife aforementioned, being prisoner in Ipswich for religion, resorted daily from the prison to her husband's house, and returned again, keeping faith and promise. And her husband thereat being fearful, she would comfort him, saying, She came not to trouble him, neither should he sustain trouble by her. Wherefore she would will him to be of good cheer, for her coming was of good will to see him and her children, and not to bring them into trouble, but to show her duty therein, while she might have liberty. *See Appendix.*

#### A NOTE OF JOHN SPICER.

In queen Mary's time, there was one John Spicer, of whom mention is made before, he being at the stake, ready to give his life for the truth, a bag of gunpowder was brought him by his son. And another standing by (one named master Beckingham), took the gunpowder of his son, and put it under the girdle of the said Spicer, and exhorted him to be strong in the Lord; also divers of the sheriff's servants comforted him in like manner, and desired him not to faint. Unto whom Spicer answered, "Doubt you not of me," saith he, "my soul is quiet: but be ye strong and stand fast in the Lord Jesus, and commit yourselves to him in the confession of his holy name, and profession of his truth."

#### A NOTE OF MANDREL.

Mandrel, standing at the stake, as is mentioned before, Dr. Jeffery the chancellor spake to him, wishing him to yield to the doctors, who many hundred years had taught otherwise than he doth believe, etc. To whom Mandrel answered, "Master chancellor," said he, "trouble me with none of your doctors, whatsoever they say; but bring me the book of God, the Old Testament and the New, and I will answer you." "What sayest thou, Mandrel," quod he, "by the saints in the church, the image of our Lady, of the crucifix, and other holy saints? be they not necessary?" etc. "Yes, master chancellor," said he, "very necessary to roast a shoulder of mutton." Then Dr. Billing, a friar once, standing by, said: "Master chancellor,"

*Appendix.* quod he, "hear how these heretics speak against the crucifix, and the holy cross; and yet the holy cross is mentioned in all the tongues, both Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. For in Latin it is called 'T', in Greek 'Tau,'" etc. Whereupon one Thomas Gilford, a merchant of Poole, standing by, said: "Ah merciful Lord," said he, "is not this a marvellous matter, for a poor man thus to be charged, and put to the pains of fire, for 'T Tau?'"

When Mandrel and Spicer were examined before the chancellor, the chancellor called them, saying, "Come on, come on," saith he; "thou Spicer art to blame, for thou hast taught Mandrel these heresies. Thou art by thy occupation a bricklayer." "Yea, that I am." "And can sing in the quier." "Yea, that I can," saith he. "And can play on the organs." "True," saith he. "Well then," said the chancellor, "and thou hast marred this poor man, and hast taught him all these heresies." "No, master chancellor," quod he, "I have not taught him, but I have read to him. He is able, thanks be to God, to teach both you and me."

*See  
Appendix.*

#### A NOTE OF ELIZABETH PEPPER.

Elizabeth Pepper before mentioned, when she was burnt at Stratford, was eleven weeks gone with child, as she then testified to one Bosom's wife, who then unloosed her neckerchief: and moreover, when she was asked why she did not tell them, answered, "Why," quod she, "they know it well enough." Oh, such is the bloody hearts of this cruel generation, that no occasion can stay them from their mischievous murdering of the saints of the Lord, that truly profess Christ crucified only and alone, for the satisfaction of their sins.

#### A NOTE OF ONE CONFESSING GOD'S TRUTH AT THE GALLOWS.

A notorious felon, one Dick Adams, being upon the gallows, making his confession, and ready to be cast down from the ladder, was desired at that instant by one mistress Harris, the grammar-schoolmaster's wife, to remember the blessed sacrament before he died; to whom the said Adams said, "Marry mistress, never in better time;" who went up to the top of the ladder, and said it was the most abominable idol that ever was, and willed all men to take it so; "for we have been greatly deceived thereby." Whereupon the sheriff caused him to hold his peace, and to take his death patiently. He went down to his place, and was cast from the ladder, speaking to his last word, that it was an abominable idol: his body, therefore, was buried out of the churchyard by the highway; who although he was a thief in his life, yet he earnestly repented thereof, so that I doubt not but he died the child of God, and not unworthy to be put in the register of the Lord's accepted confessors.

#### A NOTE OF GERTRUDE CROCKHAY.

In the late days of queen Mary, among other strange dealings of the papists with the faithful, this is not with the rest to be forgotten, that a godly matron named Gertrude Crockhay, the wife of master

Robert Crockhay, dwelling then at St. Katherine's by the Tower of London, abstained herself from the popish church. And she being in her husband's house, it happened in anno 1556 that the foolish popish St. Nicholas went about the parish; which she understanding shut her doors against him, and would not suffer him to come within her house. Then Dr. Mallet hearing thereof (and being then master of the said St. Katherine's), next day came to her with twenty at his tail, thinking belike to fray her; and asked why she would not the night before let in St. Nicholas, and receive his blessing, etc. To whom she answered thus: "Sir, I know no St. Nicholas," said she, "that came hither." "Yes," quod Mallet, "here was one that represented St. Nicholas." "Indeed, sir," said she, "here was one that is my neighbour's child, but not St. Nicholas: for St. Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him to have had my purse cut by them, for I have heard of men robbed by St. Nicholas's clerks," etc. So Mallet, perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and she for that time so escaped.

Then, in anno 1557, a little before Whitsuntide, it happened that the said Gertrude answered for a child that was baptized of one Thomas Saunders, which child was christened secretly in a house, after the order of the Service-book in king Edward's time; and that being shortly known to her enemies, she was sought for, who understanding nothing thereof went beyond the sea into Gelderland, to see certain lands that should have come to her children in the right of her first husband, who was a stranger born. And being there about a quarter of a year, at the length coming homeward by Antwerp, she chanced to meet with one John Johnson, a Dutchman, alias John de Wille of Antwerp, shipper, who, seeing her there, went of malice to the margrave, and accused her to be an Anabaptist; whereby she was taken and carried to prison. The cause why this naughty man did thus, was for that he claimed of master Crockhay her husband a piece of money, which was not his due, for a ship, that the said master Crockhay bought of him; and for that he could not get it, he wrought this displeasure. Well, she being in prison, lay there a fortnight; in which time she saw some that were prisoners there, who privily were drowned in Rhenish wine-fats, and after secretly put in sacks, and cast into the river. Now she, good woman, thinking to be so served, took thereby such fear, that it brought the beginning of her sickness, of the which at length she died.

Then at the last she was called before the margrave, and charged with anabaptistry; which she there utterly denied, and detested the error, declaring before him in Dutch her faith boldly, without any fear. So the margrave hearing the same, in the end being well pleased with her profession, at the suit of some of her friends delivered her out of prison, but took away her book; and so she came over into England again. And being at home in her husband's house, he thinking to find means to get her to go abroad, made one Vicars, a yeoman of the Tower, his friend, who was great with Bonner, to work that liberty for her. Now this Vicars making means to Bonner for the same, Bonner put the matter over to Darbishire his chancellor, who enjoined her to give certain money to poor folks, and



*Appendix.* to go on the Wednesday and Sunday after to church to evensong ; which she so did, and afterward had such trouble in her conscience thereby, that she thought verily God had cast her off, and that she should be damned, and never be saved.

So, not long after this, it happened that master Rough, of whom mention is made before, came to her house, unto whom she made moan of her unquietness for going to church, and desired his counsel what she might do, that should best please God, and ease her troubled soul, etc. Unto whom master Rough replied many comfortable sentences of Scripture to comfort her ; and, in the end, gave her counsel to go to the christian congregation, which secretly the persecuted had, and confess her fault unto them, and so to be received into their fellowship again ; who, hearing that, was glad, and intended so to do ; and so would have done, if sore sickness had not immediately prevented the same. But when Dr. Mallet heard by one Robert Hemmings, woodmonger, that she lay very sick indeed, which Hemmings was her great enemy, he came to her twice, to persuade her to recant, and to receive (as the papists term it) the rites of the church. Unto whom she answered, she could not, nor would, for that she was subject to vomit ; and therefore he would not (she was sure, she said) have her to cast up their god again ; as she should do, if she did receive it. And so immediately vomited in deed. Wherefore he, seeing that, went from her into the hall to her daughter named Clare Sacke, and told her, if her mother would not receive, she should not be buried in christian burial, as he termed it. Then Clare went and told her sick mother what he said unto her ; who, hearing the same, spake these words following : " Oh," said she, " how happy am I, that I shall not rise with them, but against them. Well," quod she, " the earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is ; and therefore I commit the matter to him." &c.

Shortly hereupon, that is, the 27th day of March 1558, the said Dr. Mallet came again to her with one Dr. West, queen Mary's chaplain. And coming in, he saluted her, and told her that he had brought her a good learned man to persuade her, who was one of the queen's chaplains, etc. and therefore he desired her to hear and believe him in that he should say, etc. Then Dr. West exhorted her to receive their sacrament, and to be annealed, for he said, she was strong enough for it, etc. Unto whom she answered, that she was able and strong enough to receive it indeed ; but she would not, for that it was abominable, etc. Then said West, " Ye be in an ill mind ; do ye think to die a christian woman ? " " Yea," said she, " that I do." " I pray you," said West, " how came you first into that opinion ? " " Marry," said she, " there is he that first taught it me," meaning Dr. Mallet, " at the marriage of my brother and his sister, where I heard him earnestly preach this doctrine, which I now do hold. And if God shall lay our sins to our charge, if we repent not, much more damnable is his offence, being once a public preacher of the same, and now to turn from it."

Then Mallet told her he was then deceived by little new-fangled two-penny books, " as you be now," said he ; " but now I am otherwise persuaded, as I would have you, and to receive the sacrament, which if you would, you should. I warrant you, be saved, my soul for

yours." At those words she earnestly desired them to be content : *Appendix.* "for," saith she, "ye be come to rob and to draw me from my Christ, which, I tell you truth, you shall not do ; for I will never consent to you while I live." When West heard her say so, he drew his stool nigher to hear her speak, and being drunken, he fell down, whereby Mallet was fain to help him up again ; and so immediately after they departed thence. And the 13th day of April next after that, she died constantly in the Lord, and yielded her soul and life into his holy hands, with these words : " O Lord, into thy hands receive my soul !" and so immediately gave up her life unto the Lord, to whom be praise for ever, Amen.

While she was beyond sea, as it is said before, master Crockhay her husband, by the procurement of Dr. Mallet, was cited to come before master Hussey the commissary, who (had it not been for that he made means unto the said Hussey before), would have sent him to prison, and bound him in recognizance to seek her out. But he more easily escaped their hands by friendship, as before I have said.

Now, when Dr. Mallet heard of her death, master Crockhay, and one Robert Hemmings, bailiff of St. Katherine's, being before him for the burying of her, he said plainly, she should be buried nigh to some highway, and a mark set up, in token that a heretic was buried there. Then the said Hemmings told him, the hogs would scrape her up, which were not decent, nor best ; and master Crockhay entreated she might be buried in his garden ; which at length he granted, and willed the said Hemmings to see it done, and that he should be sure he buried her there indeed.

After, when the corpse was brought to the said garden, the said Robert Hemmings the bailiff would needs see it opened : which when the cover was taken off, the wife of the said Hemmings put her hand within the sheet, and felt the hair of the said dead corpse, saying, " Now will I justify that she is here ;" and so she did, telling Mallet that those her hands did feel her. This is the effect of this story.

Now, since the coming in of queen Elizabeth, the said Dr. Mallet came to the said master Crockhay, and asked him forgiveness, alleging this verse of the poet :

" Amantium ira amoris integratio est."

The Lord give him repentance and grace to seek perfect friendship with him, if it be his blessed will, Amen.

### A Note of William Wood.

According as I have sent unto you the true record of my examination before the doctors above mentioned, so I thought it not inconvenient to send you likewise certain notes of my other two deliverances in queen Mary's time ; and this I do not (as God knoweth) to get any praise to myself, or to reproach any other, but that God may be glorified in his works, and that our brethren may know, that though there be many times but little help on earth, yet that there is more in heaven.

The notable deliverance of William Wood.

About a month after my examination, one Apleby and his wife (that were persecuted from Maidstone in Kent) came to my house in Stroud, and desired me that he might have a place in my house for him and his wife for a time, because persecution was so hot, that he could no longer stay there ; and I, at his instance, let him have a place with me. But, within a fortnight after, the papists espied him, and complained of him to the bishop of Rochester ; and the

*Appendix.* bishop sent his chief man, called Ralph Crowch, and he carried him to Rochester, before the bishop. And the said Apleby stood in the defence of the truth boldly, and the bishop sent both him and his wife to the jail of Maidstone, and there they were burnt for the testimony of the gospel of God.

And the Friday fortnight after, I was in the market at Rochester talking with another man, and the said Ralph Crowch was sent for me; and he coming within a stone's cast of me where I was talking with my neighbour George Smally, one William Stanley a papist, dwelling also in Stroud, met with the said Crowch, and they two talked together a while, and I doubted that they talked of me, because many times in their talk they looked on me; and then the said Ralph Crowch went over the street to another officer or constable which knew not me, and sent the said constable for me, and coming for me, knowing my neighbour George Smally, took him instead of me, and carried him to the bishop. And when he came before him, the bishop said to the officers, "This is not the knave; this is not the knave." And the bishop checked the mayor and his officers, and said that they mocked him, because he carried the other man for me: such was the mighty providence of God to defend me. And the mayor the same night sent forty bills, and men with other weapons to beset my house, to take me; but the Lord kept me from them, and delivered me out of their hands; to him be glory there-for, Amen.

The third time that the Lord delivered me, was on Easter day next after. I had been at London all the Lent; and on Easter even at night, I came home to Stroud to my wife; and a child of three years old told one of the neighbours, that her father was come home. And on Easter day, after their popish even-song was done, came master Reade, Thomas Crowch (brother to the above said Ralph Crowch), William Stanley, Thomas Bets, Lionel Newman, and Roger Braunch, with threescore people or thereabouts, and searched my house very straitly for me: but, as God's providence was, there was malt a-drying upon the kiln; and they searched so narrowly for me, that I was glad to heave up a corner of the hair whereon the malt lay, and went into the kiln hole, and there stood till they were gone, and so I escaped from them. But within an hour after, there came a woman to my wife to borrow a brush, and spied me through the keyhole of the door; and there she carrying tidings abroad, immediately came a great company of men and beset my house round about; and I said to my wife, "You see that these four men seek for my life, that is, master Reade, Thomas Crowch, William Stanley, and Thomas Bets: for I do think that none of the rest will lay hands on me; and therefore I pray thee, wife, follow these four men, and talk loud to them that I may hear, and so escape; and if they search on the back side, I may avoid on the street side. And be of good comfort, for our lives are in God's hand, and though there be little help here on earth, yet there is help enough from heaven." And when these men were searching on the back side, I went into the street, among (as I guess) a hundred people, and none of them laid hands on me, neither said they any thing to me; so I went out of the town, and lay there at an honest man's house at the parish of Cobham that night.

And at the same time also two of my neighbours, honest men and of good wealth, the one called John Pemmet, a fisherman, the other named John Baily a glover, because they came not to their popish church, to buy some of their idolatrous wares, were complained of to the justices, who did bind them to answer for their faith before the judges at the assizes which were holden at Midsummer after (as I remember), at Rochester in the Palace-yard; and there was at that time a sail-cloth of a ship tied to the top of the bishop's palace-wall, to keep away the sun from the judges, because it was hot, and the wind blew and shook the sail, so that when these two men were called to be examined, and when they should have answered, there fell from the top of the wall three or four great stones upon the judges' necks, so that some of them which sat on the bench were sore hurt and maimed, so that they arose suddenly all amazed, and departed, and the two men were delivered.—From Tuddenham in Suffolk, the 25th day of July, 1583.

Per me Gulielmum Wood, Vicarium de Tuddenham.

**The Story of John Alcocke.**

This John Alcocke, or Aucocke, of whom mention is made before, was a very faithful honest man, by his occupation a woad-setter, singularly well learned in the holy Scriptures, and in all his conversation a just and righteous man, that feared God, and studied to do indeed that thing that he had learned in the Scriptures. Now, after that sir Richard Yeoman was driven away, and the people on Sundays and other days came to the church, and had no man to teach them any thing: for as yet parson Newel was not come to Hadley<sup>1</sup> to dwell, nor had gotten any curate—besides that, the laws made by king Edward were in force, and the Latin mumblings not yet received everywhere—John Alcocke therefore took the \*Litanie\* book used by king Edward, exhorting the people to pray with him, and so read certain prayers in English before them. And moreover, he gave them godly lessons and exhortations out of chapters that he read unto them. For this the bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner) sent for him, and cast him into Newgate at London; where after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish religion, he was cast into the lower dungeon, where, with evil keeping and sickness of the house, he died in prison. Thus died he a martyr of Christ's verity, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed, and received the garland of a well-foughten battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill; for the papists would in all things be like themselves. Therefore would they not so much as suffer the dead bodies to have honest and convenient sepulture.

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Appendix.*

He wrote two epistles to Hadley, which follow here.

**The First Epistle of John Alcocke.**

Grace be with you, and peace from the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, which gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God our Father, to whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.<sup>2</sup>

O my brethren of Hadley! why are you so soon turned from them which called you in the grace of Christ, unto another doctrine? which is nothing else but that there be some which trouble you, and intend to pervert the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, though these should come unto you that have been your true preachers, and preach another way of salvation, than by Jesus Christ's death and passion, hold them accursed.<sup>3</sup> Yea, if it were an angel come from heaven, and would tell you that the sacrifice of Christ's body upon the cross once for all ever, for all the sins of all those which shall be saved, were not sufficient; accursed be he.<sup>4</sup> If he were an angel, or whatsoever he were, that would say that our service in English were not God's right service, but will better allow the most wicked mumming that you now have: those, whatsoever they be, except they do repent and allow the gospel of Jesus Christ, they shall never come into that kingdom, that Christ hath prepared for those that be his. Wherefore, my dearly beloved brethren of Hadley, remember you well what you have been taught heretofore, of the Lord God's true and simple prophets, that only did wish your health and consolation.

*Christ's  
sacrifice**Church  
service.**True pro-  
phets.*

Do not, my good brethren, I pray you, forget the comfortable word of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, "Come unto me, all you that are troubled and

(1) Hadleigh in Suffolk.—Ed.

(2) Rom. i.

(3) Gal. i.

(4) Ibid.



*Appendix.* laden with the dangers that ye are in these stormy days, and hear my words, and believe them; and you shall see the unspeakable comfort that you shall receive."<sup>1</sup> "The Lord is my shepherd," saith the prophet David, "so that I can want nothing. He feedeth his sheep in green pastures, and leadeth them unto clear and wholesome waters of comfort."<sup>2</sup> "I am that good Shepherd," saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, "for I give my life for my sheep; and I know my sheep, and my sheep know me. But my sheep will not know an hireling: for he careth not but only for his god the belly, and so seeketh the destruction of their souls."<sup>3</sup> Therefore beware of hirelings, you that count yourselves the sheep of Jesus Christ. Be sure that ye know his voice and obey it; and be not deceived through strange voices, but go from them, and earnestly abide by your profession that you have made in your baptism, and shrink not from it: for if you do, you shall declare yourselves to be a vain people, and without understanding. And for this cause doth God plague his people, and suffereth them to be deceived with false prophets and wicked men. I pray you note what the prophet Isaiah saith to the people of those days, because they were slipping from the Lord their God, which had done so marvellous works for them, as you well do know in the histories of the Bible: "Hear, O heaven," saith he, "and hearken thou earth, for the Lord hath spoken: I have nourished and brought up children, but they have done wickedly against me. The ox hath known his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel hath received no knowledge, my people hath no understanding. Alas! for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity, a froward generation, unnatural children. They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked his wrath, and are gone backward."<sup>4</sup> Hearken also what the prophet Jeremiah saith: "Be astonished, ye heavens; be afraid and ashamed at such a thing, saith the Lord, for my people hath done two evils: they have forsaken me, the well of the waters of life, and digged them broken pits, that can hold no water. Is Israel a bond-servant, or one of the household of the Lord? Why then is he so spoiled? Why then do they roar and cry upon him as a lion?"<sup>5</sup> Understand those things now, in these days that the prophet spake of them. O my brethren of Hadley! why cometh this plague upon us, that we have now, in these days and other times? Hearken what the prophet saith, "Cometh not this upon thee because thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God? Thine own wickedness shall reprove thee, and thy turning away shall condemn thee, that thou mayest know and understand how evil and hurtful a thing it is, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and not feared him, saith the Lord of hosts, the Holy One of Israel;"<sup>6</sup> that is to say, he that maketh Israel holy. And understand by Israel the children of God; and those things that were spoken to the carnal Israel, are spoken unto us, that are or should be the spiritual Israel. Grace be with you all, Amen.

Yours, John Alcocke,

Prisoner for God's word in Newgate, at London.

### The Second Epistle of John Alcocke.

My brethren of Hadley, note well what St. Paul said, in the 10th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians: "Brethren, I would you should not be ignorant of this, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were baptized under Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did eat one spiritual meat, and drank of one spiritual drink. They drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, which rock was Christ: nevertheless in many of them had God no delight, for they were over-smitten in the wilderness. These are examples unto us, that we should not lust after evil things as they lusted;" that is to say, we should stand forth to defend the verity of God, which we would do right well, alas, were it not for loss of goods: we do so much lust after them, that we will rather say there is no God, than we will profess his word to be truth, to the losing of our goods. And our Saviour Christ saith, "He that is not content to forsake father and mother, wife and children, house and land, corn and cattle, yea, and his own life for my truth's sake, is not meet for me."<sup>7</sup> And if we be not for our Lord God, then we must needs be meet for the devil; and we must needs be servants to one of them. If we be not ashamed of the gospel

(1) Matt. xi.  
(5) Jer. ii.

(2) Psalm xxiii.  
(6) Ibid.

(3) John x.  
(7) Matt. x.

(4) Isa. i.

Lust after  
evil  
things.

of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but earnestly confess it to the uttermost of our power, then are we sure to be confessed of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that before the angels in heaven, to be his servants.<sup>1</sup> But if we will so lust to keep our goods, and rather deny him than to lose our goods, then doth it follow whose servants we are. Therefore, my dear brethren of Hadley, beware that you do not consent to any thing against your conscience: for if you do, beware of God's great wrath.

*Appendix.*  
Confession of the gospel.

I exhort you therefore, my beloved brethren in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to stand fast in your profession, and become not manifest runaways from the truth of our Lord God, but stick earnestly to it; and doubt not but our God will be unto you a strong defence and refuge in the needful time. "Bow down thine ear, O Lord (saith David, Psalm lxxxvi.), and hear me: for I am poor and in misery. Be merciful unto me, O Lord, for I will call daily upon thee: comfort the soul of thy servant; for unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul. For thou, Lord, art good and gracious, and of great mercy unto all them that call upon thee. Give ear, Lord, unto my prayer, and ponder the voice of my humble petition. All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name: for thou art great, and dost wonderful things; thou art God alone. Teach me thy ways, O Lord, and I will walk in thy truth. O knit my heart unto thee, that I may fear thy name. I will thank thee, O my God, with all my heart, and will praise thy name for ever. O you christian people of Hadley, comfort yourselves one another in these notable Psalms of David, and the whole Bible. Embrace the noble jewel of our Lord God, the Bible, and endeavour yourselves to walk the way that it doth teach you. "My good brethren, we as helpers," saith St. Paul, "do exhort you, that you receive not the grace of God in vain. For, behold, now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation."<sup>2</sup> Let us beware that we take sure hold while we have time; for time will away. While ye have the light walk in it, lest when ye would desire it ye cannot have it. Understand the light, to be the knowledge of Christ; and to obey, that is, to have the light. For that cause came our Saviour Jesus Christ, to make himself known;<sup>3</sup> "Unto those that did receive him, he gave power to be the sons of God;"<sup>4</sup> and so to be made inheritors of his kingdom, which shall never end. Who would not be glad to become the king's son, that he thereby might be partaker of the kingdom that never shall have end? O vain man! what art thou, that wilt refuse everlasting life for a day or two, or an hour, thou canst not tell how short? Open thine eyes, and see thine own comfort and refuge to Christ. O fly, and refuse this worldly wisdom; for worldly wisdom doth shut out the wisdom of God. For the word of the cross is foolishness unto them that perish; but unto us which are saved, it is the power of God: for it is written, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the understanding of the prudent. Where are the wise? where are the scribes? where are the disputers of this world? hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness? For inasmuch as the world, by the wisdom thereof, knew not God in his wisdom, it pleased God, through foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe. For the Jews require tokens, and the Greeks ask after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified," saith St. Paul, "to the Jews an occasion of falling, and unto the Greeks (a people that are wise in their own conceits), to them is the preaching of Christ crucified foolishness. But unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, we preach Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God. For the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.

Invocation and prayer.

The Psalms of David are comfortable. The Bible is a jewel.

Vanity of this life. Worldly wisdom.

"Brethren, look upon your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, nor many of high degree are called. But that which is foolish before the world, hath God chosen, that he might confound the wise; and that which is despised before the world hath he chosen, and that which is nothing, that he might destroy that which is aught, that no flesh should rejoice. Of the same are ye also in Christ Jesus, which is made of God unto us wisdom and righteousness, and sanctifying and redemption, according as it is written, He that rejoiceth, should rejoice in the Lord;" etc.<sup>5</sup> "that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. We speak of this wisdom among them that are perfect—not the wisdom of this world, nor the rulers

(1) Luke xii.

(2) 2 Cor. vi.

(3) John xii.

(4) John i.

(5) 1 Cor. i.

*Appendix.* of this world, which go to nought—but we speak of the wisdom of God, which the carnal man doth not understand. The natural man perceiveth nothing of the Spirit of God: it is foolishness with him. But God hath opened it to us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth out all things. “Wherefore, my dear brethren, try yourselves well, whether you have the Spirit of Christ, or no. If you have the Spirit of Christ, then are ye dead concerning sin; but ye are alive unto God through Jesus Christ. If this Spirit dwell in you, then will ye increase and go forward in your profession, and not fear what flesh may do unto the carcase. Therefore stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not wrapped up again in the yoke of bondage;<sup>1</sup> that is to say, to go from God by wicked life, or serve God another way than he hath commanded in his holy word. I trust you go forward, my dear brethren and sisters, in your promise that you made to your Lord God in your baptism. I pray God open unto you the knowledge of himself, and lighten the eyes of your understanding, that you may know what is the hope of your calling, and what the riches of his glorious inheritance are upon the saints. For ye are the chosen generation, the kingly priesthood, that holy nation, that peculiar people, that should show the virtues of Him which hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light;<sup>2</sup> that is to say, to fear God, and to work righteousness, and so to receive the end of your faith, the salvation of your souls. “This is a true saying: If we be dead with Christ, we shall live with him also. If we be patient, we shall also reign with him. If we deny him, he also will deny us. If we believe not, yet he abideth faithful, he cannot deny himself.”<sup>3</sup> “The very God of peace sanctify you throughout, and I pray God that your spirit, soul, and bodies be kept blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus. Faithful is he that hath called you, which will also do it. Brethren, pray for us, and greet all the brethren among you.”<sup>4</sup>

By me, your brother in the Lord and Saviour Christ, John Alcocke, prisoner of the Lord at Newgate.

### “Give Glory to God.”

God be merciful to thee, O England, and send thee a great number of such faithful fathers and godly pastors, as Dr. Taylor was, to guide thee, feed thee, and comfort thee after thy great miseries and troubles, that thou hast suffered under the tyrannous captivity and rage of the Roman antichrist, and such ravening wolves, as have, without all mercy, murdered thy godly and learned preachers; and give all men grace to consider that such horrible plagues and mutations have justly fallen upon this realm for sin; and with unfeigned hearts to turn to God, who as he hath scourged us with less plagues than we deserved, so he calleth us again by his undeserved and unspeakable mercy unto repentance and amendment of our living. It is doubtless now high time to turn unfeignedly to God, and to correct our sinful livings, and to remember what St. John Baptist saith: “The axe is now set to the root of the tree, and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire.”<sup>5</sup> For this may all men assure themselves of, both rich and poor, high and low, old and young, that the almighty, jealous, and righteous God, will not suffer the sinful and wicked life of the ungodly unrepentant, that contemn his mercy now proffered unto them, to be unpunished; but, as he hath from the beginning of the world showed himself a righteous judge, and punisher of wickedness, even so will he do still now.

God expelled our first parents, Adam and Eve, from Paradise, and laid upon them and upon us all, these miseries, sickness, calamities, and death, that we daily feel, and miserably are oppressed withal.<sup>6</sup> God in Noah's days drowned the whole world; only eight persons were preserved.<sup>7</sup> God burnt up Sodom and Gomorrah with fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed those cities and all the country about.<sup>8</sup> God gave over Jerusalem, called the holy city of God, and delivered his own people the Jews into perpetual captivity.<sup>9</sup> If we seek the cause of these punishments, was it not sinful living and unrepentant hearts?

What should I recite the calamity of other lands, seeing God's judgments have not been unexecuted upon this realm of England for sinful living?<sup>10</sup> The

(1) Gal. v.

(2) 1 Pet. ii.

(3) 2 Tim. i.

(4) 1 Thess. v.

(5) Matt. iii.

(6) Gen. iii.

(7) Gen. viii. ix.

(8) Gen. xviii. xix.

(9) Luke xix.

(10) Read Bede and our English chronicles.

old Britons were with Cadwallader their king constrained to flee and leave this land, because of pestilence and famine: what miseries and destructions brought the Danes in with them! and what troubles sustained the inhabitants of this realm afore the same were again driven out! What bloodshed was here in king William the Conqueror's days! were not the noblemen slain, and gentlemen brought into bondage? were not their matrons defiled, and their daughters given to be kitchen-drudges under the Normans' proud ladies? were not their lands, houses, and possessions divided by lot unto strangers? Their gold and silver wherein they trusted, was the bait that their enemies hunted after. What a plague was the civil war between the king and barons! what horrible bloodshed was in this realm! till at the last God's merciful providence ended those miseries by the happy joining of the two regal houses together, in the marriage of king Henry the seventh. What miseries have chanced in our time, we have not only seen and heard, but we have felt them; and God be praised, had our parts of them. Doubtless this all hath chanced for the sins of the people, as the prophet Jeremiah plainly teacheth, saying, "Who is a wise man that understandeth this? and to whom shall the word of the Lord's mouth come, that he may preach it forth? Why hath the land perished, and is burnt like a wilderness, so that no man may pass through it?"<sup>1</sup> And the Lord saith, "Because they have forsaken my law, which I have given them, and they have not heard my voice, and have not walked in them; and have gone after the vanity of their own hearts, after Baalim, and the images of Baal, which they have learned of their fathers." We see here plainly the contempt of God's word, and of the preachers of the same, walking after their covetous minds and lewdness of their hearts, and following of their idolatrous inventions, brought the wrath of God upon the people, as witnessed also Jesus Sirach, saying, "Because of unrighteous dealing, wrong, blasphemies, and divers deceits, a realm shall be translated from one people to another."<sup>2</sup> And a little after he saith, "The Lord hath brought the congregation of the wicked to dishonour, and destroyed them unto the end. God hath destroyed the seats of proud princes, and set up the meek in their stead. God hath withered the root of proud nations, and planted the lowly among them. God hath overthrown the lands of the heathen, and destroyed them unto the ground. He hath caused them to wither away: he hath brought them to nought, and made the memorial of them to cease from the earth." But what availeth it to read such threats of God, if we believe them not; or, if we believe them to be God's threats, and despise them? Doubtless, the Lord is righteous, a jealous God, a punisher of sin, as he himself saith: "I punish the sins of the fathers upon their children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me."<sup>3</sup> God give us grace to remember this, and with speedy and unfeigned repentance to turn unto God. I say "unfeigned repentance," and not, alas! as we have done in times past, like hypocrites to dissemble with God and man, making God's holy word nothing else but a cloak to cover our malice, covetousness, whoredom, pride, excess, gluttony, wrath, envy, hatred, murder, with all other wicked living, most detestable in the sight of God. If men will well consider themselves, they have long enough dissembled, and heaped the wrath of God heavy enough upon their heads. It is now high time to become a new people, to amend indeed, and to follow the counsel of the Holy Ghost, saying unto us by the prophet Jeremy, "Why do mortal men murmur against God? let them murmur against their own sins."<sup>4</sup> Let us search our own ways, and let us seek and return unto the Lord. Let us lift up our hearts and hands unto the Lord in heaven, for we have done wickedly, and provoked the Lord to wrath: and therefore wilt thou not be entreated. Doubtless, the Lord will not be entreated, except men very earnestly turn unto him. We have felt in ourselves, and seen before our eyes, that when God striketh, no man can be able to abide the heavy stroke of his fist. He hath hitherto corrected us with mercy, as a Father; let us thank him, and return unfeignedly; so will he not extend his wrath as a Judge. His will is, that we should return and live, and not perish with the wicked. "I live," saith the Lord, "and will not the death of a sinner, but that he be converted and live."<sup>5</sup> Here the godly oath certifieth us of forgiveness; and requireth an unfeigned conversion unto God, that is, that men acknowledge in heart their wicked living, and be sorry that ever they

Sin is the  
cause of  
plagues.

High  
time to  
turn to  
God.

(1) Jer. ix.

(2) Ecclus. x.

(3) Exod. xx.

(4) Jer. iii.

(5) Ezek. xxxiii.



*Appendix.* have with wicked living offended against that so good and loving a Father; and trust to have forgiveness through Christ's blood, and fully and firmly set their hearts to serve God, and to walk the ways of his commandments all the days of their life. Then shall we be true Christians, built upon the corner-stone Christ, not wavering or changing at every puff of wind, not seeking an epicurish life in all voluptuous and vain vanity: not ravening, extortioning, or with usury oppressing the poor and needy; but steadfast, unmovable, living in the fear of God's judgments, and trust upon his mercy, mortifying our brutish and carnal lusts, being merciful and helpful to the poor and needy, waiting for the blessed time when Christ shall call us, to be ready and accepted before him. Our merciful Lord and good Father grant us grace so to do, for the love of his dear Son Jesus Christ, our certain and most dear Saviour, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour for ever and ever, Amen.

"Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints."<sup>1</sup>

"These are they which are come out of great troubles; and have washed their clothes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."<sup>2</sup>

CERTAIN CAUTIONS OF THE AUTHOR TO THE READER, OF THINGS  
TO BE CONSIDERED IN READING THIS STORY.

Amongst other escapes and oversights in the edition of this story committed, part of them we leave to thine own gentle castigation, gentle reader: certain other specialties there be, whereof we thought it good and expedient to give thee warning, as hereafter followeth.

Cautions  
of the  
author  
to the  
reader.

First, when mention is made of Peter's being at Rome, and suffering at Rome, following certain authors; yet forasmuch as other writers there be, and reasons to prove that he was not at Rome, I desire therefore that this my affirmation may not prejudice other men's judgments, if any see or can say further in that matter.

Touching the story of the Turks, whereas I, in following our christian authors writing of the Turks, have noted Solymán to be the twelfth Turk after Ottoman,<sup>3</sup> as they do all record; I have found since, by the computation of the Turks set forth in the table of their own descent, the said Solymán to be the sixth emperor of the Turks; and this Solymán his son, which now reigneth, to be but the twelfth. Which I thought here to signify unto thee, because of their own Turkish prophecy noted before, lest, in construing of that prophecy, being in the same place expounded, thou be deceived.

Item, Where master George Blage is named to be one of the privy-chamber; here is to be noted also, that although he were not admitted as one of the privy-chamber, yet his ordinary resort thither, and to the king's presence there was such, as, although he were not one of them, yet was he so commonly taken.

Item, In the story of the duke of Somerset, where it is said, that at the return of the earl of Warwick out of Norfolk, there was a consultation amongst the lords assembling themselves together in the house of master York, etc. against the duke of Somerset; here is to be noted that the coming of the lords to the said house of master York, was not immediately upon the duke of Northumberland's return; but first he went to Warwick, and from thence, after a space, came to the house aforesaid.

Item, Here is also to be noted touching the said duke of Somerset, that albeit at his death relation is made of a sudden falling of the

(1) Psalm cxvi.

(2) Rev. vi.

(3) See vol. iv. p. 51, of this Edition.—Ed

people, as was at the taking of Christ, this is not to be expounded, as though I compared in any part the duke of Somerset with Christ. *Appendix.*

And though I do something more attribute to the commendation of the said duke of Somerset, which died so constantly in his religion, yet I desire thee, gentle reader, so to take it, not that I did ever mean to derogate or impair the martial praise or facts of other men, which also are to be commended in such things where they well deserved.

Item, Touching the same duke of Somerset, where the story saith, he was "attainted," read "indicted."

Item, Where mention is made of one Nicholas Underwood<sup>1</sup> to be the betrayer of the duke of Suffolk; join with the said Underwood also Nicholas Laurence, alias Nicholas Ethel, keeper of Astley-park; who, taking upon him and promising to keep the duke for two or three days, until he might find some means to escape, conveyed him into an hollow tree, and after, most traitorously betrayed him.

Item, In the story of sir Thomas Wyat there is also to be corrected, that whereas the story saith, that he was taken by sir Clement Parson, which was not so, and he no such knight, amend it thus: "that he first came to Clarencius,<sup>2</sup> being sent unto him, and afterward yielded him to sir Maurice Barkley." Briefly and in general, besides these castigations above noted, if thou find any other committed in the printing hereof, gently I desire thee, gentle reader, to bestow a little pains with thine own hand to amend them.

#### NOTES OMITTED OF THEM THAT WERE BURNT AT BRISTOL.

The eighth day of August was brought William Saxton, weaver of Bristol, before one Dalby chancellor of Bristol aforesaid; and by him committed to prison, and also condemned, for holding that the sacrament was a sign of a holy thing: also he denied, that the flesh and blood of Christ is there after their words of consecration. He was burnt the 18th of September, anno 1556, and as he went to the fire, he sang psalms. The sheriff, John Griffith, had prepared green wood to burn him; but one master John Pikes, pitying the man, caused divers to go with him to Ridland, half a mile off, who brought good store of helme-sheaves,<sup>3</sup> which indeed made good dispatch with little pain, in comparison to that he should have suffered with the green wood. In the mean space, whilst they went for the sheaves, the said Saxton made many good exhortations to the people, and after died constantly and patiently with great joyfulness.

William  
Saxton  
martyr,  
burnt at  
Bristol.

#### A NOTE OF PREST'S WIFE OF EXETER.

In Cornwall, not far from Launceston, within the diocese of Exeter, in queen Mary's days, dwelt a poor man, whose name was Prest; his wife being an honest woman, very simple, but of good zeal and upright life, being taught by God in hearing of his word (albeit it was in those days very seldom preached any where); and feeling a sweet taste thereof, framed her life anew after the rule of the same; and banished quite from her all the popish dregs of superstition and

(1) This Nicholas Underwood dwelleth now at Coton by Nun-Eaton, and Laurence in Nun-Eaton.

(2) Rather Clarencieux, one of the heralds.—ED.

(3) "Helme-sheaves," haum or stubble.—ED.

*Appendix.* hypocrisy, and gave herself wholly to prayer, and invoking the name of God, both for the afflicted church of Christ, in those days very dangerously tossed and turmoiled ; as also for her own inward contentation and spiritual consolation, which she not a little felt to her unspeakable joy and incomparable comfort. And when some, who before had known her, saw that marvellous change in her, and (as the cruel serpent) envied her felicity, they went upon the same immediately, and accused her to certain justices of the shire, being extreme enemies to the truth, and very persecutors of the same ; who, taking the matter in hand, as very glad of such occasion, sent for her to the place where she was, and began at the second, if not at the first dash, to demand her belief in their popish sacrament of the altar.

The good poor woman, who had learned not to be ashamed to confess her Master Christ before men, and to render account of her faith when it was asked, told freely and frankly her opinion therein, and hid back nothing that either she thought might profit them, if they had any grace to receive it, or else might sound to God's glory and praise, though it were never so much by them threatened and rebuked. Whereupon she was forthwith committed to the gaol of Launceston, where she remained a quarter of a year, or thereabouts ; and afterwards was dispatched of that vile and filthy prison, and delivered over to the hands of two champions of the pope's, the one called Dr. Raynolds, dean of Exeter, and the other named master Blaxton, treasurer of the same church ; men surely fervent hot in the furtherance of the Romish affairs, and in withstanding the truth of the pure evangelical gospel. So the time that this good poor woman was under their hands, she had many sore conflicts by them. And the said Blaxton having a concubine, which sundry times resorted to him with other of his gossips, always when they came, this said good woman was called forth to his house ; and there, to make his minion with the rest of his company some mirth, he would examine her with such mocking manner, deriding the truth, that it would have vexed any christian soul to have seen it. Then when he had long used his foolishness in this sort, and had sported himself enough in deriding this christian martyr, in the end he sent her to prison again, and there kept her very miserably, saving sometimes he would send for her, when his foresaid guest came to him, to use with her his accustomed folly aforesaid. But in fine, the vile wretches (after many combats and scoffing persuasions), wherein they played the part of a cat with a mouse, at length they condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power, who within short space after most cruelly brought her forth to the place where she should suffer ; and there, in great contempt of the truth (which she most constantly confessed), they consumed her carcase immediately with fire into ashes ; which she very patiently suffered and most joyfully received, yielding her soul and life unto the Lord, and her body to the tormentors ; for the which the Lord's name therefore be praised, Amen.

**The Martyrdom of one Snel, burnt about Richmond in Queen Mary's time, omitted in this Hist. ry.**

At Bedale, a market town in Yorkshire, were two men in the latter days of queen Mary, the one named John Snel and the other Richard Snel; who, being suspected for religion, were sent unto Richmond, where Dr. Dakins had commission from the bishop of Chester, to have the examination of them.

The martyrdom of one Snel, by Richmond.

This Dr. Dakins many times conferred with them, sometimes threatening fire and faggot, if they would not recant, and sometimes flattering them with fair fables if they would return into the holy catholic church. But they stood constantly to the sure rock Jesus Christ, in whom they put their whole trust and confidence, whilst at last, being so sore imprisoned that their toes rotted off, and the one of them could not go without crutches, they brought them to the church by compulsion, where the one of them heard their abominable mass, having a certain sum of money given him by the benevolence of the people, and so departed thence: but the first news that was heard of him within three or four days, was, that he had drowned himself in a river running by Richmond, called Swaile.

Immediately after, Dr. Dakins giving sentence that the other should be burnt, came home to his house and never joyed after, but died. The commissary of Richmond, named Hillings, preached at his burning, exhorting him to return to the church; but his labour was in vain, the constant martyr standing strongly to the faith which he professed.

God's punishment upon the doctor that condemned Snel.

Then, being brought to the stake, whereunto he was tied by a girdle of iron, there was given unto him gunpowder, and a little straw was laid under his feet and set round about with small wood and tar-barrels; the fire was put in the straw, which by and by flaming about his head, he cried thrice together, "Christ help me:" insomuch that one Robert Atkinson being present, said, "Hold fast there, and we will all pray for thee!" Thus this blessed martyr ended his life.

**A STORY OF ONE LAREMOUTH, OMITTED IN THIS HISTORY.**

Albeit I am loth to insert any thing in this book which may seem incredible or strange to ordinary working for quarrelling adversaries, which do nothing but spy what they may cavil: yet, forsomuch as besides other reporters, the person is yet alive, called Thorne, a godly minister, which heard it of the mouth of the party himself, I thought therefore, first, for the incredible strangeness thereof, neither to place this story in the body of these Acts and Monuments, and yet in some out-corner of the book not utterly to pass it untouched, for the reader to consider it, and to credit it as he seeth cause. The story is this: There was one Laremouth, otherwise called Williamson, chaplain to the lady Anne of Cleve, a Scottishman, to whom being in prison in queen Mary's days, it was said (as he thought) thus sounding in his ears, "Arise and go thy ways." Whereunto when he gave no great heed at the first, the second time it was said to him again, in the same words. Upon this, as he fell to his prayers,

The marvellous deliverance of Laremouth.



*Appendix.* it was said the third time likewise to him, "Arise and go thy ways;" which was about half an hour after. So he arising upon the same, immediately a piece of the prison wall fell down, and as the officers came in at the outward gate of the castle or prison, he, leaping over the ditch, escaped, and in the way, meeting a certain beggar, changed his coat with him, and coming to the sea-shore, where he found a vessel ready to go over, was taken in, and escaped the search, which was straitly laid for him in all the country over.

A little short Letter of William Hunter, sent out of Prison to his Mother a little before his Martyrdom, to be referred and placed in his Story.

Most reverend and loving mother, after my most humble wise I have me most heartily commended unto you, desiring you to pray unto God most heartily for me, that I may have his blessing and yours, the which I esteem more worth unto me than any worldly treasure. In this present letter you shall understand the cause of my writing unto you at this time, that I am in good health and prosperity, as ever I was in this present life. Wherefore I render thanks unto Almighty God for it, who alone is most worthy of all praise, trusting in God you be in health also. Furthermore, I certify you wherefore my father continueth here, to the intent to hear some godly and joyful tidings both for soul and body, which I trust it shall be to your singular comfort and consolation, and to the great rejoicing of all other of my friends. Therefore I desire you, gentle mother, to admonish my brother unto a godly life with diligent attendance, and to pray for me, considering his bounden duty, that God may, by your faithful prayer, aid and strengthen me in this my prosperous journey and course which I run, trusting to obtain a crown of everlasting life, which doth ever endure.—No more unto you at this time, but God preserve you unto everlasting life. So be it.

The Oration in Effect of Sir Nicholas Bacon Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, spoken in the Star Chamber the 29th of December, in the tenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God of England, France and Ireland, Queen. Defender of the Faith, etc. And in the Year of our Lord God 1567: then being present as under:—

Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury.  
 William, marquis of Northampton.  
 Francis, earl of Bedford.  
 Lord Clinton, admiral of England.  
 William Howard, lord chamberlain.  
 The bishop of London.  
 Lord Grey of Wilton.  
 Sir Edward Rogers knight.  
 Sir Ambrose Cave knight, chancellor of the duchy.  
 Sir William Cecil knight, principal secretary.  
 Sir Francis Knollis knight, vice-chamberlain.  
 Sir Walter Mildmay knight, chancellor of the Exchequer.  
 Lord Cattelene,<sup>1</sup> chief justice of the King's Bench.  
 Lord Dyer,<sup>2</sup> chief justice of the Common Pleas.  
 Sir William Cordell knight, master of the Rolls.  
 Justice Western, justice Welsh, justice Southcote, justice Carrus.

It is given to the queen's majesty to understand, that certain of her subjects, by their evil dispositions, do sow and spread abroad divers seditions, to the derogation and dishonour, first of Almighty God, in the state of religion established by the laws of this realm, and also to the dishonour of her highness, in disproving her lawful right of supremacy amongst her subjects. And this

(1) Robert Catlin, made chief justice, anno 1555.—Ed.

(2) Sir James Dyer, knr.—Ed.

that they do, is not done as in secrecy or by stealth, but openly avouched, and <sup>Appendix</sup> in all companies disputed on. And thus, by their bold attempts, they seem not to obey or regard the authority of laws, nor the quiet of her subjects. As for example, by bringing in and spreading abroad divers lewd libels and seditious books from beyond the seas; and in such boldness, that they do commend those writers in their seditious books, containing manifest matter against the estate established. Which boldness of men, so universally and every where seen and heard, cannot be thought to be done but by the comfort and aid, or at the least way winked at by them whom the queen's highness hath placed in authority to repress these insolencies. And the queen's highness cannot more justly charge any for this disorder, than such who be in commissions chosen to repress these disorders.

If it be answered me, that they cannot see such open boldness and factious disorders, I must say that they have no eyes to see; and if they hear not of such contemptuous talk and speech, I may say that they have no ears. I would have those men judge what will come of these unbridled speeches in the end, if reformation be not had thereof. What cometh of factions and seditious, we have been taught of late years, and what the fruits thereof be, which I beseech God long to defend us from. If such disorders be not redressed by law, then must force and violence reform: which when they take place, may fortune to fall as soon on them that seem to have least consideration in this matter. If force and violence prevail, then ye know that law is put to silence, and cannot be executed, which should only maintain good order. If it be replied against me, that to the suppressing of these open talks there is no law, which by special letter can charge any man offender; I must say, that whatsoever the letter of the law be, the meaning of the law was and is clean contrary to the liberty of these doings. If it be said, that no man can be charged by the law, except it can be proved against him, that his speech and deeds be done maliciously; what ye call malice, I cannot tell. But, if the bringing in of these seditious books make men's minds to be at variance one with another, distraction of minds maketh seditious, seditious bring in tumults, tumults work insurrections and rebellion, insurrections make depopulations and desolations, and bring in utter ruin and destruction of men's bodies, goods, and lands: and if any sow the root whereof these men come, and yet it can be said that he hath no malice, or that he doth not maliciously labour to destroy both public and private wealth, I cannot tell what act may be thought to be done maliciously.

And further, if it be said to me, that the man which should be charged with offence, must be proved to have done his act advisedly: to that I answer, If any bring in those books, distribute them to others, commend and defend them, and yet cannot be charged to have done advisedly, I have no skill of their advisedness. If it be said, that the law entreateth of such acts as be directly derogatory, and of none other, what is direct overthrowing the law, when the contrary thereof is plainly treated, holden, and defended; and the truth by arguments condemned? It may be said again, that the world doth not now like extremity in laws penal, and calleth them bloody laws. As for extreme and bloody laws, I have never liked of them; but where the execution of such laws toucheth half a dozen offenders, and the non-execution may bring in danger half a hundred, I think this law nor the execution thereof may justly be called extreme and bloody. In such like comparison I may utter my meaning, as to make a difference between whipping and hanging. Indeed, though whipping may be thought extreme, yet if, by whipping, a man may escape hanging, in this respect, *not-whipping* bringeth in this bloodiness and extremity, and not the execution of the law; and better it were, a man to be twice whipped, than once hanged: the pains do differ, but wise men will soon consider the diversity. The truth is, to suffer disobedient subjects to take boldness against the laws of God and their prince, to wink at the obstinate minds of such as be unbridled in their affections; to maintain a foreign power of the bishop of Rome, directly against the prince's prerogative established by laws, is not this to hatch dissension, and to cherish sedition? To extol the writings of such, who by all their wits devise to supplant the prince's lawful authority? If these doings be not means to the disturbance and utter ruin of this realm, I know not what is good governance. If these be not the sparks of rebellion, what be they?

Thus much having spoken to your wisdoms, I doubt not of your assenting

*Appendix.* with me; the rather also because I utter them unto you as from the queen's majesty by commandment, who doth require of us all a more diligence in execution of laws, than is spied commonly abroad: whereby we shall do our duties to Almighty God the better, declare our allegiance to our sovereign, regard the majesty of the laws, love the quiet of our country, and procure the safety of ourselves. God save the queen.

And here I trust, we are now come to an end of all our English martyrs which hitherto have been burnt for the verity of the gospel, if we add besides to the same a godly countryman of ours, one named Richard Atkins, a Hertfordshire man, who of late, about two years past, in the reign of this our gracious queen, anno 1581, most miserably was tormented at Babylon, that is, in the city of Rome. The cause and manner of whose suffering and martyrdom here ensue, taken out of a certain late printed story, and testified by such as were present, witnesses and beholders of the same most tragical execution. The purport of which story in words as it is put down by the said reporter, hereunder followeth.

**A true Report of the horrible and merciless Martyrdom of one  
Richard Atkins, an Englishman,**

**WITH EXTREME TORMENTS, AND MOST CRUEL RAGE OF FURIOUS  
TYRANTS, PERSECUTORS, PUT TO DEATH AT ROME.<sup>1</sup>**

About the month of July, anno 1581, one Richard Atkins, born in Hertfordshire, an Englishman, came to Rome, and having found the English college, knocked at the door: to whom divers of the students there came out, to welcome him, understanding that he was an Englishman. Among other talk had with him they willed him to go to the hospital, and there to receive his meat and lodging, according as the order was appointed: whereunto he answered, "I come not, my countrymen, to any such intent, as you judge; but I come lovingly to rebuke the great disorder of your lives, which I grieve to hear, and pity to behold. I come likewise to let your proud Antichrist understand, that he doth offend the heavenly majesty, rob God of his honour, and poisoneth the whole world with his abominable blasphemies; making them do homage to stocks and stones, and that filthy sacrament, which is nothing else but a foolish idol." When they heard these words, one Hugh Griffin, a Welchman, and student in the college, caused him to be put in the Inquisition; where, how they examined him, and how he answered them I know not, but after certain days he was set at liberty again. And one day, going in the street, he met a priest carrying the sacrament, which offending his conscience, to see the people so crouch and bow down to it, he caught at it to have thrown it down; but, missing of his purpose, and it being judged by the people, that he did catch at the holiness that (they say) cometh from the sacrament, upon mere devotion, he was let pass, and nothing said to him. A few days after he came to St. Peter's church, where divers gentlemen and others were hearing mass, and the priest at the elevation; he using no reverence, stepped among the people to the altar, and threw down the chalice with the wine, striving likewise to have pulled the cake out of the priest's hands; for which divers rose up and beat him with their fists, and one drew his rapier, and would have slain him: so that in brief, he was carried to prison, where he was examined wherefore he had committed such a heinous offence: whereunto he answered, that he came purposely for that intent, to rebuke the pope's wickedness, and their idolatry. Upon this he was condemned to be burned; which sentence, he said, he was right willing to suffer, and the rather because the sum of his offence pertained to the glory of God.

During the time he remained in prison, sundry Englishmen came unto him, willing him to be sorry for that he had done, and to recant from his damnable opinion: but all the means they used were in vain, he confuted their dealings by divers places of scripture, and willed them to be sorry for their wickedness,

(1) See Strype's Annals, III. 1. 54—56.—Ed.

while God did permit them time; else they were in danger of everlasting damnation. These words made the Englishmen depart; for they could not abide to hear them. *Appendix.*

Within a while after, he was set upon an ass without any saddle, he being from the middle upward naked, having some English priests with him to talk with him; but he regarded them not, but spake to the people in so good language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong way, and therefore willed them, for Christ's sake, to have regard to the saving of their souls. All the way as he went, there were four that did nothing else but thrust at his body with burning torches, whereat he never moved, nor shrunk one jot, but with a cheerful countenance laboured to persuade the people, often bending his body to meet the torches, as they were thrust at him; and would take them in his own hand, and hold them burning still upon his body, whereat the people not a little wondered. Thus he continued almost the space of half a mile, till he came before St. Peter's, where the place of execution was.

When he was come to the place of execution, there they had made a device, not to make the fire about him, but to burn his legs first, which they did, he not dismayed any whit, but suffering all marvellously cheerfully; which moved the people to such a quandary as was not in Rome many a day. Then they offered him a cross, and willed him to embrace it, in token that he died a Christian; but he put it away with his hand, telling them that they were evil men, to trouble him with such paltry, when he was preparing himself to God, whom he beheld in majesty and mercy, ready to receive him into eternal rest. They seeing him in this mind, departed, saying, "Let us go and leave him to the devil, whom he serves." Thus ended this faithful soldier and martyr of Christ, who is, no doubt, in glory with his Master: whereunto God grant us all to come, Amen.

This is faithfully avouched by John Young, who was at that time and a good while after in Rome, in service with master doctor Morton; who seeing the martyrdom of this man, when he came home to his house, in presence of master Smith his son, master Creed, and the said John Young, spake as followeth:

"Surely this fellow was marvellous obstinate, he nothing regarded the good counsel which was used to him, nor shrank all the way when the torches were thrust at his naked body. Beside, in the place of execution he did not faint nor cry one jot in the fire, albeit they tormented him very cruelly, and burnt him by degrees, as his legs first, to put him to the greater pain; yet all this he did but smile at. Doubtless, but that the word of God cannot but be true, else we might judge this fellow to be of God; for who could have suffered so much pain as he did? but truly I believe the devil was in him."

#### THE CURSED LIFE, AND BLOODY END, OF DR. STORY, A CRUEL PERSECUTOR OF CHRIST IN HIS MEMBERS.

I had thought, christian reader, here to have made an end, and to have concluded the volume of this book, had not the remembrance of Dr. Story, an arch-enemy to Christ's gospel, and bloody persecutor of God's people, come into my mind. The discourse of whose life and doings, I thought good here briefly to lay open to the view of the world, as followeth. This Dr. Story, being an Englishman by birth, and from his infancy not only nursed in papistry, but also even as it were by nature earnestly affected to the same, and growing somewhat to riper years, in the days of queen Mary became a bloody tyrant, and cruel persecutor of Christ in his members; as all the stories in this book almost do declare. Thus he raging all the reign of the foresaid queen Mary against the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and the true professors thereof, never ceased till he had consumed to ashes two or three hundred blessed martyrs, who willingly

*Story's  
education  
and birth*

*Story a  
bloody  
persecu-  
tor.  
See  
Appendix.*



*Appendix* gave their lives for the testimony of his truth. And thinking their punishment in the fire not cruel enough, he went about to invent new torments for the holy martyrs of Christ, such was his hatred to the truth of Christ's gospel. But, in the end, the Lord God, looking upon the affliction and cruel bloodshedding of his servants, took away queen Mary, the great pillar of papistry. After whom succeeded lady Elizabeth, now queen of England, who staying the bloody sword of persecution from raging any further, caused the same Dr. Story to be apprehended, and committed to ward, with many other his complices, sworn enemies to Christ's glorious gospel. The said Story, having been a while detained in prison, at the last, by what means I know not, brake forth of hold, and conveyed himself over the seas, where he continued a most bloody persecutor, still raging against God's saints with fire and sword. Insomuch as he, growing to be familiar and right dear to the duke of Alva in Antwerp, received special commission from him to search the ships for goods forfeited, and for English books, and such like.

Story  
appre-  
hended.

He con-  
veyeth  
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over the  
seas.  
Search-  
eth for  
English  
books.

Story in-  
tendeth  
the over-  
throw of  
England.

A plat-  
form laid  
to appre-  
hend  
Story.

Story,  
searching  
the Eng-  
lish ships  
for books,  
is appre-  
hended,  
and  
brought  
into Eng-  
land.

And in this favour and authority, he continued there for a space, by the which means he did much hurt, and brought many a good man and woman to trouble and extreme peril of life through his blood-thirsty cruelty: but at the last the Lord (when the measure of his iniquity was full) proceeded in judgment against him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the prayers of many a good man; which came to pass in order as followeth. It being certainly known (for the bruit thereof was gone forth into all lands) that he not only intended the subversion and overthrow of his native country of England, by bringing in foreign hostility, if by any means he might compass it; but also daily and hourly murdered God's people, there was this platform laid (by God's providence no doubt), that one master Parker, a merchant, should sail unto Antwerp, and by some means convey Story into England.

This Parker arriving at Antwerp, suborned certain to repair to Dr. Story, and to signify unto him, that there was an English ship come, fraught with merchandise, and that if he would make search thereof himself, he should find store of English books, and other things for his purpose. Story, hearing this, and suspecting nothing, made haste towards the ship, thinking to make the same his prey; and coming abroad, searched for English heretical books (as he called them); and going down under the hatches, because he would be sure to have their blood if he could, they clapped down the hatches, hoisted up their sails, having (as God would) a good gale, and sailed away into England; where they arriving, presented this bloody butcher, and traitorous rebel Story, to the no little rejoicing of many an English heart. He, being now committed to prison, continued there a good space: during all which time he was laboured and solicited daily, by wise and learned fathers, to recant his devilish and erroneous opinions, to conform himself to the truth, and to acknowledge the queen's supremacy. All which he utterly denied to the death, saying, that he was sworn subject to the king of Spain, and was no subject to the queen of England, nor she his sovereign queen; and therefore (as he well deserved) he was condemned as a traitor to God, the queen's majesty, and the realm, to be drawn, hanged,

and quartered; which was performed accordingly, he being laid upon a hurdle, and drawn from the Tower along the streets to Tyburn, where he, being hanged till he was half dead, was cut down and stripped; and (which is not to be forgotten) when the executioner had performed his last office, he, rushing up upon a sudden, gave him a blow upon the ear, to the great wonder of all that stood by. And thus ended this bloody Nimrod his wretched life, whose judgment I leave to the Lord.

*Appendix.*  
Story, a  
traitor, a  
hanged,  
drawn,  
and quar-  
tered.

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\*QUEEN MARY'S SCOURGE OF PERSECUTION.

Considering<sup>1</sup> the great and terrible scourge of persecution in the time of queen Mary, and recounting the number of them that, under some part or other of the cross, were at that time afflicted and molested, I suppose from the highest to the lowest under the queen herself, no condition, state, degree, age, or calling of person or persons, can be reckoned, which, at the same time, escaped free and untouched without some print of the Lord's cross upon him. In the number and catalogue of whom, first, to begin with the most noble and renowned, the only sister of the queen herself, also the only and next heir then, now just possessor of the crown of England, queen Elizabeth (whose shoulders sustained then no small portion of that cross of Christ), and so, from her majesty, descending to all and singular states inferior; what vocation or condition here was excepted! whether he or they were archbishop, duchess,<sup>2</sup> bishops, archdeacons, deans, priests, ministers, deacons, gentlemen, lawyers, merchants, artificers, soldiers, rich, poor men, women, wife, widow, virgin, old men, young men, boys, infants, blind, halt, and lame—and what state else can be reckoned of men, which, from some touch of this scourge, was exempted—and so, what condition, I say, of men escaped the papists' hands, in the time of queen Mary, without affliction and danger: insomuch that, coming to the lowest of all other, one poor hermit (being but one then, as I think, in all the realm), could not pass their hands without open penance and other molestations, as, in the story here following, to the reader may appear.

THE EXAMINATION AND TROUBLE OF THOMAS PARKINSON, A  
SELY POOR HERMIT, DRIVEN TO OPEN PENANCE  
BY THE PAPISTS.

In the last year of queen Mary, anno 1558, Thomas Parkinson, of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, being of the sect of Anchorite, was produced before Dr. Draycot, upon the suspicion to have a wife: he was examined as followeth. Being asked what age he is now of, he saith, that he shall be, at Whitsuntide next, seventy years old, and was born and christened in a town called Bedale in Yorkshire; and was son to one Thomas Parkinson, bailiff of Thirsk in the same county of York; and when he was twelve years old, he was set to the tailor's craft, to one Thomas Dent, of Thirsk, and served

(1) This story, displaying the errors of the Romish system, from the hermit to the prelate, is introduced from the First Edition, pp. 1679, 1681.—ED.

(2) It is probable that these observations are not original, from the following note of Foxe: "He meaneth the lady Frances, duchess of Suffolk, who, hazarding both life, lands, and so great possessions, fled her country with her husband in cause of her conscience."—ED.

*Appendix.* him for seven or eight years, as his apprentice: and, after that, before he was twenty years old he took to wife, one Agnes, the daughter of Hugh Hallywell, dwelling in the franchise of Ripon, being a maid of twenty-four years; and was married to her in Thirsk, by one sir William Day, then curate there; and, within two years after their marriage together, his wife was delivered of a man-child, which, although while it was in her body, did stir and live (as she and other perceived), yet, after the birth, it was dead, so as it could not be christened; insomuch as the midwife, and other women with her, buried the said child, as they said, in the fields—where, he (this examine) cannot tell. And, within three weeks after, it chanced that a raven had gotten up the said child out of the ground, and torn the clothes from about the same child, and had begun to break into the said child, to feed upon; and had brought it into a tree, near unto the churchyard of Thirsk, upon a Saturday, a little before even-song time. And, as the people and the priest before-named saw the same child, they made means to drive away the raven, and to get the child from him; so as they, reasoning among themselves whose child it should be, did judge that it was this examine's child that was dead-born, and buried in the fields. And the said William Day came home to this examine and asked him for his child, and he showed him that the women had buried it in the fields, which the priest also examined of the women, and found it to be true; and then he showed this examine of the bringing of the child by the raven. Whereupon this examine and his wife were therewithal stricken with repentance to Godward, and each of them vowed themselves from thenceforth to live chaste and solitary, insomuch as, this examine, when he was but twenty-two or twenty-three years old, professed the order of Saint Francis at Richmond, five miles from Madlam, and was a hermit or penitentiary at Thirsk, and kept the chapel of Saint Giles at the end of the town of Thirsk. And his wife also was sister of Saint Francis's order, and had a bead-woman's room at Northallerton, by the help of sir James Strangers, knight; and after he had kept the order of Saint Francis two or three years, he determined to live a more hard and strait life, and to be an Anchorite, and to seclude himself from the company of the world. And, thereupon, he was first closed up in a little house in the church-porch at Thirsk, where he lived, by the help of good people, two years, before he was professed; and when it was perceived that he liked that kind of life and could endure the same, there was a chapel, and a place provided for him in the Mount of Grace, above the Charter-house, by queen Katherine, and he was professed in that house by one Dr. Makerel, then suffragan to cardinal Wolsey, and the suffragan had of this examine's friends, for his profession, five pound; and there this examine remained twelve years and more in that house, and his wife would sometime take one of his sisters, and come over and see how this examine did; but she died six or seven years before this examine came out of his house; and, after this, came doctor Lee, and he pulled this examine out of his house, and the monks also out of the charter-house, so as this examine was driven to go abroad to get his living of good people; and when he could get any work to get a penny, to

take it: howbeit he kept his habit still. Then he went to London, *Appendix.* and there was amongst his friends, that had seen him at Mount Grace; and thence he went to Lincolnshire, thinking to have the Anchorite's house at Stamford, but it would not be as then. He was counselled by sir John Harrington, then sheriff, to change his habit from grey, which he then wore, to black; and so he wandered from place to place in a black habit like a priest. And at length, about nine years past he came into Shropshire, to Bridgenorth, and there, by chance, fell in acquaintance with one Elizabeth, which was wife to one William Romney, a tinker, that died there. And, forsomuch as he had in these days both punishment and trouble, for declaring himself a professed man to the order of an Anchorite, and was plainly showed that it was against God's commandment that any man should make any such vow, he therefore, in that point, being partly persuaded, and crediting the same, was the rather moved to desire the said Elizabeth Romney to be his wife; and she thereunto agreeing, they were married together about six years past in the chapel, within the castle of Bridgenorth, by one sir William Malpas, that is now dead. And so they dwelled together in the lower town of Bridgenorth, this examine using the tailor's craft, and went abroad into the country to get his living and his wife's, and came not home some time for a month together. Being asked what moved him to marry, he said that he was foul troubled with vermin, and had no help of washing and tending, as was requisite, nor had any house to be in; and so made his moan to this woman; and then she being troubled as she said with certain unruly children of hers, and could not be quiet for them, was content to go with this examine, and to be his wife. Being asked if he knew her not carnally, as men do their wives, utterly denieth the same; and sayeth that it was not meant of any of them. Being asked how he chanced to come to this town, he saith that he was moved in conscience to the observance of his former profession, now, since the queen's reign; and the hiring of this house here at Stow, where an anchorite had been before, made means to my lady Gifford of his intent, not declaring anything that he was married; and the said lady Gifford wrote to sir T. Fitzherbert, to move the lord bishop in his favour, and so the said sir Thomas did, and gat my lord's favour in that behalf. Being asked, if my lord did, of new, profess him into the religion, he saith, nay; but did put him into the house, and restored him to his former religion and profession. Being asked where his wife was, when he came hither to be closed up, he said, she was at Bridgenorth, and knew nothing of his mind that he purposed to return to his religion; howbeit he showed her that he would go to Lichfield; and then about Whitsuntide last she came hither to hearken for this examine. And he said, that it was communed between him and her, that she should go to Worcester and be an anchoress there, but that she fell sick and was not able to go. Again, being asked when she was last with him, he said that she was with him upon Palm Sunday last, and had nothing to do or say to him, but aske him how he did. They asked moreover what moved her to come to town that day:<sup>1</sup> to whom she said, that she came for her clothes that were in

(1) The cruel and vile inquisition of the papists here set forth.



*Appendix.* the town here. Furthermore they asked him whether he showed  
 True  
 godly ma-  
 trimony  
 punished. sir Thomas Fitzherbert that he was married. He said, nay, but showed him that he had a sister, which was a poor woman, and was desirous that she should attend him; which was the said Elizabeth that he married at Bridgenorth. For this cause the papists, suspecting the poor hermit to have a wife (as he had indeed), therefore, after other molestations, enjoined him penance:—to go before the cross barefoot, and bare-legged, in the cathedral church of Lichfield, with a taper, and I cannot tell what, in his hand, etc.; and, at Easter, cast him into a close cabin, there to remain, till he heard more of the bishop's pleasure.\*

A NOTE OF RALPH LURDANE, PERSECUTOR OF GEORGE EAGLES.

*See  
 Appendix.* In the history of George Eagles, alias Trudgeover-the-World, mention is made of his apprehension in a corn-field, where, by the benefit of the height of the corn, and breadth of the field, he had escaped, had not one of his persecutors, with more malicious craft, climbed a high tree to view over the place, and so descried him. This persecutor, named Ralph Lurdane (as we have since learned), a lewd fellow of life for theft and whoredom, was, within few years after he had apprehended the foresaid George Eagles for gain of money, attached of felony for stealing a horse, condemned, and hanged in the same place and town of Chelmsford, where George Eagles before suffered martyrdom.

A brief Note concerning the horrible Massacre in France,  
 anno 1572.

The cruel  
 massacre  
 in France. Here, before the closing up of this book, in no case would be un-remembered the tragical and furious massacre in France, wherein were murdered so many hundreds and thousands of God's good martyrs. But because the true narration of this lamentable story is set forth in English at large, in a book by itself, and extant in print already, it shall the less need now to discourse that matter with any new repetition; only a brief touch of summary notes for remembrance may suffice. And first, for brevity's sake to overpass the bloody butchery of the Romish catholics in Orange against the protestants, most fiercely and unawares breaking into their houses, and there, without mercy, killing man, woman, and child; of whom some being spoiled and naked they threw out of their lofts into the streets; some they smothered in their houses with smoke, with sword and weapon sparing none, the carcasses of some they threw to dogs, which was anno 1570, in the reign of Charles the ninth. Likewise to pass over the cruel slaughter at Rouen, where the protestants being at a sermon without the city-walls upon the king's edict, the catholics in fury ran upon them coming home, and slew of them above forty at least; many more they wounded.<sup>1</sup> This example at Rouen stirred up the papists in Dieppe to practise the like rage also against the Christians there returning from the sermon; whose slaughter had been the greater, had they not more wisely before been provided of weapons for their own defence at need: all which happened about the same year aforesaid, anno 1570. But these with such like I briefly overslip, to enter now into the matter above promised, that is, briefly to entreat of the

Persecu-  
 tion in  
 the city of  
 Orange.

A.D. 1570.  
 Persecu-  
 tion at  
 Rouen.

Forty  
 slain com-  
 ing from  
 a sermon.

Persecu-  
 tion at  
 Dieppe.

(1) Both of these "benevolent" schemes for eliciting a "reaction" in favour of Rome are more accurately placed under A.D. 1571 in the "Memoires de l'estat de France," vol. i. fol. 49-58 edit. Meiselbourg, 1578.—Ed.

horrible and most barbarous massacre wrought in Paris, such as I suppose was never heard of before, in any civil dissension amongst the very heathen. In few words to touch the substance of the matter.

After long troubles in France, the catholic side, foreseeing no good to be done against the protestants by open force, began to devise how by crafty means to entrap them,<sup>1</sup> and that by two manner of ways: the one by pretending a power to be sent into the lower country, whereof the admiral to be the captain; not that the king so meant indeed, but only to understand thereby what power and force the admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The second was by a certain marriage suborned, between the prince of Navarre and the king's sister.<sup>2</sup> To this pretended marriage, it was devised that all the chiefest protestants of France should be invited, and meet in Paris. Among whom first they began with the queen of Navarre, mother to the prince that should marry the king's sister, attempting by all means possible to obtain her consent thereunto. She, being then at Rochelle, and allured by many fair words to repair unto the king, consented at length to come, and was received at Paris; where she, after much ado, at length being won to the king's mind, and providing for the marriage, shortly upon the same fell sick, and within five days departed, not without suspicion, as some said, of poison. But her body being opened, no sign of poison could there be found, save only that a certain apothecary made his brag, that he had killed the queen by certain venomous odours and smells by him confected.

After this, notwithstanding, the marriage still going forward, the admiral, the prince of Navarre, Condé, with divers other chief states of the protestants, induced by the king's letters and many fair promises, at last were brought to Paris; where with great solemnity they were received, but especially the admiral. To make the matter short, the day of the marriage came, which was the 18th of August, anno 1572. Which marriage being celebrate and solemnized by the cardinal of Bourbon upon a high stage set up of purpose without the church walls, the prince of Navarre and Condé came down, waiting for the king's sister being then at mass. This done, they resorted all together to the bishop's palace to dinner. At evening they were had to a palace in the middle of Paris to supper. Not long after this, being the 22d of August, the admiral, coming from the council-table, by the way was struck with a pistolet, charged with three pellets, in both his arms. He being thus wounded, and yet still remaining in Paris, although the vidame<sup>3</sup> gave him counsel to flee away, it so fell out that certain soldiers were appointed in divers places of the city to be ready at a watchword at the commandment of the prince; upon which watchword given, they burst out to the slaughter of the protestants, first beginning with the admiral himself, who, being wounded with many sore wounds, was cast out of the window into the street, where, his head being first struck off, and embalmed with spices to be sent to the pope, the savage people raging against him, cut off his arms and privy members. And so, drawing him three days through the streets of Paris, they dragged him unto the place of execution out

*Appendix.*

The horrible massacre at Paris.

The king's disguised pretence.

The names of all the favourers of the admiral described.

A bloody marriage between the king's sister and the prince of Navarre.

The admiral wounded with a pistolet shot out of a window.

The admiral slain in his bed, and thrown out of the window.

(1) See "Lettres de saint Pie V. sur les affaires religieuses en France, par de Potter," Bruxelles 1827.—Ed.

(2) Namely Henry, and Margaret of Valois.—Ed.

(3) "Vidame," the judge who has charge of a French bishop's temporal jurisdiction.—Ed.

*Appendix.* of the city, and there hanged him up by his heels to the greater show and scorn of him.

24th of August, St. Bartholomew's, a bloody day.  
Ten thousand slain in three days.

After the martyrdom of this good man, the armed soldiers with rage and violence ran upon all other of the same profession, slaying and killing all the protestants they knew or could find within the city gates enclosed. This bloody slaughter continued the space of many days, but especially the greatest slaughter was in the three first days, in which were numbered to be slain, as the story writeth, above ten thousand men, women, old and young, of all sorts and conditions.<sup>1</sup> The bodies of the dead were carried in carts to be thrown in the river: so that not only the river was all stained therewith, but also whole streams, in certain places of the city, did run with gore blood of the slain bodies. So great was the outrage of that heathenish persecution, that not only the protestants, but also certain, whom they thought indifferent papists, they put to the sword instead of protestants. In the number of them that were slain of the more learned sort, was Petrus Ramus, also Lambinus, another notorious learned man; Plateanus, Lomenius, Chapusius,<sup>2</sup> with others.

Petrus Ramus, Lambinus, with others, slain.

And not only within the walls of Paris this uproar was contained, but it extended further into other cities and quarters of the realm, especially Lyons, Orleans, Toulouse, and Rouen:<sup>3</sup> in which cities it is almost incredible, nor scarce ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was showed, what numbers of good men were destroyed; insomuch that within the space of one month thirty thousand, at least, of religious protestants are numbered to be slain, as is credibly reported and storied in the commentaries of them which testify purposely of the matter.<sup>4</sup>

The spirit and charity of the pope to be noted.  
See *Appendix*.

Furthermore here is to be noted, that when the pope first heard of this bloody stir, he with his cardinals made such joy at Rome, with their procession, with their gunshot, and singing of "Te Deum," that in honour of that festival act, a jubilee was commanded by the pope with great indulgence, and much solemnity. Whereby thou hast here to discern and judge, with what spirit and charity these catholics are moved to maintain their religion, which otherwise would fall to the ground without all hope of recovery. Likewise in France, no less rejoicing there was upon the 28th day of the said month, the king commanding public processions through the whole city, to be made, with bonfires, ringing, and singing; where the king himself, with the queen his mother, and his whole court resorting together to the church, gave thanks and laud to God, for that so worthy victory achieved upon St. Bartholomew's day against the protestants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrown and vanquished in all the realm for ever.

The great distress of the protestants in France.

And in very deed, to man's thinking it might appear no less after such a great destruction of the protestants, having lost so many worthy and noble captains as then were cut off, whereupon many, for fear revoking their religion, returned to the pope, divers fled out of the realm, such as would not turn, keeping themselves secret, durst not be known nor seen, so that it was past all hope of man, that the gospel should ever have any more place in France. But such is the

(1) Ex Historia Ric. Dinothi, [De Bello Civili Gallico, etc. Basil, 1582, lib. v. page 341.—Ed.

(2) Some of these sufferers will be better known by the names of Pierre de la Ramée; le Chape; and De Lomenie.—Ed.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Commentaria de Statu Gallie, part iv. [fol. 54 verso, edit. 1577. See also Paris's "Correspondence du Roi Charles IX. et du sieur de Mandelot, Gouverneur de Lyon," a Paris, 1820.—Ed.

admirable working of the Lord, where man's help and hope most fail, there he most showeth his strength and helpeth, as here is to be seen and noted. For whereas the little small remnant of the gospel side, being now brought to utter desperation, were now ready to give over unto the king, and many were gone already against conscience, yielding to time, yet the Lord of his goodness so wrought, that many were stayed and reclaimed again through the occasion first of them in Rochelle; who, hearing of the cruel massacre in Paris, and slaughter at Toulouse, most constantly, with valiant hearts (the Lord so working), thought to stand to their defence against the king's power; by whose example certain other cities, hearing thereof, took no little courage to do the like: as namely Montauban, the city called Nismes in Languedoc, Sancerre, Millaud, Mirebeau, Anduze, with other towns and cities more: who being confederate together, exhorted one another to be circumspect, and take good heed of the false dissembling practices not to be trusted of the merciless papists, intending nothing but blood and destruction.

These things thus passing at Rochelle, the king hearing thereof, giveth in commandment to captain Strozzi and Guarde<sup>2</sup> to see to Rochelle. After this he sendeth a nobleman, one Biron, requiring of the Rochelle men to receive him for their governor under the king. Of this great consultation being had, at length the Rochelle men began to condescend upon certain conditions; which being not easily granted unto, and especially they hearing, in the mean time, what was done to other of their fellows, which had submitted themselves, thought it so better to stand to the defence of their lives and consciences, and to adventure the worst. Whereupon began great siege and battery to be laid against Rochelle both by land and sea, which was anno 1572, about the 4th day of December.

It would require another volume to describe all things, during the time of this siege, that passed on either side, between the king's part, and the town of Rochelle. Briefly to run over some parts of the matter: In the beginning of the next year following, which was in 1573, in the month of January, commandment was given out by the king to all and sundry nobles and peers of France, upon great punishment, to address themselves in most forcible wise to the assaulting of Rochelle. Whereupon a great concourse of all the nobility, with the whole power of France, was there assembled, amongst whom was also the prince of Anjou, the king's brother (who there not long after was proclaimed king of Poland), accompanied with his other brother the duke of Alençon, Navarre, Condé, and other a great number of states besides. Thus, the whole power of France being gathered against one poor town, had not the mighty hand of the Lord stood on their side, it had been impossible for them to escape.

During the time of this siege, which lasted about seven months, what skirmishes and conflicts were on both sides, it would require a long tractation. To make short, seven principal assaults were given to the poor town of Rochelle, with all the power that France could make: in all which assaults ever the pope's catholic side had the worst. Concerning the first assault thus I find written, that within the space of twenty-six days were charged against the walls and houses

Appendix.

God's helping hand at need.

The town of Rochelle example to other towns.

The cities of the protestants take courage to defend themselves.

[Marchal] Biron.

Rochelle men stand to their defence.

See Appendix.

Rochelle first besieged by Biron, anno 1573.

The whole power of France set against Rochelle.

The siege of Rochelle, during seven months. Seven assaults against Rochelle.

(1) See Laval's "Reformation in France," vol. iii. pt. i. page 464.—Ed.

(2) These were Philip Strozzi and Baron de la Garde.—Ed.



*Appendix.* of Rochelle, to the number of thirty thousand shot of iron bullets and globes, whereby a great breach was made for the adversary to invade the city: but such was the courage of them within (not men only, but also of women, matrons, and maidens, with spits, fire, and such other weapon as came to hand), that the adversary was driven back, with no small slaughter of their soldiers: only of the townsmen were slain and wounded to the number of sixty persons. Likewise in the second assault two thousand great field-pieces were laid against the town; whereupon the adversary attempted the next day to invade the town, but through the industry of the soldiers and citizens, and also of the women and maids, the invaders were forced at length to fly away faster than they came. No better success had all the assaults that followed: whereby consider, gentle reader, with thyself, in what great distress these good men were, not of Rochelle only, but of other cities also, during these seven months above mentioned, had not the mighty hand of the Lord Almighty sustained them: concerning whose wondrous operation for his servants in these hard distresses, three memorable things I find in history to be noted.

Three  
notable  
examples  
of God's  
great  
mercy in  
preserv-  
ing his  
servants.

The one concerning the siege of Sancerre; which city being terribly battered and razed with gunshot of great canons, and field-pieces (having at one siege no less than three thousand bullets and gunstones flying upon them, wherewith the crests of their helmets were pierced, their sleeves, their hose, their hats pierced, their weapons in their hands broken, their walls shaken, their houses rent down); yet not one person slain or wounded with all this, save only at the first a certain maiden, with the blast of the shot flying by her, was struck down, and died.

The se-  
cond ex-  
ample.

The second thing to be noted is this, that in the same city of Sancerre, during all the time of the siege, which lasted seven months and a half, for all the ordnance and battering-pieces discharged against them, which are numbered to six thousand, not so much as twenty-five persons, in all, were slain!

The third  
miracu-  
lous work  
of God, in  
sending  
in fish.

The third example, no less memorable, was at Rochelle: whereas the poorer sort began to lack corn and victual, there was sent to them every day in the river (by the hand of the Lord no doubt) a great multitude of fish, called surdones, which the poorer people did use instead of bread; which fish, the same day as the siege brake up, departed and came no more.—Testified by them which were present there in Rochelle all the time.

One hun-  
dred and  
thirty-two  
captains  
of the  
king's  
army  
slain.

What number was lost on both sides during all this seven months' war, it is not certainly known. Of the king's camp what number was slain, by this it may be conjectured, that one hundred and thirty-two of their captains were killed and slain, of whom the chiefest was duke D'Aumale.

Peace  
concluded  
between  
the king  
and the  
protes-  
tants.  
Duke of  
Anjou  
made  
king of  
Poland.

To close up this tragical story, concerning the breaking up of this seven months' siege, thus it fell out: that shortly after the seventh assault given against Rochelle, which was anno 1573, about the month of June, word came to the camp, that the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, was proclaimed king of Poland: whereat great joy was in the camp. By occasion whereof the new king, more willing to have peace, entered talk with them of Rochelle; who, as he showed himself to them not ungentle, so found he them again to him not uncon-

formable. Whereupon a certain agreement pacificatory was concluded between them upon conditions: which agreement the new Polish king eftsoons preferred to the French king his brother, not without some suit and intercession to have it ratified. The king also himself, partly being weary of these chargeable wars, was the more willing to assent thereunto. And thus at length, through the Lord's great work, the king's royal consent under form of an edict was set down in writing, and confirmed by the king, containing twenty-five articles: in which also were included certain other cities of the protestants, granting to them benefit of peace and liberty of religion. This edict or mandate, sent down from the king by his herald-at-arms, Biron, in the king's name, caused to be solemnly proclaimed at Rochelle, in the year 1573, the 10th day of July.

Appendix.

Peace agreed and concluded between the king and protestants of Rochelle, and certain other cities.

Anno 1573.  
July 10.

The next year following, 1574, for two things seemeth fatal and famous; for the death first of Charles the ninth the French king, also most of all for the death of Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, brother to Guise. Of the manner of the cardinal's death, I find little mention in stories. Touching the king's death, although Richard Dinothus saith nothing,<sup>1</sup> for fear belike, because he being a Frenchman, his name is expressed and known: but another story (whom the said Dinothus doth follow) bearing no name, saith thus: That he died the 25th day of May, upon Whitsun-even, being of the age of twenty-five years; and addeth more: "Certain it is, that his sickness came of bleeding."<sup>2</sup> And saith further: "The constant report so goeth, that his blood gushing out by divers parts of his body, he, tossing in his bed, and casting out many horrible blasphemies, laid upon pillows with his heels upward and head downward, voided so much blood at his mouth, that in few hours he died:"<sup>3</sup> which story, if it be true, as is recorded and testified, may be a spectacle and example to all persecuting kings and princes polluted with the blood of christian martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the late terrible persecution in France.

The death of Charles the ninth the French king, and of the cardinal of Lorraine.

The manner of Charles the French king's death, to be noted.

## THE CONCLUSION OF THE WORK.

And thus to conclude, good christian reader, this present tractation, not for lack of matter, but to shorten rather the matter for largeness of the volume, I here stay for this present time with further addition of more discourse either to overweary thee with longer tediousness, or overcharge the book with longer prolixity; having hitherto set forth the acts and proceedings of the whole church of Christ, namely, of the church of England, although not in such particular perfection, that nothing hath overpassed us; yet in such general sufficiency, that I trust not very much hath escaped us, necessary to be known, touching the principal affairs, doings and proceedings of the church and churchmen. Wherein may be seen the

(1) "Paulo post illum tumultum rex Carolus mortuus est." Dinothus, Lib. v. p. 400. De Bello Civili Gallico. Basil. 1582.—Ed.

(2) "Proffuvio sanguinis illum laborasse certum est."

(3) "Constans fert fama, illum, dum è variis corporis partibus sanguis emanaret, in lecto sæpe volutatum, inter horribilium blasphemiarum diras—tantam sanguinis vim projecisse, ut paucas post horas mortuus fuerit." Ex Comment. de Stat. Galliæ, pt. iv. [fol. 139 verso.]

Appendix. whole state, order, descent, course, and continuance of the same, the increase and decrease of true religion, the creeping in of superstition, the horrible troubles of persecution, the wonderful assistance of the Almighty in maintaining his truth, the glorious constancy of Christ's martyrs, the rage of the enemies, the alteration of times, the travails and troubles of the church, from the first primitive age of Christ's gospel, to the end of queen Mary, and the beginning of this our gracious queen Elizabeth. During the time of her happy reign, which hath hitherto continued (through the gracious protection of the Lord)

A. D. 1582. the space now of twenty-four years, as my wish is, so I would be glad the good will of the Lord were so, that no more matter of such lamentable stories may ever be offered hereafter to write upon. But so it is, I cannot tell how, the elder the world waxeth, the longer it continueth, the nearer it hasteneth to its end, the more Satan rageth; giving still new matter of writing books and volumes: insomuch that if all were recorded and committed to history, that within the said compass of this queen's reign hitherto hath happened, in Scotland, Flanders, France, Spain, Germany, besides this our own country of England and Ireland, with other countries more, I verily suppose one Eusebius, or Polyhistor, which Pliny writeth of, would not suffice thereunto.

But of these incidents and occurrents hereafter more, as it shall please the Lord to give grace and space. In the mean time, the grace of the Lord Jesus work with thee, gentle reader, in all thy studious readings. And while thou hast space, so employ thyself to read, that by reading thou mayest learn daily to know that which may profit thy soul, may teach thee experience, may arm thee with patience, and instruct thee in all spiritual knowledge more and more to thy perpetual comfort and salvation in Christ Jesus our Lord; to whom be glory *in secula seculorum*, Amen.

**The End of the Acts and Monuments.**

## APPENDIX TO VOL. VIII.

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Page 3, line 9 from the bottom. "*His mother,*" &c.]—The Latin Edition says, "Patrem habuit suæ appellationis Thomam Cranmerum:" the first English, "had to his father Thomas Cranmer, being of the same name," p. 1470.

Page 3, line 7 from the bottom. "*Cranmer being from his infancy,*" &c.]—The Latin Edition, p. 708, says, "Puer, cum primum per ætatem imbibendis literis admoveri cœpit, literature usus est publico ejus oppidi Asloctoniæ liturgo seu administro (parochiani sua lingua clerum vocant parochianum). Sub hoc igitur non elegantissimam nactus formationem, quum in minutioribus grammatices rudimentis aliquamdiu detritus jamque preparatus satis videretur, adolescens demum annum agens decimumquartum, Cantabrigiam grandioribus imbibendis disciplinis a matre mittitur. Erant tum ea tempora, quando, neglectis spretisque cultioris doctrinæ autoribus, fœda barbaries omnes occupabat scolas." Which is thus Englished in the Edition of 1563: "In his childehoode so soone as by the capacite of his age hee was ready to take learning he had the parish clarke of Aslocton towne for his first teacher. Under whom not beyng very well instructed, when he had spent some tyme in the fyrst rudiments of grammer, and seemed to be well entred, being fourtene yere olde he was sent of hys mother to Cambridge to be further instructed in high learning. It was in that time," &c.

Page 4, line 11. "*Until he was twenty year old.*" ]—The Latin Edition says, "ad vigesimum usque secundum ætatis suæ annum:" this brings us to the year 1511; Cranmer took his B.A. degree, according to the University Register, in the year 1511-12.

Page 4, line 13. "*The bokes of Faber and Erasmus began,*" &c.]—The Latin Edition adds, "per id tempus."

Page 4, line 30. "*As a considering beholder or scholar of Pythagoras.*" ]—"Ut scepticus quidam rerum omnium contemplator vel Pythagoricus auditor." (Lat. Ed.)—*i. e.* "a Pythagorean listener."

Page 4, line 11 from the bottom. "*And so being Master of Arts,*" &c.]—The University Register states Cranmer to have taken his M.A. degree in 1515-16.

Page 4, line 3 from the bottom. "*Merchants.*" ]—See Nares's Glossary on "Merchant:" also middle of page 409 of this volume.

Page 5, line 13. "*Being doctor of divinity.*" ]—The first Edition says, in continuation of the passage ending "memory," in last page, "And thus with great diligence he followeth this order of studie untill he was xxxv. yeare olde, and then he obtained that degree which in the schole of divinitie is highest, and maketh of scholers teachers, and so was made Doctor of Divinitie." The Latin Edition (p. 709) says in like manner, "Donec ad annum progressus trigesimum quintum, titulum eum assecutus sit, qui in theologorum scholâ summus ac celeberrimus ex discipulis doctores reddit." It appears, however, by the University Register, that Cranmer was made B.D. in 1521-22, and D.D. in 1526-27, according to which he must have just completed his 38th year when he was made D.D., if born July 2, 1489.

Page 5, line 4 from the bottom. "*Henry the Eighth, his divorce . . . being by the space of two or three years amongst the canonists, civilians, and other learned men diversely disputed . . . Dr. Cranmer,*" &c.]—Extracts from the Latin and first English Editions will be found among the "Documents" at the end of this Appendix, No. I. Those extracts represent somewhat differently from subsequent Editions the mode in which Cranmer became connected with the matter. Foxe perhaps discovered that he had been misinformed in the first account: it seems probable that he was mistaken in saying that Bishop Long-



land first suggested scruples to the king's mind, and he might have been mistaken as to the other points. "I have heard Dr. Draycot, that was his chaplain and chancellor, say, that he once told the bishop what rumour ran upon him in that matter; and desired to know of him the very truth. Who answered, that in very deed he did not break the matter after that sort as is said; but the king brake the matter to him first; and never left urging him, until he had won him to give his consent. Of which his doings he did forethink himself and repented afterward." (MS. Life of Sir T. More, cited in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. i. p. 548, note (5), supposed to be written by Nicholas Harpsfield.)

Page 6, top.]—The ensuing narrative of Cranmer's retreat to Waltham Abbey, and of his interview there with Gardiner and Foxe, is first introduced in the Edition of 1570. The author of the "Life and Death of Bishop Fisher" (Edit. London, 1740, p. 95) represents, not Waltham, but a house at Chich, or St. Osyth, near Colchester, belonging to Lord Darcy, as the place where Cranmer met with Henry's courtiers, and was by them first introduced to the king. The same author states that the point opened by Cranmer was *the king's supremacy in his own dominions*, and his right to have the divorce question settled at home independently of the pope's court.

Page 9, line 12. "*Learned men were sent abroad to the most part of the universities in Christendom . . . in both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford.*"—It has been remarked in the Appendix to vol. v. (notes on pp. 47, 56), that Cavendish ascribes to his master, Wolsey, the first suggestion of applying to the universities, previous to applying to the pope. The author of the "Life and Death of Bishop Fisher," p. 65, represents it as the joint advice of the cardinal and the bench of Bishops, who with certain of the most learned men of the realm had been convoked on the subject at the cardinal's house, but separated without coming to any decision. The same writer adds, that the orators chosen by the king having obtained favourable answers from the universities, ambassadors were sent with these answers of the universities to the pope; and ultimately obtained the appointment of Campeggio and Wolsey to try the cause. But it is observable that there is no allusion in any of the king's or cardinal's despatches to the English ambassadors at Rome in 1528, to any opinions of the universities as having been then obtained, but only to those of learned individuals. The probability is, therefore, that Foxe is correct, in ascribing the suggestion to Cranmer.

Page 11, line 1. "*And whereas the saying is 'Not Hercules against two.'*"—"*Μηδ' Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς δύο* id est, Ne Hercules quidem adversus duos, hoc est. Nemo usque adeo viribus excellit, ut unus pluribus par esse possit. Neque indecorum est cedere multitudini. Erit autem suavior metaphora, si significabimus *neminem quantumvis eruditum adversus duos in disputando sufficere*," &c. Erasmi Adag. cent. v. chil. i. p. 174, where Plato's Phædo, § 38, the Euthydemus, &c. are referred to.

"Home go this brace of disputants, wiser than they came to Cambridge, having learned by dear-bought experience, that if Hercules were so wary as not to fight against two, they two were none of the wisest to fight against so many Herculeses as an university might afford." (Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, sect. vi. § 44—49.)

For proof of Cranmer's zeal in attacking the pope's usurped authority, see Strype's Cranmer, bk. i. chap. 6, and the autograph Protest, the *fac-simile* of which accompanies this volume.

Page 12, line 23. "*More than man-killers.*"—A bald translation of the Latin Edition (p. 711): "*Sex articulos istos plusquam homicidas.*"

Page 22, line 1. "*Have me make another cheverance.*"—Or chevisaunce. "Our older writers use the word as the Fr. *cherer*." So Richardson; who then gives meanings from Cotgrave, of which "to compound, to come to an agreement," seem best to suit the passage in Foxe. Tindale, quoted by Richardson, writes, "If they (the Venetians) allege that they bought it and so forth, his fatherhood (the pope) answered, That the old pope had none authority to make any such *cheverance* with St. Peter's inheritance." (Works, vol. i. p. 445, Edit. 1831. See also Prompt. Parvulorum, p. 74, Edit. 1843; and Jewel's Reply to Harding, p. 197, Parker Soc. Edit.)

In p. 625 infra, "*her doings and chievances*" seems to mean contrivances,

management, or notable achievements. See above, Appendix to vol. iii. note on p. 215.

Page 25, line 16. "*What manner a man.*"—This reading of the Edition 1563 is justified by the following from the Liber Festivalis (Paris, 1495, fol. xxxiv. verso): "And withoute one of thyse lettres maye no *manner a man* make noo worde." The idiom occurs again at p. 442 of this volume, middle.

Page 26, line 7 from the bottom. "*Of altogether.*"—So the early Wycliffite version of Genesis xlii. 36: "And alle togiderers afeerd, the fader Jacob saide."

Page 27, line 4 from the bottom. "*Casting into the satchel behind.*"—See Phædrus's Fables, iv. 10.

Page 37, line 24. "*Hatred conceived against some.*"—For "some" the first Edition, p. 1473, reads, "the duke of Northumberland, for the suppressing of the rude rebellion raysed by the sayde commons a litle before."

Page 37, line 4 from the bottom. "*While these things,*" &c.]—The Edition of 1563, p. 1479, thus introduces this matter: "In the meane tyme there came downe a Commission, sent from the Queene and her Counsell, to sytte upon all suche as were exempted out of pardon, among whom was the sayd Archbishop of Canterbury called before the sayd Commissioners, then syttyng in the Deane of Paules house; who beyng there present before them, they assigned hym a day to bring in a true Inventory of al his goods. In this meane whyle there was one (whom the Archbyshoppe afterwarde named to bee Thornton) which had set up Masse at Caunterbury, wherupon suspicion arose and was blowne abroad by the adversaries, that Cranmer should be the authour thereof. Cranmer hearing of these rumours and reportes falsely fathered upon hym, penned and drew out a certayne wrytinge, containyng his purgation agaynst that false and sclaunderous surmyse, whereby to stoppe the suspition of the people, and to stablyshe them in their professed truth. Thys byll being thus written," &c. There are two accounts of Cranmer's pretended mass, and his purgation, in the Edition of 1563: the account in subsequent Editions is made up from these two, but the above extract has been omitted, whereas it is necessary to complete the narrative.

Page 38, line 1. "*He had already said mass at Canterbury.*"—The first Edition, p. 1474, here adds: "whiche thyng was the crafte of some of the Papistes, and chiefly, as it is sayd, of Doctor Thorden (of whome mention is made before), eyther to bring the Archebyshop in hatred of the people, or els that under pretence of his name, they myght get the masse more autoritie. This rumour Cranmer thinking," &c. Then follows an epitome of the "Purgation," which has been given in full at vol. vi. p. 539, where see the notes in the Appendix.

Page 38, line 3. "*Gave forth a writing.*"—In the first Edition there is added: "with great courage, and with no lesse truthe on his syde, but yet litle to purpose, considering the Quenes minde and the olde causes of her displeasure against him: for her mynde boyled against him with implacable hate for her mother's divorce, which divorce (as it is thought) made her the more wyllyng and desirous to put the sayde Cranmer to death. And againe what can not princes doe in fyndyng cause when they lyst to doe a man hurt, whensoever they beare one ill wyll, which maketh manye tymes much hurte in commor. weales." (pp. 1474—75.)

The Archbishop's great offence lay undoubtedly in making appeals to Rome unnecessary, and so ultimately questioning her judicial authority. See p. 11 supra.

Page 38, line 6.]—The first Edition here rightly calls Scory bishop of *Chichester*: subsequent Editions alter this to *Rochester*: but he was translated from Rochester to Chichester by royal letters, dated May 23rd, 1552: see Rymer's *Fœdera*, and Richardson's *Godwin*: see also vol. vi. p. 412.

Page 38, line 15 from the bottom. "*The said bishop.*"—The Edition of 1563, p. 1479, adds, "of the Counsell," to identify him with the individual above mentioned as "a bishop, of the queen's privy council."

Page 38, line 10 from the bottom. "*Meddling in matters of religion.*"—The

first Edition, p. 1479, here adds: "By which proceedings and doinges both of the said Cranmer and of the Queene, appeareth not only the constant mynde of Cranmer, offering hymselfe to peryl for hys true religion, wher otherwise he mighte have quietly lived, but also that all cruelty extended afterward against him, was not for the enforced matter of supposed treason, but for hys voluntary professing of hys true Christian fayth."

Page 39, line 12. "*What this disputation was,*" &c.]—The following passage from the first Edition, p. 1475, describing the scene at Oxford, is worth preserving, though a full account is given *supra*, vol. vi.: "The disputation was solemnely denounced: the daye also appointed, not without great expectation of many. Doctor Weston was made chiefe arbiter and judge, whom we call Prolocutor: and in the same cause and daunger were joynd with the arch-bishop Nicholas Ridley, Bysshop of London, and Hughe Latimer, sometime Bysshoppe of Worcester. Whiche after they were broughte thether to dispute with the Divines were shut up in Pryson, untill the daye of disputation, which was the sixteenth daye of Aprill An. 1554, at whiche daye they were all commaunded to be present and to dispute. For the Archbysshop first (because they woulde begyn with him) was appointed Mondaye. The other two also had the other two dayes followyng, in lyke order. It were to long to repeate every thyng with what bitternes of mynde, with what favour of partes, janglyng of woordes, laughyng, raylinge, hissing, and with what prejudice the matter was handeled, so that it myght seme to be, not a disputation but a conspiracy, not the acte of Bachillers, but the madnes of Bachanals. Oftentimes tenne or twelve at once set upon him with gret raging voyces, as though they hadd stryved amonge them selves which of them by flatteryng should get the praise of impudence. Weston the Prolocutor sat up on hyghe, in his throne of theological majestie, above their heades, lookynge downe upon the hearers from above. Sometime he did argue him selfe, but not without the pot, as is afore touched, his special frende and trustie companion, that the disputation should be no less drunken than tumultuous, as well declared their confuse and unseemle<sup>1</sup> disorder of crying, brawling, laughing, rayling, and raging. Whereof because we have sufficientlye entreated in the former part of this section before, we will now be the shorter in describing the same, referring the Reader to the place of their disputation above mentioned, &c. This one thing by the way, &c."

Page 42, line 12. "*Standing ashore.*"—*Ashore*, aside. (West.) It is used in the same sense as *ajar*, applied to a door. The word is common in the west of England. Halliwell's Dictionary *in vocem*.

Page 43, line 7 from the bottom. "*Sixty-six.*"—"lxi" in the Edition of 1563, p. 1478.

Page 44, line 16. "*Void in law.*"—The Edition of 1563, p. 1479, adds, "for that it was given by persons excommunicated."

Page 45, line 9 from the bottom. "*Anno 1556, March 12.*"—This must be an error for "anno 1555, September 12;" but it so stands in all the old Editions except the first, which does not give the oration at full, nor its date.

Page 47, line 4. "*Cornelius against Noratus.*"—It would have been better had the bishop said "*Noratian.*" The two names, however, were frequently confounded in earlier times: see Notes on Eusebius (H. E. vi. 43), and Cyprian's Epistle to Magnus, from which this quotation is made, Ep. 76; or 69, Edit. Fell, p. 181.

Page 47, line 26. "*Bagged with children.*"—See Nares' Glossary. "An animal with young is said to be bagged." (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

Page 48, middle. "*St. Cyprian before his return being a witch.*"—Cyprian of Carthage is here confounded with Cyprian of Antioch, who is mentioned and lauded by Gregory Nazianzen, &c., and whose fabricated Confession is appended to Fell's Edition, and Baluze's, and the Paris one of 1836, of the writings of Cyprian of Carthage. See Placcii Theatrum Anonym. et Pseudonymorum, pt. ii. p. 213; and Foxe, i. 199, 205 and note (1); or, if further examination is wished, S. Basnage's Annales Politico-Eccles. ad an. 248, § 5—7.

(1) Corrected in the Errata into "unseemly."

"Verum in ea [*i.e.* the oration of Gregory of Nazianzum] illud est incommodi, quod magnum Cyprianum confundit cum alio Cypriano, qui ex mago Christianus factus, cum Justina virgine quam beneficiis frustra corrumpere tentaverat, martyrium Nicomediæ sub Diocletiano subiisse fertur. In eundem scopulum inpegisse videntur Prudentius in Hymno de S. Cypriano et alii nonnulli, potissimum e Græcis." Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum sincera*; p. 198, Edit. 1713.

Page 50, line 15. "*So did Marcian against Manicheus.*"—Dr. Martin intended perhaps, or at least ought, to have instanced the Eutychians, instead of "Manicheus." See S. Basnage's *Annales Politico-Ec.* ad an. 452, § 12. In the next line "Jovinian" has been corrected into "Jovian."

Page 50, line 18. "*So had Henry the title of Defender of the faith.*"—He had indeed; and the negotiation, jobbing, and intrigue connected with this matter, and "the boke," are most instructively displayed in a valuable pamphlet, "The Papal Jewel in the Protestant Crown, an Historical Note, illustrative of the fac-simile Bull of Leo X. conferring on Henry VIII. the title of *Defender of the Faith.*" Lond. 1845.

Page 57, line 7. "You sent them to your printer to put in a *not*."—Dr. Jenkyns, in his *Remains of Cranmer*, iv. 97, says, that he cannot find a "*not*" here in any extant copy of Cranmer's "Catechismus." No, nor will a "*not*" ever be discovered *where Dr. Martin insinuates that it will.*

The fact is, there were two "printes" (as Cranmer presently calls them), *i.e.* editions, of the "Catechismus," published by Lynn in the same year 1548, both of which the Editor has lying before him: they are in eights; the first Edition has 244 folios, the second 260 folios. The *first* says in the title-page, "set forth by . . . Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury . . . Gualterus Lynne, excudebat, 1548." The preamble of the Preface says, "Overseene and corrected by the moost reverende father in God," &c. The Colophon says, "Imprynted at London in S. Jhones-strete, by Nycolas Hyll for Gwalter Lynne, dwelling on Somers Kaye by Byllyng's gate." The *second* Edition has the same title-page and block engraving. In the preamble of the Preface we read, "set forth by the moost reverende," &c. And the Colophon omits the words "by Nycolas Hyll."

An inspection of these two Editions will explain the matter in the text of Foxe. At folio clviii. of the *first* Edition, under the head "*An Instruction of Prayer*," commenting on the first petition of the Lord's Prayer Cranmer says, "The name of God is halowed also, but lytle regarded and contemned, whan the Gospell and Worde of God is not boldely professed before the worlde." Among the "Fautes escaped in Pryntyng" at the end of the volume is this, "The clviii. lefe i. syde ii. lyne, readed not halowed." Accordingly in the *second* Edition, folio clxxiiij., we read correctly, "The name of God is not halowed also," &c. So that Cranmer's insertion of a "*not*" had nothing to do with the subject of the Sacrament, as Dr. Martin insinuates.

It is worth noting, that the reading "Printes," as it stands in Edition 1570, p. 2053, and in Edition 1576, p. 1771, is corrupted in Edition 1583, p. 1577, into "Prynters," and "Printers" in Edition 1596, p. 1703.

The Editor has been kindly permitted the inspection of original copies of the two Editions of the "Catechismus" above referred to, the property of William Tite, Esq., M.P.; and he is indebted to R. Thompson, Esq., of the London Institution, for the above solution of the difficulty respecting the "*not*."

Page 59, line 10 from the bottom. "*Wanhope.*"—"The fendes . . . make people to hange themselfe and drowne themselfe in *wanhope* and dyspayre." (*The Festival*, fol. xxxix. recto, Ed. 1528.)

Page 60, line 12. "*Origen saith . . . and interpreteth.*"—The quotation being made *memoriter* is not verbally correct (see Orig. Op. tom. iv. Append. p. 22, Edit. 1733), and the latter part about tradition savours of being a gloss.

Page 61, line 9. "*Three times a rew.*"—This is the reading in all the old editions of Foxe: "a rew" means "in a row," in succession: see Nares, and Todd's Johnson, where "rew" is shown to be the original of "row."

Page 61, note (1). "*Ipsum dari censuit.*"—In Augustine himself, "*exsolvisse videtur*," tom. iii. Append. col. 73.



Page 67, line 17. "*But not so well as the marquis.*"—The reading in Coverdale's "Letters" is better; "*but none so well.*"

Page 68, line 9 from the bottom. "*The holiness.*"—In Edit. 1563 somewhat more largely, "*the stynckyng holiness.*"

Page 69.]—This papal commission to proceed definitively against Cranmer is in the Bonner Register, folio 421, whence Foxe seems to have taken it, as his copy agrees.

Page 70, line 11.]—A portion of this Definitive Sentence is given in Raynaldi's continuation of Baronius, an. 1555, § 30. headed by the following, extracted from the Acta Consistorialia: "*Romæ die iv. mensis Decembris MDLV. fuit consistorium, in quo fuit plene disputatum, an Thomas Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis esset privandus et puniendus, cum multa crimina hæresis commisisset: et tandem fuit conclusum et lata desuper sententia per Sanctitatem suam tenoris sequentis, viz.*"

Page 72, line 13.]—The Latin Process against Cranmer, and his Condemnation, together with his Recantation, are in the Bonner Register, folio 421—3, whence they are printed at the end of this Appendix, Document No. II.

Page 73, line 16. "*But Bonner still went on.*"—This paragraph is rather differently worded in the Edit. of 1563, p. 1491: "*went on stil impudently with his dogge eloquence, railing still at him, heapyng a great number of lies together, continuyng almost the space of one halfe houre, beginnyng every sentence, saying, This is the man; so leudly and lothsomly, that he made every man wearie.*"

Part of Bishop Bale's sketch of the archbishop in his "*Britanniæ Scriptores*" is well worth extracting: "*In medio Babylonis probum semper egit Israeliticæ gentis ducem, atque inter tyrannizantes in Christi veritatem Papistas inaudita prudentia moderatus est populum Dei, ne vulpibus essent prædæ. Nemo unquam felicius ac firmitus in pseudomagistrorum medio cum Christo, quamvis non sine periculo vitæ, perstitit. Nemo prudentius pseudoapostolos quosdam, tametsi cum Paulo sciret esse pestilentissimos, tolerabat ad tempus, ne in majorem concitarentur insaniam.*"

These difficulties, candidly considered, will often suggest a satisfactory reply to the obloquy, which either religious or political acrimony has attempted to cast on the name of this illustrious martyr. Biogr. notice, prefixed to vol. ii. of Cranmer's Works (Parker Soc.), p. 7.

Page 73, line 32. "*And especially master Curtop.*"—The Edition of 1563 reads "*in especially.*" James Curtop or Courthope, as the family now spell the name, was made a canon of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1546. He was once a pupil and friend of Peter Martyr, and helped Jewel in his necessities. But in Queen Mary's days he changed his party: "*Curtop has wonderfully fallen away,*" says Julius Terentianus (Reformation Letters, Park. Soc. p. 373). Soon after her accession he was made dean of Peterborough. He disputed with Ridley (see vi. 493): he was sworn a witness against Cranmer (see p. 63 of this vol.): and here Cranmer appeals to him twice, evidently hoping to touch his conscience: he was also appointed to dispute with Philpot in his 5th examination (supra, vii. 620, 628). He died 19th July, 1557. See Strype's Cranmer, 285, 536.

The following curious anecdote connected with his death is preserved by Anthony Wood:—"Juellus Tiguri forte somniavit dentem molarem sibi excidisse: quod postridie cum Petro martyri apperuisset, Brevi, inquit ille, de morte alicujus amici tui nuncium audies. Cum autem Juellus diem et horam in libello notasset, ex literis proximis comperit, hunc amicissimum suum patronum Curthoppum in Anglia decessisse, in eodem omnino quo ille somniavit tempore."

He had a brother Thomas Curtop, curate of Harwich, and a stiff Papist in the time of Henry VIII., against whom Articles were exhibited for non-compliance with the King's Proclamation, A.D. 1535, preserved among the Miscellaneous Documents belonging to the Exchequer and Treasury now at the Record Office.

Page 75, line 10. "*Through reservations of the bishoprics, provisions, annates.*"—The statute of 25 Henry VIII., providing that no more sums of money should be paid to the bishop of Rome, begins with a recital, how the subjects of this realm had for many years been greatly decayed and im-  
proved.

ished by intolerable exactions of great sums of money, taken and claimed by the bishop of Rome, called the Pope, and the see of Rome ; as well in pensions, censes, Peterpence, procurations, fruits, suits for provisions and expeditions of Bulls for archbishoprics and bishoprics, and for delegacies, and rescripts in causes of contention and appeal, jurisdictions legatine, dispensations, licenses, faculties, grants, relaxations, writs of *perinde valere*, rehabilitations, abolitions, and other infinite sorts, &c. as the statute declares them to be.”—*Staveley's Romish Horseleach* (Lond. 1769), pp. 22, 23.

Page 75, note (1). “*Letters of protection and defence.*”]—These are designated in vol. v. p. 786, and vol. vi. p. 264, “Apostles;” the meaning of which term is thus explained in Ferraris’s “*Bibliotheca Canonica, Juridica, &c.*” tom. i. p. 208: “*Apostolorum autem, qui libelli pariter dimissorii appellantur, formam atque solemniam de Jure Romanorum veteri exponit Brissonius, ex leg. i. ff. de libell. dimissor. ubi Marcianus hæc habet, ‘Post appellationem interpositam literæ dandæ sunt ab eo, a quo appellatum est, ad eum, qui de appellatione cogniturus est, sive principem, sive quem alium. Quas Literas dimissorias sive Apostolos appellant.’*”

This extract will make Foxe’s note more intelligible.

Page 80, lines 6 and 17. “*Was thought to be toward.*”]—The phrase “to be toward” occurs again at p. 570, line 4. It is also used in More’s *Life of Sir Thomas More* (Edit. 1828, p. 267), “My lord, when I was *towards* the law,” &c.

Page 82, line 7.]—The Latin original of this Recantation will be found among the Documents at the end of this Appendix (No. II.), copied exactly from Bonner’s Register.

Page 83, line 6. “*Would nothing relent.*”]—In Edit. 1563, p. 1498, “she doth so little release, that they which durst entreat for him, were entangled themselves in danger.”

Page 84, line 3 from the bottom. “*And ragged apparel.*”]—The Edit. of 1563, p. 1499, adds: “And yet with a christen judgement if we behold the matter, we shall see the said archb. never before more gloriously, or more like a true archb. invested in all his pontifical array, as now he standeth in this sely poore wede. For then true humilitie (as is wont to be in that state), sincere patience, ardent crying to God, depe sighing in spirit, joynd with perfect contempt of thinges present (which as I think are the truest ornaments of bishops), did worthily furnish and adorne his mynd, erected unto Christ.”

Page 86, line 17. “*Example of the three children.*”]—See the Apocryphal addition to Daniel iii. 50.

Page 89, middle. “*Likewise his head . . . was so bare.*”]—The first Edition, p. 1502, for “so bare” has “shewed bare.” There are other variations, but not of importance.

Page 94, note (2), last line.]—The translation of Justinian’s *Novellæ*, here quoted, is that by Haloander, and retains the mistake of “non videt,” which should of course be “nescit,” being itself a quotation from 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

Page 98, line 20. “*Dies mihi dictus est . . . 16 hujus mensis.*”]—“Perhaps *tricesimo* sexto should be read here; for the citation was delivered on the 7th of September, the eightieth day from which is the 26th of November. Strype understands it of the 16th of February, 1556; but Cranmer could not have been summoned to appear at Rome on that day; for the Pope’s letters, announcing the Definitive Sentence of Excommunication and Deprivation, and granting authority to degrade and deliver him over to the secular power, were dated on the 14th of the preceding December [see p. 71 *supra*]. Foxe, first Edit. p. 1491.”—*Dr. Jenkyns’ note in Cranmer’s Remains*, vol. i. p. 385.

In line 32, for “ut eandem mihi,” the first Edition reads, “ut mihi *Responsionem* meam.”

Page 100, line 4 from the bottom. “*God be praised again.*”]—The “Letters of the Martyrs” better, “again and again.”

Page 101, line 14 from the bottom.]—Agnes Potten is called Anne, *supra*, vii. 374. The first Edition has these various readings, pp. 1271, 1503. Anne is

probably correct; for in the Harleian MSS., No. 421, fol. 189, will be found the Articles alleged against Anne Potten and Joan Trunchfield; also their personal replies to the Articles, made before Dunning in the Church of St. Mary at the Tower, Ipswich, October 8th, 1555; and Dunning's sentence of condemnation. It is observable that Potten's Christian name is there given as *Anna* in Latin, *Anne* in English: her husband is called "bere-brewer," and both are said to have been of St. Lawrence's parish, Ipswich.

Several verbal variations occur in this account of these two martyrs from the original text of 1563, p. 1503, which are here noticed: line 4 from bottom of this page, "Their opinion or *rather certaine* perswasion;" and "*only*" is omitted before "memorial." Next page, line 2, "*worthily*" is omitted: a few lines lower, "Romish *rowght*, with all *their*," &c.; "continuing," &c.; "and *being* in the torment of fier, *there* held they up," &c.; "and on the *one* syde of the fyre;" "these two *women* beyng allways;" "the one which was," omitted; "Mighel's wyfe seamed *at all times*;" "*zelouse in her manner*;" "the other in joye, *then, although*;" "*so*" omitted before "joyfully;" "knew *her*;" "*her ende*."

Page 102, line 13 from the bottom.]—Foxe had not the ensuing account for the first Edition, but only a notice which is given at p. 725 of this volume (1563, p. 1707); at this place he says (1563, p. 1504), "What their confessions were, before whom they were examined, and by whom condemned, for as much as we have no certein knowlege, neither by Register, nor yet by other of their frendes, we can saye no more but this, that they died the true martyrs of God, for the confession of a sincere fayth in Christe Jesus, whose example we ought rather to followe in the tyme of persecution and trouble, then either for the love of worldly pleasure, or for fear of bodely death, to slip wilfully from the knowne truthe."

Page 105, line 9. "*Being somewhat sturkened*."]—This word does not occur in the dictionaries as a verb; though the substantive &c. is used. Thus Richardson quotes from Holland's Plinie, book xxxi. § 10: "For the stiffnesse and *sturkenesse* of the lims." See Todd's Johnson, under *Starch*. "*Stark*" is used by Latimer above, vol. vii. 532.

Page 105, line 16. "*About the 24th day of April*."]—The first three Editions read "xxiiij," which is afterwards corrupted into "xxij." That the former is correct, is incidentally proved by Careless saying on the 25th of April, that Tynis suffered the day before (p. 167); also at p. 113, "April xiiij," is the reading in all the old Editions, where an x has dropped out, as an i has in this place.

Page 107, line 3. "*Dr. Ridley, bishop of London*."]—i. e. afterward bishop of London, and best known as such, but at the time of Drake's ordination bishop of Rochester; for he was not translated to London till the fourth year of Edward VI.; nor does Drake's ordination appear at all in the Ridley London Register (Ridley's first ordination took place 24th June, 1550); but his institution to Thundersley is given fol. 320, dated January 29th, 1550-1. He is there stated to have been presented by the king, "*verum et indubitatum ipsius ecclesie patronum*." Lord Riche may, however, have used his influence with the king for him.

Page 113, line 4.]—The old editions erroneously read, "xiiij," except the first, which has "xxiiij," p. 1506. (See note on p. 105.) "The xxiiij day of Aprel, in the morning be-tyme, was cared to Smythfeld to be borned vi men, [and] more was cared into the contrey to be borned." (Machyn, p. 104.)

Page 115, middle.]—This son was named "Amos," as appears by a letter of Tyns to his sister, reprinted from the first Edition, p. 1513, and placed among the Documents at the end of this vol. No. 111. Another letter from Tyns to his sisters will be found at p. 723 of this volume, first given by Foxe in the Edition of 1583: the other letter has by some oversight never been reprinted till now.

Page 125, line 4. "*A great many of ceremonies*."]—This seems to be another instance of the word, spelt more commonly *meiny*, or *meyne*; signifying an assemblage, company, &c.; see note on p. 639, vol. vii. Appendix, p. 783. It

occurs again in p. 158; "where were a great many of priests;" and in the examination of Careless, p. 166 of this vol. "there is a great many of other matters;" also in p. 409, line 11.

Page 131, line 10.]—More is told of Hullier afterwards at p. 379. In the first Edition, p. 1513, Foxe erroneously dates the martyrdom of Hullier subsequent to that of Tyns: "About this time, after the burning of these 6 above named;" but adds soon after, "About the second of Aprill he suffered martirdom"—correctly, for at p. 379 he is said to have suffered on Maunday Thursday, which fell on April 2nd, in the year 1556. (See Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 141, middle.]—"The xv day of May was cared in a care from Nuw-gatt thrug London unto Strafford-a-bow to borne 11 men . . . Huw Leveroke, dwelling in Seythin-lane; the blind man dwelling in Sant Thomas Apostells." (Machyn, p. 105.)

Page 141, middle. "*Cast away his crutch.*"—Myles Hoggarde says that he desired to have it:—"Here might also be rehersed the zeale that the lame man that was burnt of late at *Stratford* had, when he called for his croche to have the same likewise to be burned with him, thinking without the same he could not merite the croune of martirdome." (*The displaying of the Protestants*, Lond. 1556, fol. 125 verso.) Both representations may be correct.

Pages 144, 145. "*Account of Thomas Drowry.*"—The Foxian MSS. in the Harleian, No. 425, furnish (p. 135) a few trifling variations from Foxe's text.

Page 149, line 10. "*Having within my crayer.*"—A small ship with one mast: see Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic words; Todd's Johnson. In Adelung's "*Glossarium mediæ et inf. Latinitatis*" we read, under *Craiera*, "*navis piratica*. Gall. olim *Craier*, *Créer* et *Croyer*." See Shakspeare, *Cymb. Act iv. sc. 2*; and p. 219 of this vol., line 12 from the bottom; and Hall's Chronicle, p. 866, edit. 1809.

Page 154, middle. "*Were tied to three stakes.*"—Machyn's Diary, p. 108, says to four: "and ther wer a *XXM* pepull," *i. e.* to witness.

Page 154, note (1).]—This Latin document, not reprinted since the first Edition of Foxe, is in the Bonner Register, folio 430, where it is intituled in the margin, "*Literæ relaxationis sententiæ excommunicationis contra Willm. Adam, Thomam Freman, et Willm. Stonard, laicos, condemnatos propter varias hereses.*" Foxe's copy is occasionally defective, and has been corrected by that in Bonner's Register. It is followed in the Register by a copy of the "*Regia Pardonacio*," dated Westminster "*xxvi. die Julii, annis regnorum tertio et quarto*:" it is observable that this "*Pardon*" calls Adams by the aliases of (once) *Bocher*, or (thrice) *Butcher*, "*Adams alias Bocher*," &c.

Page 156, line 12. "*And in no point distaunt.*"—See Prompt. Parvul, and Halliwell's Dict., where the substantive is explained "*dissension, discord.*"

Page 156, line 15 from the bottom.]—"Uttoxeter" is both times called "*Utopater*" in the first Edition. The families of Flyer and Pyot seem afterwards to have become connected by marriage; see next note.

Page 156, line 14 from the bottom.]—The reading "*Checkley*" is according to the first Edition; the subsequent Editions read "*Cheadle*." From a Pedigree of the Pyotts in Shaw's "*Staffordshire*," i. 364, it appears that they became a considerable family: they sprung from "*Henry Pyott of Hound's Cheadle and Booths in the Count. Stafford, Gent.*" which gives colour to the reading "*Cheadle*;" his son appears to have been "*Thomas Pyot*," father of "*Richard Pyot*," who is recorded in 1583 to have married "*Margerie Flyer*." See Shaw's Pedigree, and MS. additions to a copy of Shaw in the British Museum, formerly in the possession of S. P. Wolverston, Esq.; "*Richard Piat and Margerie Flyer married [at St. Mary's in Lichfield] 29 Nov. 1583.*" There may be some doubt, however, whether the Thomas Pyot of the Pedigree in Shaw is the same individual with the Thomas Pyot of Foxe's text, who appears as a sufferer for the Gospel's sake; for in an extract from the first Edition, given in the next note, Thomas Pyot appears as a persecutor: this latter may have been the man of Shaw's Pedigree and of Cheadle, the former a connexion perhaps of the other, living at Checkley, which is near Cheadle.



Page 156, line 8 from the bottom. "*Taper and beads,*" &c.].—The Edition of 1563, p. 1527, furnishes the following additional illustration, which Foxe considered perhaps hardly important enough to trouble the types with a second time :—

"The daye following, beyng the xxvii. day of June, one Thomas Barnes and Elice Byrch in the same dioces of Lychefield were detected by Thomas Pyot to Doctor Dracot the Chauncelour. The matter whereupon they were denounced was this. They rydyng together to Leeke fayre, after the death of kynge Edwarde, one of them sayd; it was a straunge thyng to heare two Queenes proclaymed in one realme. And the other answered, saying; it was great pitie, for that would bee an occasion of muche unquietnes. Then sayde thone to the other; if the one obtayne, we shall have the newe lawe styll. And if the other obteyne, we shall have the olde masse agayne. Whereunto he made answere agayne, saying; if his dagger were in his belly that sayde the fyrst masse, he cared not. Upon these woordes Draycotte the Chauncelor asked him whether he was an heretick in so saying; or whether he had the same tyme an evill opinion of the masse or not: his aunswer was, that he trusted he was no hereticke: albeit he denied not at the speakyng of those wordes, but that he thought the masse to be abhominable and detestable; for the whiche wordes, after his submission, yet was he condemned to bere a fagot, with beades and his taper before the crosse," &c.

Page 157, line 1. "*Ill to chiere.*"].—To fare ill, or not succeed: see Todd's Johnson, &c.

Page 158, middle. "*Stocking.*"].—*i.e.* imprisoning. See Chaucer's Troilus and Cressida, iii. 381, and H. Tooke's "Diversions of Purley" (Edit. 1840, p. 467), who quotes from the *Life of our Lady*.—"There to abide stocked in prison."

Page 161, middle. "*They are spiteful.*"].—The first Edition, p. 1636, reads "spiritual;" and for "seventeen months" reads "xvi days." Perhaps Alexander VI., Pius III. who reigned 26 days, and is commonly said to have been poisoned (see Platina) A.D. 1503, and Julius II. who succeeded him the same year, may be alluded to; or rather John XXIII., Greg. XII., and Benedict XIII., may be meant: see Foxe, iii. 417—19.

Page 161, note (2).].—We may add that this is a notion not unfrequent among the Fathers; as in Minutius Felix, cap. 18, § 7, and Cyprian de Van. Idolorum, § 5. See top of p. 432 of this volume.

Page 162, line 9. "*Great bibble bubble.*"].—Idle talk, inconsistent matter; see Shakspeare's Twelfth Night, iv. 2; and Foxe afterwards, p. 340 end; and Halliwell's Dictionary.

Page 163, line 9 from the bottom. "*Examination . . . had before D. Martin.*"].—The first Edition, p. 1529, adds: "then one of the maisters of the Chauncerie, and a jolye stirrer in those matters, written by his own hande, as hereafter appeareth." Subsequent Editions proceed thus: "Whiche examination because it containeth nothyng almost but wranglyng interrogations, and matters of contention, wherein Doctour Martin would enter into no communication about the Articles of his accusation, but onely urged him to detect his fellowes, it shall not be greatly materiall therfore to expresse the whole, but onely to excerpt so much, as pertainyng to the question of predestination, may bryng some fruite to the Reader."

Page 163, line 8 from the bottom.].—The heading of Careless's examination, retained from the first Edition, is important for the date which it contains, "April 25th:" see note above on p. 105. Later Editions merely say, "The effect of John Careless's Examination before Dr. Martin, briefly declared."

Page 163, bottom.].—All the Editions except the first begin the account thus: "First, Doctor Martin calling John Careless to him in his chamber, demanded what was his name. To whom when the other had answered that his name was John Careless, then began Doctor Martin to descant at his pleasure upon that name, saying, that it would appear by his conditions, by that time he had done with him, that he would be a true careless man in deed. And so after other bytalke there spent about much needless matter, then he

asked him, where he was born. Forsooth, said he, at Coventry," &c. (See p. 167.)

Page 164, line 30.]—Tyn's autograph copy is extant among the MSS. at Emmanuel Coll. Camb. No. 43.

Page 167, line 12.]—See the note above on p. 105.

Page 167, line 14 from the bottom. "*Would gladly bear a pain with me.*"—A peculiar phrase. Chaucer has: "he woll enjoyne us suche a paine, as we mowe not bere ne sustayne." Works, by Urry, p. 158, col. i. "Pain" probably comes from the French *painnée*, used according to Charpentier in the same sense as "*Pæna tributum, onus agris vel personis impositum.*" See his Supplement to Ducange's *Glossarium Medii Ævi*.

Page 167, note (1).]—There is another prevarication in page 164: we have had occasion before to notice this want of strict veracity in some of those who were in trouble for religion: see Appendix to vol. v. note on p. 425. It was probably to conceal these infirmities of Careless, and prevent the evil effect of such an example, that Foxe in after editions gave only "the effect" of Careless's examination.

Page 170, line 23. "*Whistered.*"—This is the reading of 1563, p. 1534: see note in Appendix to vol. vii. p. 628. Subsequent editions alter it to "whispered."

Page 170, line 12 from the bottom. "*Promotion to die in the fire.*"—"I am alrede proclaimed," he writes in his third letter to K. E., "heretike at Paule's crosse, I prayse God most hartely for it. For nowe I knowe I shal shortly be with him, for whose sake I am so called; and shall be yet more solemnely the Sunday after Trinity Sunday, doctor Harpesfield saith." See Bishop Ridley's Piteous Lamentation, printed by Th. Powell, "with certeyne letters of J. Careless," 1566.

Page 182, bottom.]—Instead of "Mrs. Cotton," Emman. Coll. MS. 1. 2. 8, No. 40 gives "Margery Cooke."

Pages 183, 189.]—For "T. V." Emman. Coll. MSS. 1. 2. 8, No. 38, and 2. 2. 15, No. 115 read "Thomas Upcher."

Page 187, top.]—See the note above on p. 105, whence it seems that this letter was written between Saturday, June 6th, and Friday, June 12th, 1556.

Page 201, middle. "*About the 16th day of July.*"—As July 12th fell on a Sunday in 1556, there must be some mistake in Foxe's dates of Palmer's history. The Edition of 1570 dates the last two days of examination (pp. 213, 214, 217), July x and xi. Foxe calls him *Julius* in the Latin and in 1570; but *Jocelinus*, in his Letter presenting his "Acts and Monuments" to Magdalen College; and "*Julines*" and "*Julyne*" in 1563, and "*Julins*" in 1576 and all subsequent editions; so that "*Julus*" would seem to be an error.

Page 201, line 5 from the bottom. "*Their estimation appaired.*"—Deteriorated, or waxed worse: see the same word, p. 291: also see Mr. Way's note on Prompt. Parv. p. 12; and Halliwell *in voc.*

Page 202, line 24. "*Deep and diffuse questions.*"—See Addenda to vol. vi., note on p. 410, line 13 from the bottom.

Page 204, line 21. "*To know the certain truth thereof, wrote.*"—This form of the verb in its past tense might perhaps, from its unfrequency, be supposed to be a misprint. It is however the reading of the Edition of Foxe 1563, and is used by Churchyard, as quoted in Wharton's "Hist. of Poetry," ii. 495 (Edit. 1840):—

"His termes to taunts did lean,  
His talke was as he wrote,  
Full quicke of witte, right sharp of words,  
And skilful of the state."

And in the same work (iii. 245, note) Puttenham is quoted, speaking in his "Arte of English Poesie" of Edward Ferrers, a poet of the time of Edward VI.,

and saying that "he *wrote* for the most part to the stage in Tragedie," &c. It occurs besides in one or two other places in this volume, pp. 294, 296, 747.

Page 205, note (1).]—For the fullest and best account of the editions and translations of "Calvin's Institutes," see Mr. Pitcairn's "Catalogue Raisonné," prefixed to the Calvin Soc. translation, 1845.

Page 205, line 14 from the bottom. "*Fyryng papists.*"—So read Editions 1570, 1576. On folio 14 of Stalbridge's (Bale) *Epistle exhortatorye of an Englyshe Christiane*, 1544, there occurs the same expression, "*fleryng Fryar Wattes*," which has doubtless the same import as the word in Foxe: see Herbert's *Typogr. Antiq.* iii. 1555. To *flyre* is explained in Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary by *to gibe*, and *to go about muttering*, and something of both those notions may be included in Foxe's use of the word *stirring*, though that reading of edits. 1583, 1596, seems to be a misprint, and unsuitable.

Page 208, line 5. "*The oil of these men doth not supple*," &c.]—Palmer has in this remark combined both the reading of the Latin Vulgate, with which he would be familiar ("*impinguet*"), and that of Coverdale's and the present authorised English version, "*shall break*." The Latin follows the Septuagint, λιπανάτω: see Rosenmüller on Ps. cxli. § 5.

Page 209, middle. "*From God's blessing to the warm sun.*"—A proverbial phrase, which implies quitting a better for a worse situation. (Nares's Glossary.)

Page 216, line 19 from the bottom. "*Yourselſ i-wis.*"—Mr. Price says that this word should always be printed "*i-wis*," being the "Anglo-Saxon adverb *ge-wis*, certainly." (On Warton's English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 84 (edit. 1840), note 60 end.) Mr. Wright also so prints it in "The Chester Plays," p. 44, and note 243. In page 360 of this volume of Foxe the expression occurs again, where it is printed "*iwis*" in the first three Editions, "*Iwis*" afterwards. "*I wis*" seems, however, to have acquired a meaning different from the original one, "*I guess*." The expression has occurred several times in vol. vii. (See the Glossarial Index.)

Page 217, line 2. "*Helpe to stuff and frit.*"—This is the reading of all the old editions; corrupted in later ones into "*fit*." It may signify, *planted with wood* (see Halliwell, under *Frith*); or more probably it is a corruption of "*fret*," on which Mr. Tyrwhitt writes: "*Fret* (for freighted, fraught) is used by Lydgate in a ballade, falsely attributed to Chaucer; edit. Urr. p. 552, vers. 269. 'Ther kinde is *fret* with doublenes; and in Traged. b. v. c. 7, '*Fret* full of stones;' b. viii. c. 7, 'With riche stones *fret*.' *Fret* may also be derived from the Sax. Frætwian, *ornare*." (Canterbury Tales, ver. 689, Edit. London, 1830.) Two more similar instances of *fret* occur in Urry's Chaucer, p. 346, v. 192, and p. 561, v. 124. A well-stocked farm seems to be intended.

Page 218, line 17 from the bottom. "*Goyng-staffe.*"—The Edition of 1570 (p. 2123) has altered *goyng-staffe* into "*walking-staff*." Jewel, however, makes use of it: "So Nazianzen saith *πρεσβυτικῶς βακτηρεύοντες*, *going by a staff* as old men used to do." (*Defense of Apol.* pt. vi. p. 912, edit. P. S., or vol. vi. p. 230, ed. Oxford.)

Page 218, line 7 from the bottom. "*Fallen together in a plumpe.*"—Here again late editions of Foxe corrupt this into "*lump*;" but those of 1576 and 1597 (p. 1760) read as now given. It means a "*group or mass of anything*," see Halliwell's Dict. of Archaic words, and Nares's Glos. As used by Foxe, its meaning seems rather to differ from that in the instances adduced by Nares.

Page 219, line 20. "*A diligent promoter of good men.*"—It may be remarked here, to avoid apparent inconsistency, that by "*promoter*" in this case is meant "*an informer*:" see Nares's Glossary in *voc*.

Page 220, line 10 from the bottom. "*Dicelleth within us.*"—In the sense of the French *chez nous*. Similarly the *Festyvall* has: "Yet were there some good wyse men that had copyes of those bokes *within them* at home." (Fol. cxix. verso, ed. 1528.)

Page 221, line 5 from the bottom. "*Looked as pale and as bleak.*"—"*Bleke*, wan of colour, *blesme*." Palsgr. A. S. blæc, pallidus. Promp. Parvulorum, p. 39.

Page 223, line 31.]—For “Smart” the Editions of 1570, 1576, read “Sharpe,” both in the text and in the margin.

Page 228, line 11 from the bottom. “*Then the 14th day of the said month of July.*”]—This is the reading in all the editions: they all likewise read “13” in the note at foot of the page.

Page 229, line 18.]—The words, “or as some others think the 27th,” are not in the first Edition. In the conclusion of this sentence the first Edition reads “xiiij;” those subsequent read “xij.”

Page 235, line 10 from the bottom. “*Whose children’s heads were taken up.*”]—“Ne videatur incredibile, in uno Gregorii vivario aliquot centena infantum crania” [in the copy of Ulric’s letter, as printed by Gerhard, it is “aliquot centena,” not “6000,” as in others.] “inventa esse, notandum, quod Patrum nostrorum memoriâ simile quid acciderit, quando in comitatu Mansfeldensi in oppido Gerbstadt in piscina prope Monasterium inventa fuere 300 submersorum infantum crania. Lutherus in Comment. cap. 4. Genes. p. 54, cum hujus Epistolæ Udalricianæ mentionem fecisset, subjungit: *Simile exemplum nostra ætate accidit. Cum Moniales in Austriæ vico Closter Neumburg propter turpem vitam cogerentur mutare locum, et Monasterium Franciscanis habitandum concessum esset, atque illi pro sua commoditate ædificia quædam mutarent, invente sunt in fundamentis novis duodecim ollæ, quarum singule cadaver infantis habebant.*” Gerhard, Confessio Catholica, lib. ii. pt. 2, p. 62; or p. 817, edit. Francof. 1679.

Page 241, line 5 from the bottom.]—See these names again mentioned at p. 430.

Page 242, top. “*Burning of Thomas Moor.*”]—See Strype’s *Memorials*, “Originals of the reign of Mary,” No. LI. p. 165; or vol. vii. p. 238, Edit. 1816.

Page 242, line 7 from the bottom. “*I answered, ‘It is a diffuse question.’*”]—See note above on p. 202.

Page 243, bottom.]—This account of John Newman has been given before, vol. vii. p. 335; he was burned August 31st, 1555, and therefore it seems wholly out of place here.

Page 246, line 8.]—See vol. vii. p. 337.

Page 249, middle. “*Joan Waste . . . They pronounced sentence against her.*”]—The sentence is in the Harleian MSS. No. 421, folio 76, dated 19th June, 1556.

Page 250, line 12 from the bottom. “*Sixty years.*”]—The “lx” of the first three Editions, is corrupted in 1583 and ever after into “xl.”

Page 253, line 12. “*A shoemaker burnt at Northampton.*”]—This man is afterward (p. 423) named John Kurde, and more particulars are given.

Page 253, line 20. “*In the prison of Chichester.*”]—All the Editions read “the castle;” but the Errata in first Edition corrects this into “the pryson.”

Page 256, line 7. “*Kissing the pax.*”]—At a certain period during the solemnization of Mass, a *tablet*, or small square board (occasionally perhaps constructed in a folding fashion) was exhibited to the communicants, who one after another imprinted upon it the *kiss of peace*, “*hincque dicta la pax.*” It was more or less ornamented according to the *status* of the house to which it belonged, or the ingenuity of its monks. It is called by the various names of *Pax*, *Paxbred*, and *Deosculatorium*. (Raine’s “St. Cuthbert,” p. 129.)

“Shortly after the *Agnus* ye kiss the *Pax*, which was the ordinance of Pope Innocent in the year of our Lord 310; and while the boy or parish clerke carrieth the *Pax* about, ye yourselves alone eat up all, and drink up all. Ah! what riding fools and very dolts make ye the people! ye send them a piece of wood, of glass, or of some metal to kiss, and in the mean season ye eat and drink up all together.” (Becon’s “Displaying of the Popish Masse,” London, 1637, pp. 261-2.) “Minister daturus pacem genuflectit ad dextram celebrantis, et dicto tertio *Agnus Dei*, cum primâ oratione sequenti, porrigit instrumentum osculandum eidem celebranti.” Gavanti “Thesaurus Sac. Rituum,”



pars 2, tit. x. p. 118, edit. Venet. 1713, where more of such matter (if wanted) may be seen. See page 312 of this volume, § 4.

Page 256, line 15 from the bottom. "*Lichfield, but also in other parties.*"]—"I and other have sent to yowe a generall letter of our proceedinges in these *partyes.*" (Letters on Suppression of the Monasteries, p. 182.) See p. 500 of this volume.

Page 256, line 13 from the bottom. "*To the contrary.*"]—The first Edition goes on: "Moreover this present yeare, to wytte anno 1556, was burned at Chester one Hoke, a true martyr of the Lord." (p. \*1548.)

Page 256, note (2).]—See pp. 401—405.

Page 258, note (2).]—The ensuing narrative of the Visitation at Cambridge is merely a reprint of Golding's translation.

Page 259, line 9 from the bottom. "*In a readiness, and moreover to admonish,*" &c.]—This reading is from the original text of Golding's "*Briefe Treatise,*" &c., and Foxe's first Edition. Foxe's altered text is very inferior in sense, and less faithful to the Latin: "In presence, and also to set forward." "Inespecially" is the reading of the first Edition and the "*Briefe Treatise,*" and at line 9, and pp. 261, 278. This word occurs rather frequently in Caxton's books; as in the *Golden Legend*, fol. cclxi. verso, &c.

Page 261, line 12.]—"Inclined" would be a better term than "cleaved;" for the Latin says, "*Illa ex longa multorum annorum memoria dejecto pontificis jugo ad sanam doctrinam, quæ hæreseos insimulata est, caput propendere.*" fol. 115.

Page 261, line 31. "*Notwithstanding they were desired,*" &c.]—The Latin says (fol. 116), "*Invitati alius aliò, ubi subesset aliqua ratio officii declarandi aut ostendendæ voluntatis;*" from which it appears that "their" refers to the inviters.

Page 263, line 31. "*Reverendissimus . . . Card. Polus . . . leges et decreta . . . reduxit.*" ]—There may be an allusion here to the cardinal's projected "Reform of England," the Decrees of which have been translated into English by Mr. Chancellor Raikes (Chester, 1839); the main object aimed at in them being, to use Mr. Raikes's words, "the full and complete restoration of Popery in its faith, its power, and revenues, accompanied by a few popular and obvious provisions against the insufficiency or immorality of the clergy. The ultimate restitution of all church property [so-called] wrested by the laity,<sup>1</sup> is clearly contemplated. An absolute abolition of the freedom of the press, and even of the tongue, is of course enjoined. And though *the still severer penalties* incurred by heretics are enveloped in a discreet veil of mystery and vagueness of expression, yet what those severer penalties were might be distinctly and unequivocally read in those wreaths of smoke and flame that were at that moment ascending to heaven from Oxford and Gloucester—from Smithfield and Cambridge." (Preface, p. x.)

The Decrees are dated from Lambeth, 10th of February, 1556, and were reprinted at Dillingen with other treatises of the Cardinal in 1562. They are included likewise in Le Plat's "*Monumentorum ad Historiam Conc. Trid. illustrandam Collectio,*" tom. iv. pp. 570—599; and in Cardwell's *Doc. An. i.* 176.

Page 264, middle. "*Nisi illa Epicuri propria particula 'quasi.'*" ]—In Cicero's treatise "*De Natura Deorum*" (lib. i. § 18) it is argued by the Stoic, that the form or shape which Deity would assume would be the human, accompanied however with merely a *quasi* body, and *quasi* blood. But in § 26 it is remarked in refutation of the notion: "*Mirabile videtur quod non rideat haruspex, cum haruspicem viderit: hoc mirabilius, quod vos inter vos rsum tenere possitis; non est corpus, sed quasi corpus: hoc intelligerem quale esset, si id in ceris fingeretur aut fictilibus figuris: in deo quid sit quasi corpus, aut quasi sanguis, intelligere non possum; r.e tu quidem, Vellei; sed non vis fateri. Ista enim a vobis quasi dictata redduntur, quæ Epicurus oscitans hallucinatus est,*" &c.

(1) Still termed "*shameless robbery*" by priest, non see "*Evang. Christendom,*" 1847, p. 255.—En

Page 265, line 10. "*Fell to amendment.*"]—All the editions of Foxe read "the amendment:" but "the" is wanting in the "Briefe Treatise," and is therefore omitted as an interpolation of the printer.

Page 266, line 12 from the bottom. "*Do the worst.*"]—So reads the first Edition, p. 1540: those following "doing," not so well.

Page 267, lines 12, 16.]—"Copes" is substituted for "habits," the Latin being "*capa.*" "*Vestibus ecclesiasticis indutos (capas nuncupant vulgò).*" (Latin, fol. 125.) On "*capa,*" see Mr. Way in Prompt. Parv. 60, 61.

Page 267, line 13. "*The master himself,*" &c.]—"Ipsum præfectum ornari illo habitu, quo vestiuntur qui missam celebrant, nisi quod superius capam indueret, ut reliqui." (Lat. fol. 125.)

Page 267, line 14. "*The priest when he ravisheth himself.*"]—"Ravesheth," or "*ravisheth,*" is the reading of all the editions, and must be the same word as "*reveschyd,*" clothed, in the following citation:—

"The byschop *reveschyd* hym in holynes,  
And so went to the autere."

(MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. quoted in Halliwell, where more.) The Latin account has (fol. 125, verso) "*ornari illo habitu, quo vestiuntur.*"

Page 267, line 34. "*There perceiving,*" &c.]—"Ibi cum Præpositum et cæteros sese quantum possent cernerent ornantes eo modo quo ab illis antea diximus fuisse præscriptum, superveniunt, cum adhuc illi loco non movissent" (fol. 126). On the authority of the foregoing, Foxe's text has been improved: he reads, "dressing themselves as fast as they could in such order," &c.

Page 269, line 28. "*What a feat conveyance.*"]—This passage has been corrupted in editions subsequent to that of 1576, by inserting "*of*" after "*feat,*" which has been struck out in the present: even 1576 has "*of*" in the margin. See Mr. Way's note on *Fetyce* in Prompt. Parv. p. 159; and "*feater cast*" quoted in note on p. 286 infra. It might be translated into modern English by "*a pretty device.*"

Page 269, line 29.]—The editions after 1563 read, "to suborn the University," and "if they had not done so, the other," &c.

Page 269, line 17 from the bottom.]—The editions after 1563 needlessly say, "*Thus the vice-chancellor,*" &c.

Page 269, line 13 from the bottom.]—"And" is put in before "for taking up," agreeably to the Latin, and to complete the sentence.

Page 270, line 16.]—All the editions after 1563 read "the better part," and next line "disallowed it:" the Latin (fol. 129) has "*comprobatum.*"

Page 271, line 2. "*To see what gear it was.*"]—This word seems to have been "a servant of all work," usable on almost any occasion. The bishop of Ely says to Latimer; "Well, well, Mr. Latymer, I perceyve you somewhat smell of the panne; you will repent this *gere* one day" (Foxe, vol. vii. Documents at end of Appendix, No. IV.): and when Cardinal Wolsey felt an oppression on his chest, "the Earl demanded whether he [the Physician] had anything to break wind that troubleth one in the breast, and he answered that he had such *gear.*" (Cavendish's *Life* by Singer, i. 301.) See afterwards p. 495, line 14, and 498, &c. *passim.*

Page 271, line 4. "*The thick milk, wherewithal (and a little oil) men were wont to be annealed.*"]—"Ubinam esset illud spissum lac, quo una cum oleo utebantur." (Lat. fol. 130.)

Page 271, line 6. "*So rank.*"]—Foxe omits "so," which is put in from the Latin and the "Briefe Treatise."

Page 272, line 29. "*Setting to of the seal agayne.*"]—"Ad denuo obsignandam."

Page 273, line 22. "*Had great regard of the expenses of every college.*"]—This is the reading in the "Briefe Treatise," which is supported by the Latin: Foxe alters it to "had great regard in their expenses, to every college."

Page, 273, line 27. "*The like order the cardinal himself, in a certain provincial synod.*"—“Their table should be frugal and sparing; whatever be the number of guests or friends staying with them, there should not be served up to table *more than three*, or at the most four kinds of meet, besides fruit and confectionary.” (The “Reform of England by the Decrees of Cardinal Pole,” translated by Henry Raikes; Chester, 1839, p. 34; see *supra*, p. 263.) The cardinal was in this department imitating his predecessor; see Strype’s *Cranmer*, book iii. chap. 35.

Page 273, line 30. “*Queen’s College.*”—Foxye, following Golding’s translation, says “King’s College,” and again ten lines lower. But the Latin (fol. 134) says “*Reginenses*” in both places: which Golding himself afterwards translates “*Queen’s*.” see next page, line 17. Dr. Lamb’s “*Collection of Letters, Documents, &c.*” (p. 205), says. “It, the vysytors came to the Queen’s College.”

Page 276, line 16. “*They were prohibited.*”—Foxye, following Golding’s translation, has here “*exhibited.*” In the Latin original, “*Historia de Vita, Obitu,*” &c. it is (fol. 137 verso), “*Nam eadem fide . . . prohibiti sunt.*”

Page 277, line 6. “*For it was their mind,*” &c.]—The Latin (folio 138) here says, “*Erat enim illud ipsis in animo ecclesiasticorum vires inquirere; quas quoniam in studio suarum partium qui essent de principibus hujus negotii fore non dubitabant.*”

Page 278, middle.]—“*Inespecially,*” and “*whole and sound,*” are according to the first Edition.

Page 278, line 17 from the bottom. “*By the authors thereof.*”—“*By*” seems idiomatic: the Latin has “*ex authoribus,*” as concerns the authors.

Page, 281, middle. “*Covered over with verses.*”—See Dr. Lamb’s “*Collection of Documents,*” p. 210.

Page 282, middle. “*If a man might spur him.*”—The same as to *spere*, to ask, inquire, to seek: still in use in the north of England. See Halliwell’s *Dict.* where more, and Dr. Jamieson’s “*Etymolog. Dict. of Scottish language,*” under *Spere*.

Page 284, line 15 from the bottom. “*The reconciling of two churches, of our Lady and of St. Michael.*”—The expense of this purification is recorded in the Registers of Great St. Mary’s; from which the following has been extracted, cited in Le Keux’s “*Memorials of Cambridge*”:

“1557. For the new hallowyng and reconceyleing of oʒ chyrche, beyng interdycted for the buryall of Mr Bucer, and the charge hereunto belonging, frankensense and souch perfumes for the sacrament, and herbes, &c. 8s.”

Page 284, line 13 from the bottom. “*This was done . . . by the bishop of Chester.*”—“It, at vii my L. of Chester came to St. Mary’s and almost half houre before to hallow the churche, and hallowed a great tubbe full of water and put therein salt ashes and wyne and wente onse round abowte without the churche and thryce within, the Mr. of Xts College, Mr. Percyvell, and Collingwood were his Chaplens and wayted in gray Amyses, and that don Parson Collingwood sayde Masse; and that don my seyde Lorde preched, wherunto was fet my L. of Lynkolne and D. Cole; the Datary taryng at home and my L. of Chychester beinge syck.” (Lamb’s *Documents*, p. 217.)

Page 285, line 5. “*A winelass*” (Ed. 1563).—A circuitous route, or “*compass,*” to which last it is altered in later editions.

Page 285, line 11. “*Singing with a loud voice, ‘Salve festa dies.’*”—The commencement of an Easter hymn, used in papal processions. It is given in the “*Processionale Romanum,*” p. 71. Edit. Tornaci, 1675, and in Daniel’s “*Thesaurus Hymnologicus,*” tom. i. 169; see also Venantii Fortunati *Poem.* lib. iii. § 7. See Strype’s “*Memorials under Mary,*” ch. 26. p. 208; ch. 27, p. 220; ch. 49, pp. 377, 382, 286; Tottenham’s “*Popery on the Continent,*” pp. 6, 7; and Lamb’s “*Collection of Documents,*” p. 218.

Page 285, middle.]—For “*namely,*” and “*especially,*” line 14 from the bottom, the first edition reads “*inespecially.*”

Page 286, line 11. "*Which she would not should be suffered,*" &c.]—This sentence is made clearer than Foxe's from the Latin; and six lines lower "honour" is put in for "order."

Page 286, line 14. "*Commenced.*"—An academical term, signifying to take a degree (see Todd's Johnson): it is altered after the first Edition to "dignified."

Page 286, line 10 from the bottom. "*Deeps of the Romish juggling casts.*"—Contrivances, management; see Halliwell's "Archaic Dictionary," under *Cast*; and the "Promptorium Parvulorum." Edit. 1843, p. 263; where Mr. Way's note furnishes us with, "A jugler with his troget castis (*vaframentis*) deceiveth mens syght;" and "jogelyng caste," rendered in Palsgrave "*passe, passe.*" And in the "Remains of Bishop Coverdale" (Parker Society, 1846) we read (p. 333), "Now go to, if I find any more such juggling casts with you," &c. But two lines of an epigram, supposed to come from Sir Thomas More's pen, may best explain this term:—

"Now who hath plaid a feater cast,  
Since juggling first begonne!"

Quoted in Warton's "English Poetry," iii. 62, Edit. 1840.

Page 287, line 6. "*Among the rest that did him.*"—The Latin says, "qui inter cæteros qui," &c.

Page 287, line 6 from the bottom.]—"Your eyes" in "Briefe Treatise," and Latin "Vestros." Foxe "our eyes."

Page 288, line 1.]—The first Edition reads "inespecially."

Page 288, middle. "*And he himself as one cashed.*"—Cashiered, dismissed. See Halliwell.

Page 291, middle. "*Every man's health was appaired.*"—This is the reading of Edit. 1563, p. 1555, where the later editions have the plainer "impaired." It means the same. Caxton writes: "Wherein I answered unto his lordship that I coude not amende it: but if I sholde so presume, I might *apair* it." (Quoted in Johnson's Typogr. i. 147, and Boucher's Glossary.)

Page 292, line 14. "*For Etagrius reporteth.*"—Hist. Eccles. iv. 38. Euty-chius closed any discussion on the subject, by pronouncing the matter too clear to need any debating.

Page 293, line 16. "*But much more notable . . . that the Spaniards.*"—See for additional particulars M'Crie's "History of the Reformation in Spain," pp. 227—230. This volume demonstrates well how a "reaction" in Rome's behalf is effected, and what is more, how it is maintained; most truly *vi et armis*.

Page 296, line 5 from the bottom. "*When he was well whittled.*"—Elevated; and in the present case with liquor. Richardson quotes (under the word) from Holland's Plutarch, fol. 387: "Certain Chians there were, who being come to see the city of Sparta, chanced to be well *whittled*, and stark drunk," &c. And in Calfbill's Latin letter (see note on p. 297), from which this account is taken, it runs: "Is, ubi jam advesperaverat, ab *immanibus suis poculis* aliquid temporis intermittens."

Page 297, line 16. "*So ungentle a recompense.*"—In Edit. 1563, p. 1559, "so ungentle a prank."

Page 297, middle. "*Wherefore master James Calfield.*"—The author of "An Answer to Martiall's Treatise of the Cross," republished by the Parker Society, and who would in all probability rank with "the grave men, well learned and wise," alluded to by Foxe (see Append. vol. vi. p. 772) as then members of Christ Church. A Latin letter addressed by him to Bishop Grindall in 1561, on the subject of the exhumation and restoration of the remains of Peter Martyr's wife, is given in the "Historia Vera" (fol. 196, verso), referred to on p. 258 of the present volume of Foxe.

Page 299, line 16. "*And whether they have a rood.*"—The reasons for these representations were thus given in earlier times: "And for this cause Roodes



and ymages ben set on hye in the chirches; for as soone as a man cometh into the chirche, he shold see it and have it in his mynde and thynke on Cristis passyon: wherfore crosses and other ymages be full necessary and nede ul, whatsomever these Lollers saye; for and it had not be full profitable, holy faders wolde have destroyed hem many yeres agone. For right as the people done worship to the Kingis seale, not for love of that seale, but for love of that kyng that it cometh fro; so Roodes and ymages be set for the Kynges seale of heven and other sayntes in that same wyse: for ymages ben lewed peples bokes; and as Johan Bellet<sup>1</sup> saith, there be thousandes of peple that cannot ymagyne in her [their] hertes how Crist was done on the crosse, but as thy see by ymages in the Chirches, and in other places there as they ben." The "*Liber Festivalis*," fol. xli. Edit. Paris, 1495. See p. 108 *supra*, top.

Page 301.]—This papal Commission is given according to the Edition of 1563, p. 1561, collated with another copy in Burnet from the Records, another in the Bonner Register, folio 425, and another in Wilkins addressed to the bishop of Exeter. The stars denote the variations introduced from those copies.

Page 302, line 5. "*To come to their parish churches.*"—In conformity with the tenor of this edict, we may presume, was issued the following reproof to the Mayor and Corporation of Bristol, being an extract from Queen Mary's Privy Council Book, now kept at the Privy Council Office, Whitehall:—

"At Westminster the xxiii<sup>th</sup> of August, 1557.

"A lre to the Maior and Aldermen of Bristoll requyring them to conforme themselves in frequenting the Sermons processions and other publike ceremonies at the Cathedrall churchs there to the doings of all other Cities and like corporations w<sup>th</sup> in the Realme and not to absent themselves as they have doon of late; nor loke from hensforthe that the Deane and Chapitre shulde waite upon them or fetche them out of the Cittie w<sup>th</sup> their crosse and procession, being the same very unsemely and farre out of ordre."

Page 302, line 18. "*Masterless men, barrators.*"—In "The Charge of the Quest of Warmot in every Warde," given by Arnold in the "Customs of London," p. 90, inquiry is ordered to be made, "yf there be ony comon ryator, barratur, &c, dwelling wythin the warde." The term is taken from the French, *barateur*, in low Latin, *baraterius*, which have the same meaning. (See Mr. Way's note on Promptorium Parv. p. 115, where it is Latinized (p. 23) by *pugnax*.)

Page 304, line 31. "*To they were warned again.*"—The preposition "to" is taken for "until," both here and a few lines lower; "yea to the lord legates commissioners." It is the reading of the first three editions of Foxe, altered in those subsequent into "till." There is another instance of it *supra*, vol. iii. p. 128, line 30. Mr. Halliwell quotes an instance of this use from a Lincoln MS. :—

"Theys knyghtis never stynte ne blane  
To thay unto the ceté wanne."

Warton's "History of English Poetry" (i. 67, Edit. 1840) furnishes from Robert de Brunne another:—

"Of that gift no thing ne wist  
To he was cast oute with Hengist."

The same author (iii. 99) gives another instance of this idiom from Minot's poems on the wars of Edward III. :—

"And in that land, trewly to tell,  
Ordains he still for to dwell  
To time he think to fyght."

Page 305, line 6 from the bottom. "*Appledore in the wild of Kent.*"—Or "the *Weald*, so named of the Saxon word *weald*, which signifieth, a woodie countrie." (Lambard's "Perambulation of Kent," p. 189, edit. 1826) See vol. iii. p. 341.

(1) See Bishop Jewel's Reply to Harding, Art. iii. div. 15, end.

Page 306, line 9. "*Or beadhouse.*"]—In Lyson's "*Environs of London*" the alms-houses at Isleworth are termed *bedehouses*. See Boucher's Glossary, under *Beades*.

Page 307, line 3 from the bottom. "*What good-will was in this bishop to have the blood.*"]—Bonner seems in this instance to be "burdened" with more willingness to shed blood, than is quite warranted: he was, we think, becoming satiated, besides the trouble, and especially the want of success, &c.

Page 311, line 22 from the bottom. "*Who intermelling certain points.*"]—This is the reading of the first Edition, p. 1568. Nares' Glossary and Todd's Johnson furnish instances of its use from Bishop Fisher, Marston, &c. It of course means—what it has been altered into in other Editions—"intermixing."

Page 315, line 6. "*Sentence of condemnation.*"]—The *condemnation* of these five is recorded by Machyn (p. 130) on the day given by Foxe; but he has placed their *martyrdom* under the vi: one, he says, "was a barber dwellyng in Lym-strett; and on woman was the wyf of the Crane at the Crussyd-frers besyd the Towre-hylle, keepyng of a in ther" (p. 131).

Page 321, line 11. "*Martyrs of Christ burned at Maidstone.*"]—See vol. i. Life, p. 94.

Page 322, middle. "*Were by right law recovered.*"]—See more in Strype's Annals, i. i. 558, or, in folio, 374.

Page 323, line 2 from the bottom. "*The restraint was made by Gregory the ninth.*"]—This refers probably to the edict of the council held at Toulouse A.D. 1229 (cap. 14), at which Romanus Bonaventura, Cardinal Deacon of St. Angelo, presided; and which is generally quoted as having been the first instance of Scripture, translated into a vulgar tongue, being *publicly* prohibited. See Labbe, tom. xi. 430; Basnage's Hist. Eccles. Ref. i. 309; and Horne's "Popery the enemy of Scripture," p. 10.

Page 324, line 3. "*Doth not a priest bind and loose?*"]—The faculty of teaching with authority, pronouncing judgment *ex officio*, or propounding doctrine *ex cathedra*, is indicated by the same emblem [of keys]. It was mentioned by Christ when reproving the Jewish teachers: "Woe unto you, lawyers! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in, ye hindered." (Luke xi. 52.)

That the key in this place signifies the office of teaching, is illustrated by an apposite sentence from the tract "*Semacot*," which Lightfoot, and others after him, produce:

"When Samuel the Less died, they hung the key and note-book of the deceased on his bier" (that is, to be buried with him, as were old synagogue-books lately with Rabbi Herschel of London), "because he had no successor"—no one worthy to carry the emblems of his office. And the Saviour elsewhere uses implicitly the same figure, when he charges on the Pharisees the sin of having "shut up" the kingdom of heaven—not heaven itself, but the enjoyment of true religion—against the people.

Although the verbs *shut* or *lock*, and *open* or *unlock*, would seem most consistent with the idea of a key, the inspired writers, both of the Old and New Testament, prefer to say *bind* and *loose*. But a few examples, out of the many which might be adduced, will assist the English reader to understand the phraseology of the passages before us. It is said in Psalm cv. 21, 22, that Pharaoh made Joseph "the lord of his house, and ruler of all his substance, to bind his princes at his pleasure, and teach his senators wisdom." But it does not appear from the history, nor can it be reasonably supposed, that Joseph did literally bind the princes of the Egyptian court at his pleasure; nor that his sovereign would have dared to invest him with such a dangerous and unnecessary prerogative. But the exegetical clause, "and teach his senators wisdom," defines the meaning of so remarkable an attribution of authority. The Septuagint translators understood it in this sense, and accordingly rendered the Hebrew thus: τοῦ παιδεύσαι τοὺς ἀρχοντας αὐτοῦ ὡς ἑαυτὸν, to *teach* his princes as himself, reading נִשְׁמַר instead of נִשְׁמַר. With the Septuagint agree the Ethiopic, St. Jerome, the Itala, the Vulgate, the Mozarabic P-alter, and in short all the published Latin versions and Fathers, who agree in rendering

*Ut eruditet principes, &c.*, "that he might *teach* his princes:" so that there are a host of witnesses attesting that to *bind*, signifies to *teach*.

Another host of modern translators might be appealed to; but one of them, Martin Luther, shall speak for all: *Das er seine Fürsten unterweise nach seiner weise*, "that he might *instruct* his princes after his own manner." And sometimes the verb has the sense of prohibition, as in the Targum of Onkelos on Num. xi. 28, where the Hebrew of "My lord Moses, forbid them," is rendered by the Chaldee אסרין *bind* them.

Perhaps the phrase came into use after the Babylonish captivity, as part of the artificial phraseology then engrafted on the Hebrew. There is an interesting example of the corresponding *unbind* in the Book of Daniel. When the mysterious handwriting appeared on the wall of the palace, and Belshazzar had sought in vain to get it explained, the queen recommended Daniel as a person likely to satisfy his anxiety by explaining the mysterious characters; saying that in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar "an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and shewing of hard sentences, and dissolving of doubts, were found in the same Daniel." (Dan. v. 12.) In the original Chaldee, an explainer of dreams is כַּשְׁמֵר דְּחִיּוֹן, a *looser* of dreams; and a dissolver of doubts is כַּשְׁמֵר קְשָׁיוֹן, an *untier* of knots. The king himself repeats the same words in addressing Daniel; so that this manner of speaking was current, it would seem, at the court of Babylon.

But a yet more apposite example occurs in the First Book of Esdras: "Esdras took the book of the law before the multitude: for he sate honourably before them all. And they all stood upright when he expounded the law" (ix. 45, 46). These words, "when he expounded the law," are, in the original Greek, ἐν τῷ λίσσαι τὸν νόμον, during the *loosing* of the law; where exposition of the law of God is called *loosing* or *unbinding*. The Romanized Latin version, faithful to the cause of sacerdotal power, neatly introduces a various reading, *cum absolvisset legem*, instead of *scripsisset*; making it to say, "When he had *finished* the law." But those binders and loosers committed themselves by that evasion, into a tacit acknowledgment confirmatory of our exposition of the figure.

Perhaps it is the universal manner of Orientals to employ these verbs in the same sense. One sentence from the "History of the Dynasties," by Aboul Faraj, a writer of the 13th century, may be produced here. Describing a persecution suffered by some Jews, he says, "He who yesterday was a person in authority, and *bound* and *loosed*, and was clothed in splendid apparel, is to-day clad in sackcloth, and blackens his hands, as if he were a dyer, *and not a scribe*." (Dynast. xi.) So that it was the office of the Scribe, as well as of the Priest, to bind and loose.

If the terms be taken distinctly, to *bind* may signify to instruct, or place under moral discipline; and to *loose* is to explain or expound law or doctrine. If they be taken together, to *bind and to loose* is to exercise the authority of teacher, speaking, as we say, *ex cathedra*.

And here it must be noted, that things, not persons, are the subjects. Christ does not commit the persons, but the doctrines, to the ministration of his Apostles. He does not say ἐὰν τινα, *whosoever*, but ὅ ἐάν, *whatsoever thou bindest*. Lightfoot, in his "Horæ," on the first of these passages has collected many quotations to the point. To express difference of opinion between doctors, it is said that one binds, and another looses: that one consulted a wise man, and he bound it; therefore he will not consult another, lest that other should loose it. And some one is cited as saying, It was never known that they loosed us a crow (permitting it for food), nor bound us a pigeon (forbidding it to be eaten). And it is in the ordinary style of the synagogue to say אסר, *bound*, for forbidden, and מרר, *loosed*, for allowed. From all this we infer, that the keys of the kingdom of heaven are the faculty of teaching authoritatively under the Christian dispensation. (Wesleyan Magazine, 1844, June, pp. 456—458.)

Page 328, line 22. "*A shilling also . . . which her father had bowed.*"—As this word is not now of very common occurrence, another instance may be given from the notes to the "Paston Letters" (vol. i. p. 174, edit. 1840):—"The same dagger he slewe hym with, he kest (*cast*) it in a sege, whiche is toun ten and taken up al to bowel the castell there." In vol. vii. p. 369, Robert

Smith writes to his wife: "I have sent each of them a token, a bowed groat," &c. See also p. 213 of this vol. and Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 59, edit. 1841.

Page 340, line 7. "*That Paul supposed.*"—"*That δοκεῖν* (1 Cor. vii. 40) is not designed to express doubt or uncertainty is admitted by the best critics." Dr. Henderson on *Divine Inspiration*, p. 560, where more.

Page 340, line 6 from the bottom. "*Words which are written in the Bible.*"—The words here designated a portion of the Bible are a citation from Baruch, chap. vi. 1—5 (see vol. vi. p. 419). The application of the term "Scripture" in a broad way to the Apocryphal books had become rather customary (Rivet, "*Isagoge ad Scrip. Sac.*" cap. vii. § 27), though they are not recognised as such by the Jewish Church. (Horne's *Introduction*, vol. i. p. 481,\* edit. 1846. See Bishop Marsh's *Comparative View*, ch. v.) But this particular passage does not furnish the expression "the living God" (Acts xiv. 15), for which Woodman quotes it to repel the charge of heresy. "Did I not tell you, my lord deputy," cries Gardiner, "how you should know a heretic? He is up with his living God, as though there were a dead God. They have nothing in their mouths, these heretics, but the Lord liveth; the lyving God: the Lord, the Lord, and nothing but the Lord." (Strype's "*Memorials under Mary*," ch. vii. p. 68. See also Foxe, vol. v. p. 507, and p. 324 of this vol.)

Brokes, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, complains in the same way: "Hath not the like practise been exercised with us these fewe yeres past, by our evangelical brotherhood? Have not we bene likewise by them assaulted with the word of the Lord, urged with the word of the Lorde, pressed with the word of the Lord, ye when the Lorde (our Lord knoweth) ment nothing lesse? was other [either] *ergo* in pervise [parvise<sup>1</sup>] other Alleluya at Easter ever more common than was in theyr mouthes, the worde of the Lord and God's boke?"<sup>2</sup> (Sermon at Paule's Crosse, Nov. xii. 1553; sign. D. 11. Imprinted by R. Caly.) On the "Seven Generations," see Mr. Russell Hall's "Errors of the Apocrypha," Lond. 1836, p. 11.

Page 342, below the middle. "*Be contented: be enformed.*"—This is the reading of edit. 1563, p. 1576. The subsequent editions read, "be contented to be enformed," or "reformed." Tyndal writes: "For he that doth wrong, lacketh wit and discretion, and cannot amend till he be *enformed* and taught lovingly" (p. 203 Workes, edit. 1573).

Page 343, line 10. "*I am well apaid.*"—Contented, satisfied: see Boucher's Glossary. Wycliffe against the Order of Friars (chap. 42) complains, they "ne be apaid with food and hylling." See also Foxe at p. 364, line 15 from the bottom: "Ah! I am well apaid." In the old editions of Sternhold and Hopkins, Psalm lxxxiii. 8 is thus versified:—

"And Assur eke is well apaid  
With them in league to be."

See also Bishop Hall's Dedication to a Sermon at Excester, August 24th, 1637. Foxe uses "evil apaid," vol. ii. p. 359, line 9, in the sense of *discontent*, by a less common application.

Page 343, line 13 from the bottom.]—The reading, "other apostles," is introduced from the first Edition.

Page 347, line 7 from the bottom. "*I looked, and it was written 'Sacramentum.'*"—It is admitted that the sacraments are called mysteries; but by no means that they are convertible terms. For a proof of this, the reader is princi-

(1) A porch where disputations took place. See Appendix to vol. vii. note on p. 653; also Richardson's *Dict. in voc.*

(2) In a MS. poem composed on Sir John Oldcastle, preserved in the Cotton Library, there occurs:—

"It is unkindly for a knight  
That should a king's castle keep,  
To babble the Bible day and night  
In resting time, when he should sleep."

See Mr. Sharon Turner's "*Hist. of England during the Middle Ages*," iii. 144, edit. 1830.



pally referred to the Latin Vulgate. In the Book of Tobit (xii. 7) he will meet with the words *sacramentum regis*; in the 2d Epistle to the Thess. ii. 7, *mysterium* occurs; and in Revelation, *sacramentum mulieris*, &c. (xvii. 7), as the translation of the same Greek word, *μυστήριον*. The first of these texts is rendered by the Douay translators "the king's *secret*;" while the Rhemists render the second and third *mystery*. In short there is no word in the Old or New Testament which agrees with the word sacrament. It is a Latin word, and is used in a general sense by the early ecclesiastical writers of the Western Church to express *any* sacred ceremony, rite, or mystery. Such as require fuller information are referred to Bingham's *Antiquities*, book xii. l. § 4. (Grier's Answer to Ward's "Errata of the Protestant Bible," p. 108.)

See also Chemnitz, *Examen Decrett. Conc. Trid. Pars ii. loc. i. sect. i. § 6*; *Loc. xiv. § 11*; and Rivet's *Catholicus Orthodoxus*, Tract. iii. quæst. 15, § 3.

Page 348, line 6 from the bottom. "*We have an altar, &c. What meaneth St. Paul thereby?*"—See Whitby in locum.

Page 354, note (1). "*This Robin Hood was a famous robber,*" &c.]—"Perhaps he gave the name to that class of malefactors, who are named *Roberdesmen* in the Statute 5 Ed. III. c. 14, 'Et diverses roberies, homicides, et felonies ont esté faitz eintz ces heures par gentz qui sont appelez Roberdsmen,' &c. This law was confirmed by 7 Ric. II. c. 5, where the word is again introduced." (Mr. Wright's note on Piers Plowman's *Vision*, p. 506, Lond. 1842.)

Page 356, last line.]—All the old editions read, "it is no maner."

Page 360, line 14. "*Tormentor's talk.*"—A singular expression.

Page 360, line 11 from the bottom.]—See the note above on p. 216.

Page 363, line 9 from the bottom.]—See note infra on p. 483.

Page 364, line 15 from the bottom. "*Ah! I am well apaid.*"—See the note supra on p. 343, line 10.

Page 367, line 7. "*And would not be acknowen.*"—i. e. acknowledge. This word occurs in Tyndale's version of Rom. i. 28: "And as it seemed not good unto them to be *acknowen* of God;" and in Sir Thomas More's *Confutation*, quoted in this Appendix, note on p. 713: "His Father and his Mother he would not *be acknowen* of what they were." In the *Paston Letters*, also, we have, "and yet he will not *be acknowyn*;" vol. ii. 139, ed. 1841.

Page 372, line 27. "*If you will allgates here.*"—"Allgates" is an Anglo-Saxon word signifying "at all events," and is used in Wycliffe's version of Rom. xi. 10. See Prompt. Parv. p. 9, Boucher's Glossary, and Halliwell's Dictionary. It is here restored from the first Edition, p. 1580: subsequent Editions read "needs."

Page 372, line 31. "*As it chanced yet now.*"—This is the reading of the first Edition.

Page 373, middle. "*Then they all took heart of grace.*"—The common explanation of this phrase, "to take encouragement," "to pluck up," hardly suits the present passage. "Heart of grass" is the form in which it sometimes appears: see Nares' Glossary on both forms.

Page 379, middle. "*This Boyes was one of the proctors of the university that year.*"—Maunday Thursday is the Thursday before Easter, and fell on April 2nd, in 1556, which is the true year, and not 1557. (See supra, p. 131.)

Another circumstance points out 1556 as the true year, viz. that George Boyes was elected proctor in 1555, and would therefore be proctor April 2nd, 1556.

Page 381, line 7. "*Set there all thing in an order.*"—"Thing" bears occasionally a plural acceptation, as here, and in the following passage from the *Festyrall* (fol. lxvi. verso, ed. 1528): "At mydnyght our Lorde was borne, for by kynde *all thyng* was in peas and rest;" or more plainly in the following: "Then Brandon thanked God that he is so mercyfull and gracyous *in all thyng*" (fol. xcii. recto).

Page 381, line 22. "*Then cried one Bacon.*"]—The first Edition, p. 1603, reads, "Then cryed master Marsham and one Bacon," &c.

Page 382, line 4. "*Is to be marked.*"]—The first Edition goes on: "For if thou diligently marke (good reader) herein the labours of every state and degree in al tymes and yeares, who then sitteth so styl in worldly security, as doth the bloody byshops, unles it be to practise pestilent policy, to bring such worthy men to serve their slavische slaughter, to the poysoning of Christen soules, as here in this history thou mayest se, to the great grieve of a good hart" (p. 1604). Is not this truly exemplified in the generally dead calm of regions thoroughly reduced to the dominion of Rome?

Page 384, line 2. "*The tenth Sunday the axes took me.*"]—"An axes or access, from the French word *access*, means the fit or paroxysm of a disease, and in this place most probably may be considered as an ague fit." (Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 140, edit. 1840.)

We find this word in Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, bk. ii. ch. 8. "St. Austin, as it is written by Posidonius, lying sore sick himself of an *axes*, cured another with his prayer;" and in the "Newe Legende of England" (fol. lviii. verso, edit. 1516), "He (St. Hugh) helyd two persons that were obsessed with devylles after he fell syke of a grevous *axes*."

See Promptorium Parvulorum, p. 218, notes; Boucher's Glossary.

Page 384, line 11 from the bottom. "*A four miles from Colchester.*"]—This use of "a" in speaking of a portion of time or space, is common in old English: see vol. vi. p. 206, middle, "about a three weeks;" Luke ix. 28, "about an eight days after these things." See also p. 363 of this volume, "about a three years ago," and p. 524, "I remained a vii. days and more."

Page 384, note (4).]—This is an instance of an idiom in our old writers, which has been noticed in vol. vi. p. 441, note (2), though it is not very evident what wit there is in "lesson." The *Lectiones* or *Lessons* of the Liber Festivalis, in the Breviary, &c. may be alluded to. In the Prompt. Parv. "Lessone" is Latinized by "Lectio."

"He abhore all the supersticyouse sorceryes (ceremonies, I shud saye) of the proude Romysh church." (Bale's Chronicle of Lorde Cobham, p. 11, edit. 1729.) "Walpoole, a cursed *Jebusite* (*Jesuite*, I should say)." (Liturgical Services in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Park. Soc. p. 681.)

Page 385, line 8. "*With a certain of his company.*"]—For examples of this idiom see vol. iv. p. 664, line 26, and the notes thereon in the Appendix and Addenda to vol. iv.

Page 385.]—Foxe states in his first Edition (pp. 1706-7), that he introduced the plate opposite this page, "to thentent that he which was the doer therof, beholding the cruelty of the dede, may come the soner to repentance . . . God graunt that he that was the doer and cause therof, as he hath lyfe and fayre warning geven him of God to repente, may have lyke grace withal to lament and repent betime, least peradventure he feele hereafter the bitter taste of God's revenging rodde as the other have done besides."

Page 387, line 20. "*And there laid with the rest.*"]—The first Edition, p. 1607, reads "*laid* with the rest;" as it does also on p. 614; "which were *laid* in out-chambers:" the subsequent editions read "lodged."

Page 393, line 6. "*Which said John Thurston afterward, about the month of May.*"]—From a reference to this martyr in the Privy Council Book it would appear, that Thurston was alive over this month:—

"At St. James the xiiith of Decembre 1557.

"A lre to Anthony Browne, Esq., oone of the Queenes Maties sergeaunts at Lawe, signifieng unto him in aunswere of his, that towching suche as he writeth of to remayne hitherto in Colchester gaole ever syns the execution of Trudge and before, as personnes thenne suspected to have byn his ayders and comforters, he maye onles he hath the more vehementer suspitions against them, bayle them upon substanciall suerties to be fourthe comyng and abide such ordre as the Lawe will at the next assizes. And as for Thurston remayning

also in the said gaole as a persone very evill in matters of Religion, not<sup>th</sup> stand- ing he was taken to be reconciled, he is willed to remitt him unto the Ordinary w<sup>th</sup> such matter as he hath wherew<sup>th</sup> to charge him."

Page 396, line 22. "*So bade him say after.*"—The Edition of 1563 goes on: "doynge by him as a man would use chyldren, whiche because they can not take meate themselves, chammeth it or it be put into their mouthes" (p. 1615).

Page 396, line 13 from the bottom. "*St. Osyth's.*"—In the Latin this is "ad S. Roufium" or "Rousium" or "Roustum," for the type is not clear; in 1563 and 1570 "S. Roufes;" in 1576 and all following Editions "S. Rouses;" which is supposed to mean St. Osyth's on the coast of Essex.

Page 397, line 12 from the bottom. "*Into apprentice-apparel, viz. watchet-hose.*"—Pale blue, according to Nares, under "*Watchet.*" Chaucer writes, *waiget*, and Skinner thinks it may be *wad-chet*, the colour of wad or woad. Fr. *guesde*.

"But he their sonne full fresh and jolly was  
All deck'd in a robe of *watchet* hew."

Spencer, *F. Q. v. can. 11, st. 27.* Richardson's Dict.

Page 400, line 17. "*Then Dr. Brydges starte up.*"—Chaucer has—

"He *starte* him up out of the bushis thik."

*Knight's Tale*, 1581.

Page 402, line 13 from the bottom. "*Joyce Lewes . . . brought in judg- ment.*"—The sentence against Jocosa Lewes by the bishop, is among the Harleian MSS. No. 421, folio 78.

Page 404, middle.]—On Reniger, see vol. vii. p. 738, and the note.

Page 404, line 11 from the bottom.]—"But herein a number of Papists and divill Antichristes companions, found great occa-sion to use many false reportes, saying (of such an one as did so) surely it is easie to be judged the faith of such heretiques; see I pray you doth (or did) he not drink wyne to be drunken, and so to dye desperately—such blasphemy my Translator telleth me he can finde out an number: to many."—*An excellent comfort to all Christians, compiled by John Perez, a Spaniard, translated into English by John Daniel, &c.*; London, printed by J. East for Ab. Vele 1576. fol. 137.

Page 405, top. "*By the which she was suddenly.*"—Through the exertions of the Rev. B. Ritchings, vicar, "tablets have been erected in Mancetter church, in memory of the martyrs R. Glover and Mrs. Lewis; and to meet the wishes of those who may be desirous of knowing more of those faithful wit- nesses," Mr. Ritchings published "A Narrative of the Persecutions, &c. of R. Glover and Mrs. Lewis," of which a third Edition appeared in 1842, the materials being principally taken, of course, from Foxe's work.

Page 405, line 10. "*Process was sent out for them.*"—See *infra*, p. 429.

Page 407, middle. "*At the first I.*"—There should be a (.) after "I," not a (—), as if the sentence were open. From Nares and Halliwell it seems, that the repetition of the pronoun in this way was common among the dramatists. In prose, Sir Thomas More has it: "For I eat flesh all this Lent, myself I." (*Dialogue on Tribulation*, p. 126, edit. 1847.) See vol. vii. p. 659, where Bonner similarly ends a sentence with "I."

Page 409, middle. "*Go to, thou art a merchant indeed*"—There is a similar use of "merchants," p. 4, line 3 from the bottom. See Nares' Glossary on the word.

Page 409, line 24 from the bottom. "*To take thee as a Relapse.*"—One vehemently suspected may be commanded a general abjuration of all heresies; after which, if he relapses into his former heresy, or associates with and favours heretics, he is delivered over to the secular power as a Relapse." (*Chandler's Hist. of Persecution*, p. 212; see *Sexti Decretall. lib. v. tit. 2, § 4*; and *Llorente's History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Lond. 1826, p. 242, and Foxe, *iv. p. 704.*)

Page 410, line 26. "*Called the Nestorians.*"—Allerton, it may not be superfluous to remark, should have said "the *Isidorianes*," whose tenets would

best subserve his objection, or the "*Docetæ*:" see Suicer's *Symbolum Niceno-Const. ex antiquitate illust.*, p. 219; Jewel's Reply to Harding, art. vi. pp. 498, 500 (Parker Soc. edit.); and Pearson on the Creed, art. iv.

Page 411, middle. "*Leaful*."—On this word, see Appendix to vol. iii., note on p. 261. This reading is from Ed. 1563, p. 1625.

Page 415, line 16.]—After 1563, "fayne" is changed into "gladly."

Page 415, line 14 from the bottom. "*A long sword*."—All the editions here read "cord;" but this is evidently a mistake, see next page, line 27, where all the editions read "sword;" and how could a *cord* be made out of a *board*?

Page 417, line 8 from the bottom. "*These two persons*."—These must be the two referred to by Machyn (p. 152), as "dwellyng in sant Donstans in the Est, of the est syd of sant Donstans chercheyerd with master [Waters] sargant of armes."

Page 420, last line. "*With those that went from the castle*."—What follows these words in the first edition, p. 1631, gives a better or an additional reason for Margaret Thurston's being deferred; and accords better with her subsequent history on p. 428, where her "backsliding" is alluded to. "But the one (namely Margaret Thurston), the morning she should suffer with those that went from the castell, \*was mightely attempted of the wicked papistes to relent from her conceived and undoubted truth: and what through infirmity, the fear of the fier, and their flattering perswasions, she yelded unto them after a sort; whereby for that present she was kept backe from martirdome, and committed that daye prysoner to Mote-hall in Colchester, wher before she was prisoner in the Castel aforesaid\*." The Register of Thomas Bryce also supports this view:—

"When widow Thurstone thei did assaile,  
And brought An Banger to death his daunce."

Farr's "Select Poetry of the reign of Queen Elizabeth," I. 172, Parker Soc. edit.

Page 421, last line. "*We have thought it good to stay the . . . burning*."—This may be the case alluded to in the following extract from Queen Mary's Privy Council Book:—

"At Richmonde, the vii<sup>th</sup> of August, 1557.

"This daie my lordes of the counsell having received a lre from Sir John Butler, Knight, of the v<sup>th</sup> of this moneth, whereby he writeth that his deputie hath respited a wooman from execution that was condempned for heresie, and shuld have byn executed at Colchester: Their lord-hipps considering that the said shiref is aunswerable for his deputies doings hathe appointed him to paye for a fine for this disordre the some of x<sup>li</sup>, whiche they have signified unto him by their letters of this date." (See Strype's Memorials under Mary, chapter 52.)

Page 424, line 1. "*Sir Thomas Tresham*"—In Bridges's History of Northamptonshire by Whalley (vol. i. p. 7) we find, in a list of the Sheriffs of the County, Sir Thomas Tresham as chosen in 2 & 3 of Philip and Mary, *i.e.* between 25 July, 1555, and 24 July, 1556, so that it does not appear how he could have been sheriff in September or October 1557; and the earlier date assigned in p. 253 must be the correct one.

Page 425, line 10 from the bottom. "*Then one Nicholas Cadman, being hastler*."—One "that rostythe mete, assator" (Prompt. Parvulorum, p. 229). Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Essex, among the household servants named in his will, 1361, as "potager, ferour, barber, ewer," &c. mentions "Will de Barton, hastler." (Royal Wills, p. 52.) The derivation is evidently from *hasta*. "*Haste*, a spit or broach." Cotgr. (Mr. Way's note in *voc.* where more.)

Page 427, middle. "*Set yourselves therefore at large*," &c.]—This is the wording of Tyndale's, and Coverdale's, and Cranmer's versions, which here



commence a sentence, and connect (it will be observed) the close of verse 13 with that following. (See Bagster's Hexapla in loc.) Tyms quotes the passage with the same rendering, *supra*, p. 118.

Page 428, line 5 from the bottom.]—"Report" is changed after 1563 into "think."

Page 429, line 20. "*Dixers good men and women . . . in trouble.*"—See before, p. 405, top: there is a process against Nicholas Hurde, Jo. Hurleston, Elizabeth Smyth, Margaret Cole, John Hurleston, Helene Bowring, Margaret Byrrell, An<sup>a</sup>. Penifather, dated Sep. 30, in the Harleian MSS. No. 421, folio 69—74.

Page 429, line 20 from the bottom. "*Brought the said Joyce.*"—This is the reading of 1563: the subsequent editions give "accompanied," which is the meaning of the other. For a similar instance, see vol. vii. p. 660.

Page 430, middle.]—For "Cattesfield" (a place near Hastings) the first edition reads "Rotherfield."

Page 432, line 3.]—See note on p. 161, *supra*.

Page 433, middle. "*Put to death the 18<sup>th</sup> of November.*"—There is a reference to this martyrdom in an unexpected quarter—Mr. P. Collier's Hist. of English Dram. Poetry, i. 63—extracted from a MS. in the Cotton Library:—

"The 13 day of November was sant Erkenwold evyn, the 4 and 5 of K. and Quen: whent out of Nugatt unto Smythfeld to be bernyd 3 men: on was Gybsun, the sun of Serjent Gybsun, Serjant of arms, and of the revylls and of the kyngs tentes; and 2 more, the whyche here be ther names—Gybsun, Hald and Sparow, thes 3 men."

The 14th of November having been appointed to be kept sacred to the memory of Bishop Erkenwald, the day on which these martyrs suffered may be more accurately given in the above extract than in Foxe. See Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 359.

Page 433, line 5 from the bottom.]—This fifth article is given more at length in Edition 1563, p. 1638:—

"Fifthly, that the sayde John \*hath thought, beleved, and spoken, and so doth thinke, beleve, and content to speake, that he being out pryson, and at his own libertie, is not bound to come to his owne parishe church to heare mattins, masse, and even-song there, or any divine service song or sayde there, as it is now used here in England, and that therefore he hath not come to his own parishe church of S. Leonards aforesayd, especially these two yeares last past, but\* absenteth, &c."

In article 6 also: "man child, \*(the place he will not name, nor yet the minister, nor the godfathers or godmother, or midwife, or other that was present, saving his own selfe, whom he saith was there present) he the said John\* caused."

Page 436, note (2).]—The articles are given in rather an enlarged form in the first Edition, pp. 1640, 41; but the omitted portions seem too unimportant for a reprint. We may, however, give the eighth, as it is particularly adverted to on p. 437:—

"Eightly, that the sayde Gibson, in the sayde tyme and places or in one of them hath affirmed and sayde, that he the sayde Gibson is not bounde at any tyme, though he have libertye, and the presence of a Priest conveniente and mete, to confesse his sinnes to the sayd Prieste, nor to receive absolution of his sinnes at the said priestes hands, nor to receyve of hym the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, after suche forme as is now used within this realme of England: accordyng whereunto the sayd Gibson nowe at this last Easter tyme, an. 1557, having an honest, sufficient, and lawfull Priest provyded, both for hym, and for other the prisoners in the sayd Counter to hear confession, to minister the sacramente of the altar, dyd withoute any juste cause at al refuse planelye, and denve openlye eyther to bee confessed at all unto the sayde Pryeste, or anye other Pryeste beyng Catholyque, eyther elles to receyve the sacramente of the altar."

Page 438, middle. "*And added moreover.*"]—The first Edition goes on: "protestynge with a greate oath" (p. 1642).

Page 441, Article 4. "*Secrecy of his conscience.*"]—"Secrecy" is changed into "secrety" in 1583.

Page 442, line 10 from the bottom. "*And to improve them.*"]—This is the rendering in Tyndale's and Cranmer's translations of Titus i. 9. (see Bagster's English Hexapla); "improve," as in vols. iii. 432; vii. 170, meaning, to confute, disprove, &c.

Page 443, line 9 from the bottom. "*To have him \*dereigned\*.*"]—This word is introduced from the first Edition, p. 1646. It seems to have been omitted afterwards from the meaning being obscure, or through oversight. But *some* word seems necessary to the sentence. "In some places the substantive *deraignment* is used in the very literal signification with the French *desrayer*, or *desranger*; that is turning out of course, displacing, or setting out of order; as *deraignment*, or departure out of religion—and *deraignment*, or discharge of their profession; which is spoken of those religious men who forsook their orders and professions." (Blount, in Todd's Johnson.)

Page 445, middle.]—\*xxii\* is the reading of Edition 1563, and, from what follows, seems the true reading: subsequent Editions read "xii."

Page 452, bottom.]—This Commission does not appear in the Bonner Register.

Page 454, line 19.]—The Editions subsequent to that of 1563 read, "So is it wonderful to behold the providence," &c.

Page 460, line 9 from the bottom. "*At his Maundy.*"]—See Archbishop Grindall's Remains, edit. Parker Soc. p. 51, note. See also p. 379 of this volume.

Page 462, bottom.]—The articles and sentence against Seman will be found among the Foxian Papers, Harleian MSS. No. 421, folio 150: the sentence was read April 1st, 1558. The Editions after 1563 read "xxvi." for "xxxvi."

Page 463, middle.]—The Articles and Sentence against Carman will be found among the Foxian Papers, Harleian MSS. No. 421, fol. 157: he is there called a "plowright, of Hingham, Norw. dioc.:" and the sentence was read 18th Feb. 1558.

Page 465, line 11 from the bottom. "*Then . . . in his parish of Aylsham.*"]—The following additional matter appears in Edition 1563, p. 1707.

"Before mention is made, p. 1655, of one Berye of Ailsam in Norfolk, Commissary, who in Quene Maryes dayes among other his cruel actes, with one Thomas Knowles a proctor in the Byshops courte, persecuted in the sayd Towne one William Harrison a schole maister, a man very grave and godly, and one who much profited in that vocation, wherby he was faine to flye from his wyfe and children to Bennet Colledge in Cambridge, where he falling sicke came home againe, and lieng very weke in his bed, one of Syr Richard Southwelles men came to him, called maister St. . . . and thretned to burne him, and that hys goods should be confiscate to the Quene, if he would not be ordered to obey the lawe, &c. So that he upon their cruel threates died peacyble in the Lord of that sicknes: hys name therefore be praised: Amen."

Page 466, line 7.]—The Editions subsequent to 1576 corrupt "xx." into "xix."

Page 466, line 10.]—All the Editions except 1563 read "ministered baptism."

Page 467, line 3.]—All the Editions except 1563 read "promise."

Page 467, line 14 from the bottom.]—For "reader" the Edition of 1563, p. 1670, reads "brother."

Page 471, Sixth Answer.]—This Answer is given according to the text of 1563: subsequent Editions express it somewhat differently, and apparently not so correctly: "that since the Queen's Majesty's reign, but Robert Southam added, not for x years before, he had received the sacrament of the altar, either at their Curate's hands or any other priest."

Page 476, line 10. "*You pray that you may be sared by the blood of St. Thomas.*"—See Foxe, vols. ii. 252; vii. 130; and Hore B. Virg. Marie (Paris, 1527), fol. xxvi. *recto*. The merits of this same Pontiff are recognised in a very modern Romish publication—*Supplementum ad Missale Romanum*, Derby: 1844; where we have (p. 26) "*concede nobis per merita beati Thomæ martyris tui atque Pontificis.*"

Page 476, middle. "*What unity . . . when three popes at once.*"—John XXIII., Gregory XII., and Benedict XIII. One object of the assembling of a Council at Constance, A.D. 1414, was to dispose of this Cerberus (Sandini Vitæ Pontiff. Rom. p. 586, edit. 1775); see more in the Introduction to Geddes' "Council of Trent no Free Assembly;" Lond. 1697, pp. 21—23; or in Foxe himself, iii. 416—419.

Page 481, line 15. "*To burn them at Brentford.*"—See Strype's Memorials under Mary, chap. 63, p. 461, folio.

Page 482, line 11 from the bottom. "*Qui patre Sarago natus.*"—The allusion here seems unfounded. Baron Lechmere informed Strype "that he (Bp. B.) was born at Hanly in Worcestershire, of one Boner, an honest poor man, in a house called *Boner's place* to this day, a little cottage of about £5 a year. And that his great grandfather, Bishop Boner's great friend and acquaintance, did purchase this place of the said Bishop in the times of Queen Elizabeth," &c. (Annals, i. pt. ii. 300.) See also Foxe, vol. vii. 408.

Page 483, middle. "*One Master Pugson.*"—The first Edition, p. 1691, goes on: "where they being in good exercises, as ye have heard, by false spies the matter was known to the Papistes, and immediately half a score sent to take them: which when they came, charging them in the Quenes name to obey, notwithstanding some of them escaped away, and others were apprehended, to the number of xx or therabouts, of the which number was this Thomas Hinshaw. Who with the rest," &c. The *same* means are now being most extensively used for obtaining information. (See p. 271, *supra*; and vol. iii. p. 824, top.)

Page 483, line 16 from the bottom. "*Remained a three weeks.*"—An idiom not unrequent in early times. Sir Thos. More has: "about a *tenne* year ago;" Workes, p. 900; and in "The letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries" (p. 85); "Here departe of theym that be under age upon *an eight*; and of theym that be above age, upon a *five* wolde departe yf they might." See also p. 37 (top) of the same volume; and pp. 363, 384, line 11 from the bottom, *supra*.

Page 483, line 15 from the bottom.]—For "blowen over" the Editions following 1563 read "overpassed."

Page 485, line 18.]—The first three English Editions read "with the said Thomas Hinshaw and with Robert Willis." The Robert Willis here mentioned is evidently the same individual with "Robert Willys" mentioned at p. 469; but the editor of the Edition of 1583 took it into his head, that the same family was named either "Milles" or "Willis," and that this Robert Willis was the same individual as Robert Milles, mentioned at bottom of last page as the brother of John Milles, and as "burnt before at Brentford, as is above signified" (see p. 479); hence he here omits the word "with," evidently for the purpose of connecting Robert Willis as well as Thomas Hinshaw with the word "said:" in conformity with this same notion he conversely alters Milles at p. 469 into Willes; at p. 479, the first time (by an oversight) he leaves Milles to stand, though presently after, and throughout p. 480, he prints "Willes:" here also he throughout prints "John Willes," as the person scoured with Thomas Hinshaw.

Page 486, line 17 from the bottom. "*Milles . . . said the same.*"—The first Edition, p. 1691, adds, "makyng a crosse and knocking his breast"—a part of the performance which it was perhaps considered, afterwards, would be best omitted. But many had to accommodate much farther. (See Appendix to vol. v.)

Page 488, middle. "*Slaves and vassals.*"]—The first Edition has it, "and the Massemongers underlinges."

Page 488, line 18 from the bottom. "*The popery.*"]—See the same expression in the next note but one following.

Page 489, line 8.]—In Foxe's Appendix (p. 731 of this vol.) this name is written "Alcocke or Aucocke," and he is there called a "woad-setter."

Page 490.]—After the account of Alcocke's death, the Edition of 1563 continues (p. 1663):—

"Thus see you what lamentable estate the church of Hadley was in after the death of D. Taylour: many through weakenes and infirmitie fell to the Poperie: and suche as were more perfect, lyved in great feare and sorowe of hart. Some fled the towne; and wandred from place to place. And some fled beyond the seas, leving all that ever they had to God, and committing them selves rather to banishment and povertie, then they would against their conscience do any thyng that should displease God, or in any point sound against his holy worde. God be prayd for this goodly tryall, wherein suche as feared God were lyke gold in the furnace purified, and suche as were weake have learned to knowe them selves, and henceforth to leane to God's strength, and to praye for his helpe, that they may be more strong, and walke more firmly in the waye of Gods word in tyme to come.

"To God our almyghtie father, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, be all honour and glorie, and the Lord graunt us his Holy Ghost, to strengthen and comfort our weakenes, and to leade us through this wretched worlde, so that we may come to that blessed rest ordeyned for his chosen saintes, Amen. God be prayd for ever, Amen, Amen."

Page 490, middle. "*Adversary of the Romish religion.*"]—In Edition 1563, "the Pope's irreligious religion." See vol. ii. p. 357, line 9.

Page 493, line 14.]—"Saunder" is, after the first Edition, changed into "Alexander:" the process against Alexander Gouch, or Gotche, will be found in the Harleian MSS. No. 421, folio 140—143: he is there said to be "de Colnes:" Colneis was one of the Hundreds of Suffolk, next to Carlsford, in which Grundisburgh is, and next to Loes, in which Woodbridge is.

There is a singular discrepance as to the Christian name of Driver's wife: in the first Edition, pp. 1670, 1671, she is called "Elizabeth" in this heading, and in the heading to her second examination (see p. 495): "the second examination of Elizabeth Driver:" but the same Edition, p. 1672, in a passage found at p. 496 of this volume, calls her "Margaret:" in the Harleian MSS. No. 421, fol. 140—143, we find the process against her, and she is there called "Margaret uxorem Nich. Dryver de Grundesburgh." She is there represented as having been formally condemned at St. Mary's, Bury, May 27th, 1558.

Page 493, middle.]—"Likening" is altered after 1563 into "likened," and in 1583 the comma is removed after "for that;" which makes it appear, as if Driver's wife likened the Queen to Jezebel, *because* her ears were cut off.

Page 493, line 4 from the bottom.]—The words "and Dr. Gascoine" are put in by the Editor, because he assisted in this, as well as in the next examination.

Page 494, line 29. "*It is the New Testament.*"]—This is the reading of the first Edition; those following insert "the Old and" before "the New."

Page 494, line 43. "*Long tale.*"]—The first Edition reads "take," which is probably a mistake for "tale" or "talke."

Page 495, line 4.]—The words "and gave it" are by oversight omitted after the edition of 1563.

Page 495, line 10.]—"Of on" is changed in the later editions into "of from," or "off from." The old reading, however, is here retained as being probably a genuine Archaism, "of" denoting a change of state. See Todd's Johnson, 19th sense of "of."



Page 495, line 14. "*I wis, I wis.*"—Verily, verily: see note on p. 216. The first Edition reads "I wysse, I wysse;" 1570, 1576, "Iwisse, Iwisse;" 1583, 1596, "Iwisse, iwisse."

Page 497, line 5.]—The names of Humfrey and the two Davids are included in the same process with Gouch and Driver, Harleian MSS. No 421, fol. 140—143. Philip Humfrey is there stated to have been a tailor, of the parish of Onehouse in Suffolk; and Henry Davye a carpenter, of Stradeshull; John Davye a Sherman, of Stradeshull. These—together with Agnes Dame, de Grundesburgh, ("soluta") spinster, and Grace Wighton, de Lavenham, ("soluta") spinster—appeared at St. Mary's Church, Bury, before Dr. Milo Spenser, the Bishop's Vicar General, on Thursday before Whitsuntide, May 26th, 1558: next day Humphrye, the two Davyes, and Margaret Dryver are stated to have had sentence pronounced on them; and Goche and John Davye are stated to have been given up, as incorrigible heretics, to Simon Oxford, an under-bailiff of Sudbury: Agnes Dame and Grace Wighton appear to have abjured and received absolution at the Bishop's Palace, Norwich, Sept. 9th, 1558, and were ordered to do penance next Sunday at the Cathedral.

Page 497, line 16. "*Sir Clement Higham.*"—He was the last Roman Catholic Speaker of the House of Commons. His monument is in Barrow church, Suffolk.

Page 498, line 6. "*Thou art . . . a woman . . . Wilt thou talk of so high misteries ?*"—This is a notion not very uncommon among choice members of the Church of Rome; see *infra*, p. 541. Cardinal Hosius, for instance, writes as follows:—

"Rude vulgus etiam et indoctum intolerabili quadam superbia, manibus (quod aiunt) et pedibus illotis, impudenter ad sacram literarum lectionem accedere, quin et *stillas hoc sibi mulierculas arrogare*, videmus, ut rejectis Patribus, contemptis Pastoribus et Doctoribus, totius Ecclesiæ sensu et consensu ne pili quidem facto, suam interpretationem etiam eorum interpretationibus anteponeere non reformident." (*De expresso Dei verbo*, p. 640, tom. i. Oper. edit. 1584.)

"Whose malapertnes" (argues another priest) "I cannot see howe it maie be more aply repressed then with that or the like taunt which one Demosthenes,<sup>1</sup> servuant and cooke to the Emperor Valens, was ones quailed withall: who what time as S. Basil (Tripart. Hist. lib. vii. c. 36, Greg. in Mono.) was conferring with the Emperour of Scripture matters, perty preeing in uncalled, dasshyng out textes, and chopping in lumpes of scripture, beselye, as it were to reprehende that profound learned doctor, was sharplie rebuked, and chastened of the same, after thys sorte: *Tuum est de pulmentariis cogitare, non dogmata divina concoquere*: Sir Cooke (saith he) it is your office to see to pottage making, to eates of the kitchine, and cookerie, and not to controule Goddes doctrine, neither to entrecounter against holie writte. As who should saie, what you choppegike, how long have you been a chopper of Scripture?" &c. *A Sermon very notable—made at Paules crosse xii Nov.* by James Brokis D.D. and Master of Bailye College in Oxforth; 1553.

There is a passage illustrative of this phrase in the "*Historia Albigensium*" of Gulielmus de Podio Laurentii, cap. 8: describing the proceedings of Didacus, Bishop of Osma, and his associates, in going about to dispute with the Albigenes, he says: "*Fuit et altera disputatio apud Apaniam [Pamiers], in qua soror Bernardi Rogerii Comitis Fuxensis palam hæreticos tuebatur: cui frater Stephanus de Miedia: 'Ite domina, inquit, filale eolum vestram: non interest vestrâ loqui in hujusmodi contentione.'*"

Page 498, line 26. "*Sikerly, sir.*"—This is the reading of all the old editions of Foxe, and means "surely." See vol. iii. 299, top; and Halliwell's Dict. of Archaic words.

Page 499, middle. "*Three or four.*"—Altered into "two or three" in the editions of 1583, 1596.

Page 500, line 23. "*Do you not promise them trentals ?*"—Sir Thomas More thus dilates on the *profitable* returns from Trentalls, and such "gear,"

(1) See Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. iv. 19.—ED.

to the Romish Priesthood:—"But than the Trentalles loe they be the thynges, ye wote well, whereby the multitude of the clergy and specially the prelates geate every man among them an infynite treasure in a yere, so that it is no mervayl though the whole clergye seculare and religiouse, what variaunce soever they have among themselves beside, concerning the preeminence of their perfeccion as this pacifier saith, agre together for all that in this point, to kepe and holde faste the *trentalles*, because of the great encrease of the rychesse that they bringe in *by heapes unto every man among them*. I that nothing can geate by them, beseeche God to kepe in mennes devociions towards *trentalles* and obytes to. For as much as he sayth that seculer and religiouse both sticke to those profites, yet if religious Lutherans may procede and prosper, that cast of their abytes and walke oute and wed nunnes and preach against purgatory and make mockes of the masse; many men shall care little for obites within a while, and sette no more by a *trentall* than a ruffiane at Rome setteth by a trent une<sup>1</sup>." (Sir Thos. More's Workes; Apol. ch. 20, p. 880.) See Strype's Cranmer, i. 333, edit. Eccl. Hist. Soc.

Page 502, line 22.]—The first three Editions read "gyring," which is afterwards changed into "gyrning," which means "grinning:" see Nares' Glossary, and the old Edition of Latimer's Sermons (Parker Soc. Ed. i. p. 547). "Gyring," however, may mean twirling about, making antics. (See Todd's Johnson, v. "Gyre.")

Page 503, middle. "*Martyrs burnt at Bristol*."]—A tablet to the memory of these martyrs has been recently erected in Highbury Chapel, Cotham. Three suffered in Bristol, and more had done, had not Q. Elizabeth's coming to the throne hindered; which brought back again from banishment Mr. Pacy and Mr. Huntingdon, two preachers of this city. The said Mr. Huntingdon, after his return, preaching at the Cross in College Green, charged those men then present with ill using both those that suffered and those that escaped, in these or like words: "Oh! cruelty without mercy, that a man should act so laboriously that, which without hasty repentance shall hasten his damnation. Know you not who made the strict search for Mr. Pacy, whom if God had not hid, as Jeremiah, you had burned, stump and all—he being lame? Yet you had no pity; and you know who went to *Redland* to buy *green* wood for the execution of those blessed saints that suffered, when near home, at the Back or Key, he might have had dry. Take heed! or little sorrow will not serve. God may cast you into unquenchable fire, worse than the soultering of green wood." (Bristol Protestant, Feb. 1848.)

Page 505, line 19 from the bottom. "*Under the custody and danger of Bonner*."]—"Danger" here means *power* (see Appendix to vol. vii. note on p. 441). There is a good example of it in vol. iv. p. 202, line 8 from the bottom; the word is used in the ordinary sense in the preceding line. It occurs too in a doctrinal statement controverted by Sir Thomas More, in his Dialogue against Tribulation, book ii. ch. vi.—"He (Christ) brought us out of the devil's *daunger* with his dear precious blood," p. 1175, or p. 99, Edit. 1847: also ch. xvi. p. 1194, or p. 152. Is it not used in the same sense in the authorized version of Matt. v. 21, 22? Dr. Jamieson has a good article on the word in his "Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language."

Page 513, line 10. "*The trouble of John Fronton*."]—In the English translation of the "*Inquisitionis Hispanicæ Artes*" of Gonzalez de Montes—*A discovery of the holy Inquisition of Spayne*, &c. Lond. 1568—the name is given (and no doubt more correctly) "*John Framton*;" fol. 60 verso: or still better, in Strype, "*Frampton*;" Annals, I. i. pp. 357, 361.

Page 514, line 19. "*And on his head a coping tanck*."]—A conical hat. The word is also spelt *coppidtanke*, *coppentante*. "A copentank for Caiphas." Gascoigne's Delicate Diet. 1576. Halliwell's Dictionary under *copatain*. *Coppe* seems to have been applied generally to the top of anything elevated: see Prompt. Parvulorum and note, p. 91; and for a representation of the thing itself, Puigblanch's Inquisition unmasked, vol. i. 298; Shakespeare's Taming of the Shrew, act v. sc. i.

(1) A game at cards; see Halliwell's Dict. of Archaic words under *One and thirty*.

Page 516, line 14. "*There suffered also . . . with other thirteen.*"—"The Inquisitors of Seville, who had depended on the presence of Philip II., prepared another *auto-da-fé* for him, similar to that of Valladolid. When they had lost all hope of that honour, the ceremony was performed: it took place on the 22d of December, 1560. Fourteen individuals were relaxed (*i. e.* burnt in person), and three in effigy," &c. (Llorente's Hist. Inquisition, p. 219.)

And this is the religion and this the Institution, which the Royalist Battalion of Manresa was set upon addressing the Regency of Sen. D'Urgel, in 1823, to renovate and still perpetuate in Spain! "The nation [the Battalion is made to say] demands unity, integrity, the perpetuity of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, which is the only immovable and indestructible basis of the temporal and eternal happiness of man. To establish that *divine* religion we demand the re-establishment of the *Holy Inquisition* with all its attributes and faculties—the most sublime institution [no doubt!] in matters of legislation, whose utility and advantages have benefited Spain so much, and the necessity for which is proved by the torrent of evil doctrines, which in civil and religious affairs have produced evils of so fatal a kind."

The Battalion very appropriately goes on to demand the restoration of the Company of Jesus—"In order to form a new generation profoundly imbued with the principles of religion, of sound morality, and of the social and civil virtues [!!!], we desire that the Institute of the Society of Jesus may be spread throughout the country," &c. (Times, 1845.) Compare Cranmer's Remains, ii. 164, P.S.; or Foxe, v. 732.

Page 517.]—The narrative of the sufferings of Wilmot and Fairfax is here given according to the text of 1563, after which it appears to have been most capriciously tinkered by Foxe or his editor.

Page 517, line 12 from the bottom. "*But the priests of Baal with their.*"—Instead of these words, the later editions read, "and to say that the."

Page 519, line 3. "*Then my maister asked him what he had said;*" &c.]—Wilmot evidently furnished the original account in the first person, and Foxe probably abbreviated some parts and turned them into the third person; hence we must suppose that this sentence stood originally as follows:—"My maister asked me what I had said, swearing a great oath that he would make me to tell him. I said, that I trusted I had said nothing," &c.

Page 519, line 35. "*As they have doone already with his other fellow.*"—These words are omitted after the first Edition. They furnish evidence of abbreviation. Wilmot probably was called and examined last, and so wrote in this manner, "as they have done with my fellow."

Page 520, line 9. "*For the which our fact he seeth . . . we must suffer.*"—Later editions read "his fact," "saw," "he." Foxe has embarrassed the construction as before, in trying to abbreviate Wilmot's narrative.

Page 521, line 20 from the bottom. "*In the reign of Queen Mary, I, Thomas Greene,*" &c.]—In the first Edition, p. 1685, this narrative opens in the third person: "In the reign of Queene Mary, one Thomas Grene, being apprehended and brought before Doctor Story by his own maister, named John Wayland, the promoter, being then a prynter, for a booke called Antichriste, the whiche Thomas Grene did distribute to certen honest menne: Being, I say, brought before Doctor Storye, he asked him where he had the booke, and said I was a traytor," &c.

We may fairly conclude, that the whole was originally in the first person, but Foxe or the printer changed it to the third, in order to give it as a part of his own narrative; but finding it ill assort with what follows, he altered it back again.

Page 521, line 19 from the bottom. "*For a booke called 'Antichrist.'*"—"Antichrist, that is to say: A true reporte that Antichrist is come, wher he was borne, of his persone, miracles, what tooles he worketh withall, and what shal be his ende: translated out of Latine into Englishe by J. O. imprinted in Sothwarke by Christophor Trutheall, *cum priu. reg.* 1556."

The printer's name of this volume, which seems to have been written originally by Rodolph Walter, the Swiss Reformer, is supposed to be a feigned

one : see Ames' Typogr. Antiq. by Herbert, vol. iii. p. 1451 ; and Bibliotheca a Conr. Gesnero—per Jo. Frisium ; Tiguri, 1583, p. 733.

Page 521, line 3 from the bottom. "*Remembered himself.*"—In vol. iii. p. 335, middle ; "We once again require you to remember yourself ;" also, p. 339, line 16.

Page 523, line 10. "*To whom I answered . . . answer.*"—This sentence is worded as follows in Edit. 1563, p. 1686 : "And I neither mynding, nor able to answer their Doctors, neither knowing whether they alleged them right, said : I nether knew Saint Cyril nor Saint Tertullian ; but that whiche is written in the newe testament I understode."

Page 523, line 21 from the bottom. "*A vii days.*"—See next page, line 6 ; and the note on p. 483.

Page 524, line 19. "*Then I told him.*"—This is worded in the first Edition, p. 1687, "and I made him manifest."

Page 524, line 2 from the bottom. "*Cut out his tongue.*"—The Edit. of 1563 goes on : "Over and besides these above rehearsed wer divers and many other, who for Christe's sake humbled themselves to the beatynges and stripes of the papists, many mo (no dout) then we have knowlege of. For the nature and patience of these godly Martyrs wer such, that the more they suffred for Christ, the lesse they bosted thereof : who would have thought that Boner ever woulde have broughte maister Bartlet Grene above mentioned [vol. vii. 731] being a Lawyer and a Gentleman under the unsemely chastisement of a rod, and yet notwithstanding he so did, as the said mayster Grene himselfe declared to a frende of hys<sup>1</sup> in Newgate a litle before his death" (p. 1688).

Page 527, line 13. "*Of this great skirmish.*"—The Edition of 1563 adds ; "and the Castle wonne, that never was kept."

Page 527, line 15. "*And so sayd forth.*"—This is the reading in the first three Editions ; in the later it has been corrupted into "forsooth." "And so he read forth," p. 374, *supra*. For other instances see Strype's Annals, I. p. 359, line 7 from the bottom, and p. 363, last line. In Bp. Bale's *Kynge Johan* (p. 5) we have also :—

"Of that we shall talk together : *say forth thy mind now.*"

Page 527, line 13 from the bottom. "*Another treatise.*"—For the preface introducing this portion of Foxe in Edition 1563, see "Documents," No. V.

Page 528, middle. "*The work of Johannes de Sacro Bosco.*"—The first Edition appeared at Venice in 1478, and reprints in the following century were rather numerous. The author's English name, who flourished about 1231, was Halifax. See Dibdin's *Biblioth. Spencer.* iii. 501 ; Panzer's *Annal. Typogr.* vii. 145, 525, &c. ; and Fabricii *Biblioth. mediæ et inf. Latin.* tom. iv. 129 ; who says of it, "Innotuit potissimum Sacroboscus libro decantatissimo *de Sphæra Mundi*, quem prælectum in Scholis per 400 amplius annos universa legit et trivit tironum Astronomiæ natio." He was a different individual from *Jacobus Manlius de Bosco*, who wrote "*Luminare majus.*"

Page 529, line 13. "*And a New Testament of Geneva.*"—This New Testament, neatly printed in duodecimo in Roman and Italic types, consists of 456 leaves, including the title : "The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, conferred diligently with the Greke and best approved translations.—At Geneva, printed by Conrad Badius, M.D.LVII." It is a beautiful book, and now of rare occurrence, printed with a silver type, and on the best paper ; by far the best review of the sacred text that had yet been made. A copy of this book, at public sale, has brought as much as 11*l.* 5*s.* Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii. 307, 12. Horne's *Introduction*, vol. v. 90.

Mr. Bagster has given a fac-simile reprint of this celebrated edition.

Page 530, line 12. "*Well, quoth he, you hope, and you hope.*"—Is the examiner to be considered in a rhyming mood ? or is the present a quotation

(1) This friend's name was M. Cotton. [Foxe's marginal note.]



from the *Romaunt of the Rose* (in Chaucer's works), from which Mr. Halliwell (*Dict. of Archaic Words*) quotes (4463):—

“ For trust that thei have set in hope  
Whiche fell hem aftirward a-slope.”

See p. 59, *supra*, line 10 from the bottom.

Page 532, top.]—This “*Breve Regium*” does not appear in the Bonner Register. 13 July, 4 & 6 of Philip and Mary must have fallen in the year 1558. (See Nicolas's *Tables*.)

Page 535, line 23.]—“*Continently*” in this passage, and at p. 536, line 7, is adopted from the first Edition, p. 1676, instead of “*incontinently*” and “*immediately*,” the readings of the later editions.

This word, though not appearing in any of the old English Dictionaries, may be supported from a passage in “*Newes concernynge the general councell holden at Trydent... translated oute of Germaine into English by Ihon Holibush, an. 1548*,” printed by Thos. Raynald, and extracted in Brydges' *British Bibliographer*, ii. 294:—“*Whan the Turkyshe messaungers had receaved thys ceragious answere of the emperiall majesty, they are returned to theyr Lorde, which continently sente over the foresayde letters,*” &c. Also in Sir Thomas More's *Works*, page 1180; “*The second booke of Comfort against Tribulation,*” ch. xi. we read, “*And then continently following, to thentent that we should se that it is not without necessitye, that the paycee [full length shield] of God should compasse us about uppon everye syde, he sheweth in what wyse wee be by the dyvel envyroned,*” &c. A double example of “*continent*” occurs in H. Machyn's *Diary* (Camden Society, 1848): “*The xxiiij. day of May [1554] . . . . Sant Pulcurs parryche went a-bowt their owne parryche and in Smythfeld; as they wher goohyng, ther cam a man unto the prest [that bare] the sacrament, and began to pluke ytt owt of ys hand, and contement he drew ys dagger, and contement he was taken and cared to Nuwgate.*”

Page 535, line 16 from the bottom.]—Sir Thomas Cornwallis was high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1553-4, the last year of Edward VI. He raised a considerable force in defence of Mary's claim, and was by her, in gratitude, made a member of the privy council, treasurer of Calais, and comptroller of the household.

Page 536, middle. “*Boele*.”]—The first Edition, p. 1677, reads “*Beell*,” the rest “*Boele*.”

Page 538, line 9. “*Then fared he*.”]—“*To take on*” or “*behave*” seems to be the meaning of this word in this passage. Tyndale in his answer to Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue*, book iii. ch. xiii. uses it in the same way: “*In the 13th he rageth, and fareth exceeding foul with himself.*” *Works*, Edit. 1831, vol. ii. p. 157. See *Prompt. Parv.* p. 150. Sir Thomas himself in the “*Debellacion of Salem and Byzance*,” pt. i. ch. xii. “*He fareth in all thys tale, as though we sate together playing at poste.*” And so Foxe, vol. iii. 349, line 12; and again vol. iv. p. 40, line 12 from the bottom, “*he, staring and faring like a madman.*”

Page 548, line 20. “*Acrased*.”]—This word means *weak, debilitated* (Richardson's *Dict.*), and is used by Ridley in its abbreviated form: “*Master Latimer was crased*” (vii. 427).

Page 548, line 27.]—The editions after 1563 read “*receive the sacrament and believe in it.*”

Page 549, line 17. “*Sacrament of the altar*.”]—The first Edition of the “*Acts and Monuments*” then proceeds to give some brief notices of Martyrs, which in succeeding editions made way for what Foxe perhaps thought more important matter: they are preserved at the end of this Appendix, No. VI. of “*Documents*.”

Page 550, line 23.]—“*Abashed*” is the reading of 1563, changed afterwards into “*anased*.” See Todd's *Johnson*. Caxton says (in *Johnson's*

Typographia i. 197), "And thus between playn, rude, and curious, I stand abashed."

Page 550, line 21 from the bottom. "*Ever among.*"—This phrase, which signifies "at intervals," has been corrupted in some Editions of Foxe into "anon." Instances of it are given in Halliwell's Dict. *in voc.*; and one easily accessible appears in the "Liturgical Services of the Reign of Q. Elizabeth," (Parker Soc.), p. 499, middle.

Page 551, line 10. "*Buscleth.*"—The Edition of 1563, p. 1696, reads "buscleth:" see vol. vii. p. 203, line 6 from bottom, and p. 400, middle: the word seems a form of "buckle" in the sense of "*to prepare.*" The subsequent Editions read "bustleth."

Page 551, line 15. "*As the time called on.*"—The first Edition, p. 1696, reads, "as the howr and tyme served."

Page 551, line 14 from the bottom. "*One Alexander Wimshurst.*"—A friend of Foxe; "simul et veteri amico meo" (he says in the *Rerum in Eccles. gest. Commentarii*, p. 637): "Qui postea ad Evangelii cognitionem opera Thomæ Cooperi et quorundam adductus, in manus tandem adversariorum incidit, atque ad Bonerum perducitur."

Page 552, line 26. "*They commanded him to prison.*"—The Edition of 1563, p. 1697, more graphically, "they command."

Page 553, line 20. "*And evermore be praised; Amen.*"—The Edition of 1563, p. 1698, here gives the following narrative, till the present unprinted:—"Maister Nownd of Martilsham in Suffolke, justice of peace went to Debnham for to seke for one Moyse, who woulde not come to the Church, and when he could not fynd hym in the towne, he learned that he was in the feld. Thether he rode with his men following hym on fote to catch Moyse: but Moyse being aloft upon a cart, espied the stout Hunter, and perceiving that he was the pray, made hast of the carte and toke him to his feete out of the field. Nownd folowed with hast on horse back, and his men on fote. But Moise lept over a hedge so that the horseman could follow him no longer, but sent hys men after to hallowe and hunt. But God dyd so hyde poor Moyse in a smal covert, that they returned without their pray. So was the labor of thungodly frustat. The same Nowne playd the watchman himselfe, in seking of Gouch and Drivers wyfe, with a javeling in his hand, lyke a tal speare man, and yet he never killed so much as a rat in his Princes warres. He being on his nags backe an after none, at drunken tyme of the daye toward night, made a lusty course<sup>1</sup> lyke a tall man of war before hys wyfe, and asked her if she thought him not to be a lusty Champion, and so wente forth with hys speare and pytch forkes, and gaged the hay goffes, to seke out the sely soules, that were in quiet rest. But after Quene Elizabeth by the providence of God had obteyned the crown, the same Nownd tounring his tyyt and hys tale at Wodbridge, complayned of the greате mysery that pore soules had suffered, and that men in office and authority were compelled to use suche greате violence and persecution against theyr willes.<sup>2</sup> But wold to God that that horse that would not be ruled, but carry a man agaynst hys will, had eyther bene better broken, or faster tied in a halter. And how can such a Justice justly, and with a safe conscience, nowe punish adversaries of Goddes religion, remayning the same, and in the same office?"

Page 553, middle. "*One Master Tollin.*"—The first Edition, p. 1698, adds "now person of S. Antlins in London:" see Strype's Memorials under Henry VIII. ch. xlix.; Life of Parker, I. iii. edit. 1821. The recantation which Tolwyn had to make before Bonner, and the terms of it, form the subject of Bale's "Yet a course at the Romyshe Foxe," Zurich, 1543, published under the name of Harryson.

Page 553, line 2 from the bottom. "*Without money and meat.*"—The first Edition, p. 1698, proceeds: "She had a very good memory, and no lesse rypenes of witte, very lowly, gentil and loving to every body, and herselfe beloved also both of man and child."

(1) *i.e.* Displayed his agility and prowess in tilting at the imaginary foe.

(2) Sir H. Bedingfield may, we think, be allowed to share in this not unreasonable excuse.

Page 554, line 3. "*Most sweet sleep.*"]—To which the first Edition, p. 1698, adds: "The Lord graunt us to imitate her steppes, Amen. Thus did this good Lady finishe her race, and brought her graye heares with much honour to the grave, whose steppes and life I wishe youth in themselves to make auncient, and the aged to make honorable, in feare and reverence to the holy name of the Lord. Amen."

Page 554, line 3 from the bottom. "*Came to him one Joyliff.*"]—This was doubtless Henry Joliff, "Educated at Cambridge, where he was sometime one of the Proctors. Afterwards being beneficed in Worcestershire he was prebend of Worcester and Rector of Bishop's Hampton. In 1554 he was made Dean of Bristol. He was concerned in Robert Johnson's answer to Bp. Hooper" (Dodd's Church History, i. 522), entitled "*Responsio ren. Sacerdotum H. Joliffi et Rob. Johnsoni sub protest. ad Articulos Joh. Hooperi*, Antverpiæ 1564. See Biographical Notice to Hooper's Latin Writings (Parker Soc.) p. xix, and Strype's Cranmer, II. 18, and notes, Eccles. Hist. Soc. Edition.

Page 559, line 13. "*And last master Bentham.*"]—For a passage which follows these words in the Edition of 1563, see Document No. VII.

Page 559, line 18. "*Been prest and ready.*"]—

"Thou art more *prest* to heare a sinner crie  
Then he is quicke to climbe to thee on hye."

Gascoyne in "Select Poetry of the reign of Elizabeth" (Parker Soc.), p. 34.

Page 559, middle. "*Which was a great multitude.*"]—On this accompanying circumstance Myles Hoggarde writes:—"At the deathes of which (Martyrs) you shall see more people in Smithfield flocking together in heaps in one day, than you shall see at a good sermon or exhortation made by some learned man in a whole week." (fol. 49.)

On a subsequent leaf he pursues this topic: "And because our hereticks will needs have their men to be taken for martyrs, some of them counterfeiting the trade of the ancient state of the true Church, gather together the burnt bones of those stinking martyrs, intending thereby (by like) to shrine the same, or to preserve them for reliicks; that at such a time as when an heretick is burnt, ye shall see a route enclosing the fire, for that purpose. And when the fire is done, they lie wallowing like pigs in a sty to scrape in that heretical dongehill for the said bones. Yea, and as it is reported, some gossips and fellow disciples of those wicked apostles use the same next to their hearts in the morning, being grated in a cup of Ale to preserve them from the chyncoughe, and such other maladies incident to such hot burning stomachs." (*The Displaying of the Protestants*, Lond. 1566, fol. 62, verso.)

Page 560, line 14 from the bottom. "*Having no more said unto him.*"]—The first Edition (p. 1701) goes on: "To this I might also adjoyne the happy escape of Robert Cole, minister now of Bow in London, from the handes of Maister Petit, Justice in Kent, being hys mortall enemye, and one that soughte his lyfe. Who meeting hym by chaunce, in a narrow lane, not farre from Feversam, and so meeting him, that one of them must needs touche an other, yet so overcame that daunger, that hee was past and gone before the Judge dyd know it was he, and so the sayd Cole escaped."

Page 566, note (1). "*Rood-soller.*"]—An illustration may be given of this word from Higden's Polychronicon, in his notice of the Council "at Ryall strete of Calne," where Dunstan so "wysely" presided in 978. (See Foxe, vol. ii. p. 69): "Thenne the gistes & the beames of the *soler* all tobrake, and the *soler* fell down; and some were deed & some hurte and maymed for evermore. Soo all y<sup>t</sup> there were were deed other hurt ful sore, Outake Dunstā alone, that escaped graciously & wysely." (Lib. vi. cap. 12, London, 1527.)

Page 572, line 6 from the bottom. "*Like the women of the Netherlands with hukes.*"]—"Huke," or "Huick," was "a kind of mantle or cloak worn in Spain and the Low Countries." (Nares.) "There was also a female attire, called Hewke, Belg. huycke, which covered the shoulders and head. In the Acta Sanctorum, Jun. vol. iv. 632, a female is described as clothed in *habitu seculari, cum peplo Brabantico nigro. Huckam vulgo vocant*. Palsgrave gives 'hewke, a garment for a woman, *surquayne, froc*; huke *surquanie*;' and Minsheu explains huyke,

huke, or huke, to be a mantle, such as women use in Spain, Germany, and the Low Countries, when they go abroad." Mr. Albert Way's note on *Promptorium Parvulorum*, edit. 1843, p. 233; where more.

Page 574, middle. "*A watchword came from Sir John Mason.*"—See Strype's *Life of Sir J. Cheke*, pp. 108, 109, Edit. 1821.

Page 575, middle.]—"Dagge," a pistol. See note on p. 662.

Page 576, line 22. "*To aid and deliver him out of the same.*"—The first Edition, p. 1703, proceeds: "Here lykewise might I speake of maister Harington, and also of that worthy and most godly Lady, the Lady Vayne, whose earnest and pythy letters to maister Philpot, and to maister Bradford are yet to be sene, and by the leave of the Lord hereafter shal appeare.

"What a singular and memorial spectacle of Gods mercyful clemency was declared in delyveringe syr Nicolas Throgmorton in the same tyme of Quene Mari: who not so much for other pretensed causes as especialye for religion was so straitly pursued, so vehemently hated, so mightily assaulted, that being clered<sup>1</sup> by the inquest of xii. men, yet scarslye could be released; concerning the discourse and proces of whiche man, as wee have it in our handes to shewe, so for the notablenes of the matter we would here have put it downe, but that the length therof requireth rather an other tyme to performe the same.<sup>2</sup>

"Fynally as there is no difference of persons with the Lord, so many tymes hys provident and merciful help is no less upon the pore and symple, as upon other worthyer and greater personages, as in the same tyme of Quene Mary wel appered in a certen simple and poore creature, named Thomas Musgrave, who after his condemnation beinge caried to Smithfield, there to be burned, yet notwithstanding was saved, and yet is alyve. Such is the secret and unsearchable operation of Gods power, able to deliver whom hee pleaseth in the midst of death and desperation," &c.

Page 577, line 9. "*Which was a bird-bolt shot off.*"—A bird-bolt was "an arrow having a ball of wood at the end of it, and sometimes an iron point projecting before the ball, formerly used for shooting at birds." (Todd's Johnson.) See Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 3.

Page 578. "*Thomas Bryce.*"—The author, in all probability, of the "Register" in Farr's "Select Poetry of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth" (Parker Soc.), i. 162. Perhaps, also, the same with him mentioned in Document No. VI.

Page 579, line 3 from bottom. "*Shipper.*"—All the old Editions, even 1563, read "shipper;" but this is no doubt a misprint for "schipper" (Dutch) or "skipper." (See Todd's Johnson.)

Page 581, line 23. "*Forty-seven years ago or thereabout.*"—It is to be observed, that this account of Thomas Rose was first published by Foxe in the Edition of 1576: consequently, the expression "forty-seven years ago" carries us back to 1529, the date assigned by Foxe to the Card Sermons. (See vol. vii. p. 439.) That Latimer began to preach the Gospel earlier, appears from the notes in the Appendix to vol. vii.

Page 582, line 11.]—For "Longland," the original text erroneously reads "Longley."

Page 583, line 18.]—Richard Nix, having been Bishop of Norwich ever since 1501, died Jan. 14th, 1536; and William Rugg was elected his successor May 31st following, consecrated July 2nd. (Richardson's Godwin.) This will help to fix the date of this portion of Rose's History.

Page 584, note (1).—"Tuesday," in the text, is the reading in all the Editions, also "Thursday" three lines lower: as "Tuesday" is mentioned three lines above, it would seem probable that "Tuesday" here is a mistake for "Thursday."

Page 585, line 21.]—For "Hopton," the original text reads erroneously "Hopkins."

(1) "For this the jury was severely fined." (Rapin, ii. 38.) See Foxe, vol. vi. pp. 549, 561.

(2) Sir Nicholas was a "fautor" of Bishop Jewel. See Humfrey's Life, p. 83.



Page 589, line 10. "*Eusebius Emisenus . . . saith.*"—See vol. v. p. 269, and note.

Page 597, line 4 from the bottom. "*They were within the kenning.*"—"William Worcester uses the term *kenning* to denote a distance at sea, pp. 179, 313; and it appears from Leland that twenty miles was accounted as a *kenning*, probably, as the extreme distance within ordinary sight: 'Scylley is a *Kennyng*, that is to say, about a xx miles from the very Westeste pointe of Cornewaulle.' (Itin. iii. fol. 6.)" Mr. Way's note on Prompt. Parvulorum (p. 271), where it is Latinized by *Cognicio*. See also Boucher's Glossary under *Barbican*; and Hall's Chronicle, p. 52, Edit. 1809.

Page 598, line 4. "*Toward the land of Cleves . . . came safe to Ausburg.*"—"*Ausburg*" is the reading in Foxe's very inaccurate text of 1583, where this account first appears: but it is most probable that we should here read "*Duisburg*" or "*Duysburg*," which was in Cleveland. This suggestion seems quite confirmed by the exactly parallel case of Thomas Mountain: "So with as much speed as I could make, I took waggon, and went up to Germany, and there was at a place called *Duisburgh*, a free city, being under the Duke of *Clereland*." (Wordsworth's Eccles. Biogr. iii. 305, Edit. 1839; or Strype's Memorials, Mary, ch. 24.)

Page 598, line 11 from the bottom. "*Andrew Ingferby, his wife.*"—The Latin Edition of the "Acts" supplies a notice of a portion of this family, under the head of remarkable "deliverances," which does not appear to have been repeated in the English editions:—

"Possem præterea commemorare, quibus Papistarum inter se discors sententia liberationem in magno periculo attulerit. Quod duabus piis matronis Ipsvichianis *Ingforbii* mercatoris uxori, et Martini, accidis videtur. Quæ cum officii ac pietatis gratia *Robertum Samuelem*, de quo jam dictum est, in carcere Ipsvichiano captivum invisissent, domum forte reversæ noctu in duos incidebant custodes Papistas; qui etsi inscii non essent occulti ipsarum itineris, tamen cum judiciis inter se et sententiis vix satis inter se congruerent, quid ipsis esset faciendum—alter enim retinendas illas atque examinandas censuit: alter vero non item existimabat—illis in hunc modum varia fluctuantibus discordia, ipsæ interim e manibus elapsæ custodum suam utraque domum inco-lumnis reversa est. Quæ quum non multo post iterum conquisitæ ad doctrinæ suæ disquisitionem petebantur, in ædibus *Ingforbii* sese per superiora tecti cubicula occultantes, gravi evitato discrimine (ut duobus verbis totum rei exitum perstringam) *βασίλιντες ἑλθόν.*"—(*Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Com-mentarii*, auct. J. Foxo, p. 636. Ba. il. 1559.)

Page 603, line 6. "*Eloquently . . . spoken . . . of Tully.*"—Orat. pro Murena, cap. 5, § 12.

Page 604, line 6. "*With their hair frowned.*"—"Fronce implies a wrinkle, crumple or gather, generally in allusion to dress, as in the Vision of Piers Ploughman, 8657. 'Frounsyng, *froncement*,' Palsg." Mr. Way's note on Prompt. Parv. p. 181. "Their shirts been *fronced* with gold or silk; yea, and that is of the finest cloth that can be founden." Ship of Fools, in Dibdin's Ames, ii. 218. Also, see Todd's note on Milton's "*Peiseroso*," line 123.

Page 606, line 5. "*After this it happened, immediately upon the rising of Sir Thomas Wyat,*" &c.]—The ensuing account of Elizabeth's apprehension and imprisonment in the Tower is not quite accurate: Foxe, however, himself supplies what is defective in other places of his work. The following are the outlines of what occurred:—

Wyat rose January 25th, 1554 (Foxe, vol. vi. p. 413): next day Mary wrote to Elizabeth to come to court for her own safety's sake. Elizabeth sent word she was most desirous to come, but begged three or four days' indulgence on account of illness. Her gentlemen afterwards wrote to state her illness and exculpate themselves. (See both Letters in Strype's Memorials, Mary). Wyatt removed towards London January 31st, on which Mary went to Guildhall in much excitement, and addressed the citizens, February 1st; after which she left Lord High Admiral Howard and the Lord Treasurer to aid the mayor in resisting Wyatt (supra, vol. vi. p. 414). She then sent com-

missioners to fetch Elizabeth, no doubt partly at the suggestion of Gardiner, who was with her at Guildhall (see vol. vi. p. 415): who stated it was "the Queen's pleasure that she should be in London the seventh day of that present month." Foxe, however, is wrong in stating here, that these commissioners fetched Elizabeth away the next morning; for he elsewhere states that another commission was sent, viz. Lord Howard, and Sir Edward Hastings, on Saturday, February 11th, who relate their arrival at Ashridge in a letter to Mary of that day, enclosing a plan of their intended journey to town the following week. (See vol. vi. p. 544, and Appendix.) Foxe on the next page gives a plan closely resembling that. Under this arrangement Elizabeth would have arrived in town on Friday, February 16th, when (according to Foxe, she was shut up in privacy for a "*fortnight*, till Palm-Sunday," which fell on March 18th, *i.e.* *thirty days* after her arrival. The truth is, that plan evidently was not adhered to, in consequence of Elizabeth's illness; and she did not reach town till Thursday, February 22d. (Carte, Cotton MSS. F. 5, and Noaille's Letter to the French King, dated the following Saturday.) Three weeks (not "a fortnight," as Foxe says) from this time, or on Friday, March 16th, Gardiner paid his visit; and on Palm-Sunday, March 18th, she went to the Tower. (Supra, vol. vi. p. 548; Cotton MSS. Vitell. F. 5.)

Page 607, line 10. "*The careful fear.*"—D. Cox, in a metrical paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer in Farr's "Select Poetry," p. 504, has—

"Forgive us our offences all  
Relieve our *careful* conscience."

Page 607, line 26. "*Prisoner a fortnight.*"—All the Editions after that of 1563 add, "which was till Palm-Sunday," which clause is here omitted; for though it may have been literally true that Elizabeth was *only* a fortnight without seeing "lord nor friend," yet it appears to have been three weeks before Gardiner visited her on Friday before Palm-Sunday. (See note on p. 606.)

Page 607, note (1).—The imprisonment of Sir W. Sentlow on Saturday, February 24th, is mentioned supra, vol. vi. p. 545. It corroborates the opinion that Elizabeth arrived in town on Thursday, February 22d.

Page 608, middle. "*Upon Saturday.*"—"Being Palme-Sonday Even, ii certain Lords of the counsell (whose names here also we do omitte)": Edit. 1563, p. 1712. And for "better and more comfortable," five lines lower, we there read "more joyouse and better."

Page 610, line 12. "*Had two abecies provided.*"—Two alphabets: see Halliwell's Dict. of Archaic Words, and note in Appendix to vol. vi. on p. 680.

Page 610, middle.—The first Edition, p. 1711, thrice reads "Acroft" for "Croft;" once near the bottom "Croft."

Page 611, line 2.—The first Edition omits "very" before "strange."

Page 614, line 1. "*Such a company.*"—"Such a kind of company." Ed. 1563.

Page 614, line 7. "*She being desirous to know what he meant.*"—This is thus expressed in Ed. 1563: "Whereat she being more greedy, as farre as she durste."

Page 614, line 11.—The Edition of 1563, p. 1713, says, "In conclusion, the xvi day of May she was removed from the Tower," &c.

Page 614, line 16. "*Wafting in the country about.*"—To "waft" is to float (Todd's Johnson) or hover. Hollingshed here uses the term "waiting." May that be a misprint for "waithing," explained in Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary by "wandering, roaming"? Or may "wafting" be a misprint for "waffing," of which the same work gives the meaning "to wave;" and of "waffie" "a vagabond"? "Waffing" is said in the Glossary to Allan Ramsay's Poems, 1721, to mean "wandering." See Brand's Pop. Antiq. III. 122, Edit. 1841.

The reading, however, of "wafting" in this place seems to be supported by the following passage in Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, vol. i. p. 185; "boats full of men and women of the City of London, *waffeting* up and down in Thames;"

which in Dr. Wordsworth's copy (in *Eccles. Biogr. i.* 565) is "walking up and doune."

Page 614, line 22.]—All the Editions but the first read "lodged" for "laid." See note on p. 387, *supra*.

Page 614, line 19 from the bottom. "*Then he coming to the lord,*" &c.]—The first Edition says, "he staieing asyde."

Page 614, line 3 from the bottom. "*That doleful night.*"—The first Edition reads "doubtful."

Page 615, line 5. "*Tanquam oris.*"—The Queen had these words quoted before her with additional illustration in after-life: see Walton's *Life of Hooker*, with Keble's note, Edit. Oxf. 1841, p. 35.

Page 615, lines 16 and 13 from the bottom. "*Drop vie crowns.*"—A term in gambling, the same as the *revy*. Florio, p. 442. Halliwell's Dict. of Archaic Words, p. 320. To *revie* is to bet again.

Page 627, line 1. "*What a dearth happened.*"—In some lines appended to Banner's Homilies, 4to. 1555, the excessive rains are alluded to.—

## MAN.

"These stormye showres and ragyng floodes  
That dayly us molest—  
Alass ye heavens, what may this meane,  
Is nature now opprest?"

## THE AYRE.

"Thou man thy case, thy wycked state,  
Why wylte thou not lamente;  
And spedely God's grace receive  
And duly doo repent?  
Thy sinnes so greate, and eyes so drye  
Thy wofull ruine nighe,  
For the our stremes doune cause to poure,  
Thys plague doth cause us sighe.  
Al creatures eke with us now mourne  
Thy recheles stuborne harte.  
Alas wepe thou, that we may cease,  
And thus ease thou thy smarte."

Page 628. "*The severe punishment of God upon the persecutors.*"—For a preface to this portion of Foxe in the first Edition, see Document No. VIII.

Page 629, line 13. "*And so died.*"—The first Edition, p. 1704, proceeds:—"But especialye is to be noted the terrible stroke of God's hand upon a priest of the same country in Carmarthen, called Sir Richarde, sometyme a Frier. Who, a litle after the martirdome of the said bishop Ferrar, standynge uppon the toppe of a stayre in one master Downes house, dwelling in the said towne of Carmarthen, jestinge at the deathe of maister Ferrar, fel downe suddainly and brake his necke."

Page 631, line 9. "*As he was in his labour stacking up a goff of corn.*"—Or *Golfe*. "A rick of corn in the straw laid up in a barn is called in Norfolk, according to Forby, a *goaf*; every division of the barn being termed a *goaf-stede*: to goave signifieth to stow corn therein. Palsgrave gives 'goulfe of corne, so moche as may lye bytwene two postes, otherwyse a baye.'" *Promptorium Parvulorum*, Edit. by Way, p. 202, and note. See for two more examples *supra*, p. 493; and the extract from p. 1698 of Edit. 1563, in p. 789.

Page 633, line 9 from the bottom. "*As this James Abbes.*"—The first Edition, p. 1705, continues:—"At the time of his martirdom, when the sheriffe came to have him awaye, he, to make him selfe the redier to that heavenly journey, did untie his hose, and other his apparell, ere that he went out of the prison, Wherupon as the serife [*sic*] did lead," &c.

Page 642, middle. "*The river about Rewley, at Oxford.*"—The site of a royal abbey, occupying the northern part of the Island of Oseney, founded in 1279 by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall. Ingram's *Memorials of Oxford*, vol. iii. p. 11.

Page 645, line 16. "*Spurred his horse in such sort.*"—See Sir Thomas More's Dialogue on Tribulation, II. 5.

"His horse, as he had caught his master's mood,  
Snorting, and starting into sudden rage,  
Unbidden, and not now to be controll'd,  
Rushed to the cliff, and, having reached it, stood!  
At once the shock unseated him; he flew  
Sheer o'er the craggy barrier," &c.

*Cowper's Task*, bk. vi.

Page 647, line 1.]—The name of John Tayler, alias Barker, occurs soon after the foundation of the bishopric of Gloucester, and under August 31st, 1569. (See Rudder's Hist. of Gloucestershire.)

Page 647, line 9.]—William Jennings was appointed first Dean of Gloucester by the charter of foundation, September 3rd, 1541, and died November 4th, 1565. (*Ibid.*)

Page 647, line 10 from the bottom. "*Hofmeister . . . as he was in his journey.*"—There seems to be some mistake here. Hofmeister, who was a monk of the Augustinian order, attended the second Conference at Ratisbon in 1546, and spoke on the 20th of February. See *Actorum Colloquii Ratisbonensis ult. narratio*; Lovanii, 1547; and Sleidan, tom. ii. 416, Edit. 1786.

He died in fact at Gunzburg, in 1547, in his thirty-eighth year, having, according to Romish authority, been poisoned by the heretics!—"Astu et dolo hæreticorum creditur interiisse. Sic enim Seripandus . . . in suo diario notavit: Mortuus igitur est Hoffmaisterus, ut credebatur hæreticorum extinctus veneno." Ossingeri Biblioth. Augustiniana (Ingoldst. 1768), p. 448.

The sentiments of Hoffmeister were on some points, however, of so liberal a caste, that his own so-called Catholic brethren might be inclined to get rid of him in some noiseless way. See Rivet's *Grotianæ Discussionis Dialysis*, sect. 1, § 20; sect. 5, § 11. See also Wolfii *Lectiones Memorabiles*, tom. ii. 516—17, Edit. 1672, which, in some measure, supports Foxe's representation.

Page 650, middle.]—Foxe here reads "*Clarilocus*" in the text, and "*Charilocus*" in the margin: "*Clarilocus*" is the right reading: see vol. iv. p. 373, Appendix.

Page 650, line 4 from the bottom. "*The cardinal, not a little amazed at the sight.*"—The authority for this account has of course been objected to by the Romanists. "Rem ipsam in dubium vocavit Spondanus (*Contin. Annall. Baronii* ad an. 1552, § 5), quod a solo *Sleidano* relata sit: sed fidem incomparabilis hujus historici vindicavit ipse Cardinalis *Pallavicinus*, qui id vere narrari in diario Magistri cæremoniarum ad diem 25 Martii, eumque Magistrum huic eventui ipsum adfuisse testatur (*Hist. Conc. Trid. lib. xiii. 3, § 1*). Concedamus autem, canem hunc non fuisse spectrum diabolicum, quod nec *Sleidanus* affirmat; demus, in sola phantasia ac deliriis febricitantis forte Crescentii canem hunc extitisse: sed quam, quæso, vociferarentur, quantas tragædias excitarent Romanenses, si vel Lutherus, vel Melancthon, aut Chemnitius hunc in modum e vita demigrassent?" Schelhorn *Amœnitat. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 376. It may be as well to add, that this story relative to the Cardinal is given in a somewhat abridged form in the small Edition of Sleidan, printed by Conrad Badius, 1559 (fol. 396, verso). See Courayer's translation of Father Paul's *Hist. of Counc. of Trent*, i. 690, Edit. 1738.

Page 651, middle. "*A stouter defender of the pope's side . . . John Eckius.*"—This champion's Enchiridion was regarded as a most potent weapon by the anti-Catholics of Reformation times. Bale, under the name of Harryson, writes:—

"The Enchyridion of Eckius that impudent proctour of Antichrist offendeth yow nothyng at all:" [he is alluding to some of Bonner's literary prohibitions] "Everye where ys thys boke sought and enqyred for in cyte, markett and feyer. Everye ser Johan must have yt that can rede, to make hym therewith a Christen curate, a good ghostlye father, and a catholyck member of holye church. Verry few Popyshe Prestes within my lordes dyocese are at



thys same houre without yt, eyther in ther chambers, sleves or bosoms.<sup>1</sup> For yt ys a most preycouse treasure to hym that wyll heare confessyons and kepe a cure well to Antichristes behove. That embrase the gentyll menne of the Popes lyverye and marke, that culle they, that kysse they, that drawe they to them as a worke of most holye wholsom catholyck doctrine. No lesse myght Harrye Pepwell in Paules churche yearde have out of Michael Hilienius' howse, in Anwerpe, at one tyme than a whole complete prynte<sup>2</sup> at the holye request of Stokyslaye [Panzer, *Annal. Typogr.* vii. 252]. In a short space were they dyspatched, and a newe prynte<sup>2</sup> in hande, soche tyme as he also commaunded Barlowes dialoges<sup>3</sup> to be preached of the curates through out all hys dyocese. I know yt the better, for that he at the same tyme suspended me from preachynge in Estsexe, bycause I wold not leave the gospell and be sworne to the observacyon of hys injuncceyons. I have knowne in my tyme more than vi dyverse pryntes<sup>2</sup> of thys erronyouse and devylyske boke, whych ys a manyfest token that the utteraunce therof hath not bene small." (*Yet a course at the Romyshe Foze*, Zurick, 1543, fol. 54, 55.)

Page 651, bottom. "*The English translation of the history of John Carion.*" ]—Dibdin also, in his *Typogr. Antiquities*, vol. iv. p. 317, mentions "*The three bookes of Cronicles, whiche John Carion gathered wyth great diligence of the best authors, &c.* ; printed (and apparently translated) by Walter Lynne, 4to. Lond. 1550. Carion's Works are purged in the Roman Expurgatory Index, Mr. Gibbings' reprint, Dublin, 1837.

Page 652, middle. "*To the feast called our Lady's Oumgang.*" ]—That is, her *Procession*, from the Anglo-Saxon *ymb-gan*, to go round : see Bosworth's Anglo-Sax. Dictionary, and Halliwell under *Ungang*. Two MSS. of Rolle's translation of the 78th Psalm, in the Brit. Museum and Bodleian Libraries, have v. 3, "they spille here blode as watir in *umgong* of Jerusalem" in the one; and in the other, "as watir in the *cumpass* of Jerusalem;" and in v. 4, "skornynge and hething to alle that in oure *umgong* are," rendered in the other, "that ben in oure *cumpass*." See Preface to "*The Wyclifite version*," Oxf. 1850, p. iv.

Page 652, line 9 from bottom. "*Hurlwind.*" ]—All the Editions but the first read "whirlwind."

Page 659, line 8. "*Translated out of the French book.*" ]—*Commentaires de l'estat de la Religion et Republique sous les Rois Henry et Francois second*, &c. ; 8vo. 1565, fol. 6—9 : written by Pierre de la Place ; see above, Appendix to vol. iv. note on p. 441. Pierre de la Place was a native of Angouleme, and President of the Court of Aids at Paris. His history commences in 1556, and ends in 1561 with the Conference at Poissy, of which it gives an excellent journal. For a zealous Calvinist the author has written with much moderation, and as a faithful historian. Many original pieces are to be found in his work, which he introduces with skill. He was killed in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. See "*Biblioth. Hist.*" a J. G. Meuselio, vol. vii. pt. ii. p. 227.

Page 661, line 9. "*Not long after the same, the chancellor Olivier,*" &c. ]—See Thuanus *Hist. lib.* xxiv. § 24 : and "*Rerum in Gallia ob religionem gestarum libri tres*," 1570. Serranus, or Jean de Serres, is supposed to have been the author of these Commentaries, five parts of which were published, and enlarged Editions, from 1570 to 1590. It tells much for its credibility that Thuanus has made such ample use of the work, and not less so that it should have found a place in the Roman "*Index lib. Prohib.*," Freytag's "*Apparatus Liter.*" tom. iii. p. 250, and the "*Biblioth. Hist.*:" a Meuselio, may be consulted for an account of it ; or Le Long's "*Biblioth. Historique de la France*," Edit. 1719, p. 408.

Page 661, bottom. "*Latin verses printed in the French story-book above alleged.*" ]—They will be found in the "*Rerum in Gallia gestarum*" above referred to, at p. 69. With respect to Charles V., it may be well to consult

(1) The Edit. Antverpiæ, 1547, is a neat pocket volume.

(2) "Prynte," used thrice in this extract for "edition" or "impression," illustrates Craumer's meaning : see note above on p. 57.

(3) "A dialogue describing the original ground of these Lutheran factions," &c. supposed to be reprinted by Cawood in 1553. See Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* i. 365 ; Dibdin's *Ames*, iv. 389.

McCrie's "History of the Reformation in Spain" (Edinburgh, 1829), p. 246; and to compare Sandoval's account, which was translated and printed separately. See "Hist. captiv. Francisci I., necnon vitæ Caroli V. in Monasterio" (Mediolani, 1715) by Adam Ebert, or in the Spanish original lib. 33, § 9.

Page 662, line 15. "*The president Minard . . . was slain with a dag.*"— "D'un coup de pistolet" are the words of De la Place (p. 30), which may explain "dag." See note above on p. 575.

Page 662, line 26. "*And the cardinal of Lorraine.*"— "Ce prêtre perfide et sanguinaire s'étoit déclaré Luthérien dans une entrevue avec le Duc de Wurtemberg à Saverne, afin de ne pas aigrir les Protestants d'Allemagne, et de pouvoir continuer sans obstacle à faire assassiner et massacrer les Calvinistes de France." See Varillas Histoire de Charles IX., tom. i. 122; Cologne, 1684: De Potter's "Lettres de Saint Pie," Bruxelles, 1827, p. ii.: and Smedley's Hist. of Reform. in France, ii. 36, 37.

"D'abord il (Card. Lorraine) s'insinua par de basses complaisances dans les bonnes grâces de Diane de Poitiers, maîtresse de Henri II., qui disposoit de ce Monarque et par lui du Royaume . . . Il fut premier qui fit de la Bastille l'instrument ordinaire des vengeances ministérielles . . . Il inventa les lettres de cachet . . . Il regardoit l'*Inquisition* comme l'instrument le plus sûr de ses vengeances secrètes, et il fit tous ses efforts pour introduire en France—

'ce sanglant Tribunal,  
Ce monument affreux du pouvoir monacal.'"

Du Massacre de la St. Barthelemi, Discours Historique par Gabr. Brizard; pt. ii. pp. 14—16.

Page 667, line 12. "*Castellanus.*"—Peter Chastellain, Bishop of Macon: see Appendix to vol. iv., note on p. 406.

Page 668, line 22. "*First, what a peaceable and heavenly end made the worthy servant and singular organ of God, Martin Luther!*"—It may be well, now that the Jesuits have fixed, and are extending their dominion, in this country, to give their historian's remarks upon the death of Luther. The writer, it may be premised, is commended for his suavity, &c.:—

"Cum his quoque Deus quasi quadam conspiratione consentiens, portentum illud orbis terrarum, seminatorem malorum omnium, et hujus temporis Antichristum, de medio sustulit. Piget infernum hoc monstrum suo nomine nominare. Ille, inquam, catholicæ religionis transfuga, desertorque Cœnobii, instaurator hæresum omnium, illud Dei et hominum odium, duodetrigesimo sæe defectionis anno, cum laute et splendide cœnatus esset, facetiisque de more lusisset, ea ipsâ nocte repentino morbo correptus, jugulatusque, sceleratissimam animam vomuit, gratissimam Satanae hostiam, qui se talibus oblectat escis, unde ejus saturaretur ingluvies." Hist. Soc. Jesu, pars prima, auct. Nic. Orlandino (Col. Agrip. 1621); lib. 6, § 59.

Page 668, line 27. "*Berengarius.*"—Quere, Bullingerus.

Page 668, line 30. "*Lewis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé.*"—Brother to Antony, King of Navarre: see "Laval's Hist. of Ref. in France," book ii. § 5.

Page 669, line 6. "*Were wont to sing in their hymns.*"—These lines form a portion of a hymn used "in Communi plurimorum Martyrum," and beginning, "Sanctorum meritis inclyta gaudia."

It appears in the "Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum," Paris, 1502, fol. xxxix.; in the Salisbury Breviary, Edit. 1535, fol. lxx.; and in Daniel's Thesaurus Hymnologicus, tom. i. p. 203. The reading of "nec" for "non," in the second line, is supported by the two former. The notion, however, that "Persecutors were wont" to sing this or any other hymn, must originate in some misapprehension, or be a plain blunder.

Page 671, bottom.]—The following prayer of our author, which here follows in Edition 1570, is omitted in all subsequent Editions:—

"Almighty God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of his gracious mercy and for the reverence of his Sonne, either convert the hartes of these bloody

enemies, or cut short their power, and disapoynt their devises, or els so shorten the perilous dayes of this kingdome of Sathan, that the peaceable kingdome of Christ may be set up for ever by the speedy commynge of hym, *Qui venturus est in nubibus cœli. Veni cito, Domine Jesu. Amen.*"

Page 672, line 11 from the bottom. "*Death of cardinal Pole, which was the next day.*"—The same is stated at p. 636. Machyn chronicles it as *two* days after: "The xix day of November ded betwyn v and vi in the morning my Lord Cardenall Polle at Lambeth." (*Diary*, p. 178.)

Page 677, middle. "*To deliver thy church.*"—The contrary opinion of a Papal Ecclesiastic is, in the present times, worth placing alongside that of John Hales:—

"Extinctis Card. Polo ac regina Maria Angliæ luminibus, densissima posthac hæreseon caligo inhorrescere cœpit, cum in Sceptrum Anglicum non *vera regni hæres* Maria Stuarta Reg. Scotiæ . . . sed Elisabetha præcipiti impetu, perturbatissimoque judicii ordine, licet *spuria*, atque ex Regni et Ecclesiæ legibus *sceptris indignissima*, flagitio ad solium vocata est." (Raynaldi Annales ad an. 1558, § 11.)

Page 679, line 16. "*The Conference,*" &c.]—There is a printed account of this Conference in Lambeth Library, which the Editor has collated, and finds to correspond, with the exception of a few verbal differences, to Foxe's large type: the Lambeth account, however, gives none of Foxe's small type, except the list of the disputants, and the three propositions in dispute. The title-page of the Lambeth copy is as follows:—

"The declaracyon of the procedynge of a conference, begon at Westminster the last of March, 1559, concerning certaine articles of religion, and the breaking up of the sayde conference by default and contempt of certayne Byshops, parties of the sayd conference.

(\*)

"Imprynted at London by Richarde Jugge and John Cawood prynters to the Queen's Maiestie.  
Cum privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis."

Page 679, line 2 from bottom.]—The Lambeth copy reads "Aylmer."

Page 680, last line but one.]—For "proposition," which the Lambeth copy reads, Foxe's text reads corruptly "probation."

Page 681, line 7.]—The Lambeth copy reads "deliver."

Page 681, line 14.]—For "lord keeper" the Lambeth copy reads "privy council."

Page 681, line 23.]—The Lambeth copy has not the words, "and afterwards Bishop of Winchester."

Page 683, line 16 from the bottom. "*Approved by St. Augustine.*"—Whose words more accurately given are: "Quare non opus est locutione cum oramus, id est, sonantibus verbis . . . non ut Deus, sed ut homines audiant," &c. (tom. i. col. 542, Edit. Bened.)

Page 684, line 21. "*The liturgies both of Basil and Chrysostome declare.*"—In Renaudot's Liturg. Orient. Collect. tom. i. 64; Biblioth. Patr. iv. col. 39, Edit. Paris, 1576.

Page 684, line 30. "*Accord and harmonize with those of all the churches of God.*"—These words are a more correct exhibition of the original, than Foxe's, "in all churches be uniform and agreeable."

Page 684, line 38.]—Foxe's text improperly inserts "over" after "passing."

Page 685, line 8.]—Foxe's text is improved here, and in the next paragraph, from the original Latin of Ambrose.

Page 685, line 17 from the bottom.]—Foxe's text is again somewhat revised from Jerome's Latin.

Page 685, line 11 from the bottom. "*And in the end of his commentary upon . . . Galutians.*"]—But this quotation, it should be observed, is made from the larger genuine commentary upon this Epistle: the two former being taken from the short comment upon the Thirteen Epistles of Paul, which all agree was not of Jerome's writing. See Rivet's Crit. Sac. lib. iv. 5; Oudin. De Scripp. Eccles. i. 845; Labbe in Bellarmin. de Scripp. Eccles. p. 110, Edit. Venet. 1728.

Page 685, line 3 from the bottom. "*The same Jerome saith in the preface.*"]—In the *second* however; tom. vi. p. 133, edit. 1616.

Page 686, line 7 from the bottom. "*Constitution of Justinian.*"]—It is to be observed that there is much discrepancy between the different copies of this Constitution, in the original as well as in the Latin translation. In the Edition by H. Scrimger (1558) a whole page is left out, containing, amongst other matters, the passage to which Jewel refers, and which is found in the Greek Edition of Haloander. (Note on Jewel's Replie to Harding, Art. iii.; Works, Edit. Oxf. 1848, vol. ii. 43.) See also Taylor's "Dissuasive from Popery," part i. ch. i. § 7, which informs us that "this law was rased out of the Latin versions of Justinian. The fraud and design was too palpable: but it prevailed nothing, for it is acknowledged by Cassander and Bellarmine, and is in the Greek copies of Haloander (De Missa, l. 2, c. 13, sect. ad Novellam)." In modern Editions of the Civil Law this paragraph is transferred to Novell. 137, § 6.

Page 687, bottom.]—For "as they possibly could," the Lambeth copy reads "as they might possible."

Page 688, line 2.] The Lambeth copy reads "should be agreed;" and three lines lower omits "was" after "assembly."

Page 688, line 6. "*The Order of the Second Day's Talk.*"]—The whole of the ensuing matter to the words "utterly refused that to do" (p. 692, line 14 from the bottom), is thus summed up in the Lambeth copy, which afterwards goes on to the end of that paragraph, and concludes with the word "contempt" (p. 693):—

"And therfore upon Mondaye, the lyke assemblye began agayne at the place and hower appoynted, and ther upon what sinister or dysordered meaninge is not yet fullye knowen (though in some part it be understood) the bishop of Winchester and his Colleagues, and especially Lyncolne, refused to exhibite or reade, accordynge to the former notorious order on Friday, that which they had prepared for the second assertion. And therupon by the lord keper of the great seale they being first gently and favourable required to kepe th' order appointed, and that takinge no place, beinge secondly as it behoved pressed with more earnest requeste; they neyther regardyng the authoritve of that place, nor their owne reputacyon, nor the credite of the cause, utterly refused that to do."

Page 688, middle. "*Master Cole.*"]—See Bishop Jewel's Works, i. 52, 60, Edit. Parker Soc.

Page 693, line 5.]—The Lambeth copy reads "stand;" and two lines lower "order to be taken."

Page 694, line 10 from the bottom. "*Edmund Grindall.*"]—The author, as should have been noted at the time, of the Dialogue in vol. vi. p. 336. See "Remains of Archb. Grindall," pp. 39—74, Parker Soc.

Page 700, line 12 from the bottom. "*Unto whom the Lady Wharton.*"]—Mr. Douce thinks (MS. note on copy now in the Bodleian) that Lady Jane must, from her reply, have read the following "narration" in the Liber Festivalis, fol. xliii. (misprinted xlvii.) recto, Edit. Paris, 1495:—

"We rede in saynt Gregorys tyme. There was a woman that hight lacia and se made brede<sup>1</sup> for the Pope and other preestys to synge with: and for to housell with the peple. Also whan the Pope come to this woman to yeve her housel: and sayd take here Goddis body: thenne this woman smyled and laughed. Thenne the Pope wytdrew his honde; and layd the ostyle upon the aultar: and torned to this woman Lacyva and sayd to her, *why smylest thou*

(1) The "singing cake" of Foxe, vol. vii. 544, viii. 274.



when thou shouldest receyre Crystis body: and she sayd why calleste thou that Cristis body that I made with my one handis. Thenne was Gregory the Pope sory for her mysbeleve and bad all the peple pray to God to shewe some miracle for this womans helpe: and when they had prayed long, Gregory wente to the aulter agen, and founde thosty [the host] torned in to red flesche and blood bledynge; and he sheweth it to this woman," &c. &c. Tricks of this kind almost abound in Romish narration. See Raynaldi's *Annales*, an. 1556, § 37.

Lady Jane, however, happily did not follow up the story, nor attend to the object here proposed in this scene: "And therefore lete us do all the worship that we may to the sacrament that we can or maye, and be in noo mysbyleve."

The same, or similar artifices, are even now adopted for keeping up a belief in the doctrine of Transubstantiation. See Churchman's *Monthly Penny Mag.* July, 1847; p. 42.

The "English Review" (June 1847, p. 489) furnishes a good modern specimen "of the effrontery with which the Romish church at one and the same moment vends her miraculous tales to the credulous multitudes, and disavows them in quarters where they may prove inconvenient," and be not likely to answer.

Page 701, middle. "*A Treatise of Master Nicholas Ridley.*"—This is doubtful. (See the Addenda to Ridley's Works, p. 543, Parker Soc.; and Jewel's Reply to Harding, Art. iii. div. 26.) A reviewer in the *British Critic* for April, 1843, declares that this is the same as the treatise which Collier gives some account of, as to be found in C.C.C. Cambridge; and states that it is there prefaced with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth, and that instead of "father" (see p. 707 of this volume) the C.C.C. MS. reads "brother." Moreover, the reviewer argues that Edward VI. never threatened to "strain the bishops" in the direction of images (see p. 707).

Page 702, middle. "*And again, they are worthy of death.*"—These words, excepting "worthy," will not be found represented in either the Douay, or the present authorised version of the English Bible. They are absent from the Greek, and also from the better Latin MSS. "*Decem e nostris MSS. et quidem emendata pleraque prætermittunt, Græcis codicibus consentaneæ, substantivum verbum sunt; leguntque hoc ordine, Digni qui spem in talibus habent. Lobicense addit sunt, sed alio loco: Sunt digni qui in talibus spem habent. Reliqua nostra exemplaria et sunt adjiciunt et morte: Digni sunt morte qui, &c. expositoribus Lyrano, Holcotio, Carensi, et Richelio, conformiter. At utrumque dubio procul superfluit. Mirum est Glossematicos illos, de iis, quos sequendos sibi proponerent, codicibus, non magis fuisse sollicitos.*" Lucæ Brugensis "*Notationes in Sacra Biblia,*" Antv. 1580, p. 224.

The text as quoted in Foxe is that of Coverdale's Bible, &c.

Page 704, line 9. "*Zephirus, in his Commentary.*"—"Tertulliani Apologeticum doctissimis commentariis illustrasse refert Nigrius (Hist. Scripp. Florent.) quæ in lucem prodire cum Tertulliano ipso Basileæ, 1550. Insuper Jo. Alb. Fabricius Biblioth. Latin. ii. 271, elegantem Tertulliani Edit. recenset Parisiis apud A. Wechelum, 1566, duobus voll., quæ integras B. Rhenani notas singulis libris præmissas exhibet, et Apologetico adjunctum Francisci Zephyri Florentini commentarium, sive paraphrasim antea non editam."—Bandini's "*Juntarum Typogr. Annales,*" pars i. pp. 141, 142. The quotations on this page from Augustine are made rather loosely.

Page 705, line 4. "*Epiphanius, in his epistle to John Bp. of Jerusalem.*"—See Cave's *Lives of the Fathers*, iii. 217. The way in which this Letter has been assailed by Romanists, is worthy of notice. "In Epistolam ad Joan. Episc. Hierosol. Pontifici omnes quasi densato agmine irruunt, quia imaginum in templis erectionem, non solum verbo sed etiam facto damnavit. Et quia totius Epistolæ, ab Hieronymo (ut constat) conversæ, fidem non omnino possunt convellere, quidam, ut refert Bellarminus de Imag. ii. cap. 9, respondent, egisse Epiphanius contra Anthropomorphitarum errorem, ut Thomas Waldensis. Alii, ut Salveron comment in 1 Joh. cap. 5, disp. 32, posse aliquam sancto zelo Dei percitum errare in aliquo facto. Alii, ut Sixtus Senensis, lib. v. annotat. 217, ex Damasceno, eam hirculinam ver non facere. Alii, ut Gregorius de Valentia, si maxime factum illud Epiphanius exploratum esset, plus ponderis apud se

*Ecclesiæ auctoritatem atque usum habere debere*, lib. ii. de Idol. cap. 7. Idem tamen Gregorius, Bellarminus etiam (ubi supra) et Baronius (Annal. iv. ann. 392, § 53), veriozem solutionem existimant, si verba illa quibus scribit *Epi-phanius* se scidisse velum pendens, in quo erat hominis imago, *SUPPOSITITIA* esse dicantur. Id quidem evincere volunt conquisitis undique argutiolis, quas *Bellarminus*, ut numero pugnet qui pondere non potest, novem enumerat." Rivet's Crit. Sac. iii. § 29, where the objections are then considered *seriatim*; Oudin. Comment. de Scrip. Eccles. i. 535.

Page 705, line 3 from the bottom. "*Valentinian and Theodosius wrote.*"—This decree has been cited, too hastily perhaps, as condemning absolutely the making any image. The heading of it is "Nemini licere signum Salvatoris Christi humi, vel in silice, vel in marmore aut insculpere aut pingere." Cod. i. tit. 8.

Page 706, middle. "*About which time, as Eutropius writeth.*"—This must be looked for in *Paulus Diaconus* (lib. xxiii. p. 333), appended to such Editions of Eutropius as that noticed in vol. i. p. 221, note; and other collections. From the great similarity of quotation and argument adopted by the writer of this treatise, and in the second part of the Homily "Against Peril of Idolatry," they would seem to be the work of the same individual. See Hom. Edit. Oxf. 1840, pp. 170, 186, 198.

Page 708, line 12.]—Foxe's accuracy in stating that Ridley once went to mass in the Tower, seems to be very questionable. Ridley meant not to allude to any such thing in his conference with Latimer, but to his former practice in his unenlightened state. See the passage in the second Conference, and Second Objection of Antonian, supra, vol. vii. p. 411. Ridley denies that he ever allowed the mass with his presence, vol. vii. pp. 424, 434. In fact Foxe has confounded this with the case of Bishop Ferrar, related supra, vol. vii. 146.

Page 709, line 17. "*That his doings.*"—This is a remarkable instance of *that* used plurally; as it is also in, "that sorrowes is not fourmed with grace." (*The Festyvall*, fol. clxxxii. Ed. 1523.)

Page 713. "*Appearance of Thomas Hitton.*"—Sir Thomas More has furnished some particulars about Hitton, which, as such notices are not over abundant, we may, without indorsing his surmises, &c., here introduce:—

"Thus rejoiced Tyndale in the death of Hytton, of whose burning he boasteth in his answer to my dialogue,<sup>1</sup> where he writeth thereof, that where I said that I had never founden nor heard of any of them, but that he would forswear to save his life, I had heard he saith of Sir *Thomas Hytton* whom the Bishops of Rochester and Canterbury slew at Maydstone. Of this man they so highly rejoice, that they have as I said, sett his name in the Kalendar before a book of their English prayers, by the name of St. Thomas the Martyr, in the vigil of the blessed Apostle St. Mathew the xxiii day of February, and have put out for him the holy doctor and glorious martyr St. Polycarpus, the blessed Bp. and the disciple of St. John the Evangelist; for that was his day indeed, and so it is in some calendars marked. Now to the entent that ye may somewhat see what good Christen faith Sir Thomas Hytton was of, this new saint of Tyndale's canonysazion, in whose burning Tyndale so gaily glorieth, and which hath his holy day so now appointed to him, that St. Polycarpus must give him place in the Kalendar; I shall somewhat show you what wholesome heresies this holy martyr held.

"First ye shall understand that he was a Priest, and falling to Luther's sect, and after that to the sect of Friar Huskyn and Zuynglius, cast off matins and Mass, and all divine service, and so became an Apostle sent to and fro between our English heretics beyond the see, and such as were here at home.

"Now happed it so that after he had visited here his holy congregations in divers corners, and lusked<sup>2</sup> lanes, and comforted them in the Lord to stand stiff with the devil in their errors and heresies, as he was going back again at Gravesend, God considering the great labour that he had taken already, and

(1) In Tyndale's Practice of Prelates: Works, vol. i. p. 485, edit. 1831; or Foxe, iv. 619.

(2) Perhaps *dirty*, or *blind*, unfrequented, from *luscious*. See however Todd's Johnson and Richardson's Dict. The Host asking the Chanon's Yeman, in Chaucer, where he dwells, the latter says,—

"In the suburbis of a toune (quod he)  
Lurking in harnis and in lanis blinde."—*Prologue* 678-9.

determining to bring his business to his well-deserved end, gave him suddenly such a favour and so great a grace in the visage, that every man that beheld him took him for a thief. For whereas there had been certain linen clothes pilfered away that were hanging on an hedge, and Sir Thomas Hytton was walking not far off suspiciously in the meditation of his heresies; the people doubting that the beggarly knave had stolen the clouts, fell in question with him and searched him; and so found they certain letters secretly conveyed in his coat, written from evangelical brethren here, unto the evangelical heretics beyond the see. And upon those letters founden, he was wyth his letters brought before the most rev. Father in God the Archbp of Canterbury, and afterward as well by his Lordship as by the Reverend Father the Bp of Rochester examined, and after for his abominable heresies delivered to the secular hands and burned. In his examination he refused to be sworn to say truth, affirming that neither Bp nor Pope had authority to compell him to swear, which point although it be a false heresy, yet it is likely he refused the oath rather of frowardness than of any respect that he had either in keeping or breaking.

"His father and his mother he wold not be a knowen of what they were; they were some so good folk of likelihood, that he could not abide the glory. He wold not be a knowen that himself was Priest, but said that he had by the space of ix yeres been beyond the see, and there lived by the joiner's craft. Howbeit he said that he had always, as his leisure wold give him leave, and as he could find opportunity, in places where he came, taught the gospel of God after his own minde and his own opinion, not forcing of the determination of the church, and said that he intended to his power so to persevere still." Confutation of Tyndale's answers; prentyd at London by W. Rastell, 1532; Pref. Bb. iii.; or Sir. T. More's Works, London, 1557, p. 344.

Page 715, middle. "*Reading of a godly book, called 'The Lamentation'*"—The "Lamentation against the ctyte of London, for certayne great vyces used therein," was printed at Nuremberg in 1545. (See Herbert's Typogr. Ant. p. 1558, and Haweis' Sketches of the Reformation, p. 272.) It bore the name of Roderick Mors, and was proscribed: see vol. v. p. 568.

Page 717, col. 1, line 3 from the bottom. "*Of vading.*"—See vii. 706 and Becon's Works, Parker Soc. vol. iii. 609.

Page 718, col. 1, line 6 from the bottom. "*Take heed of 'had I wist.'*"—As this sentence ["had I wist," i.e. had I known] appears from the frequent use of it in old writers to have become almost proverbial, the following notices of its occurrence may not be unacceptable. It is used in a letter from Mr. Cheeke to the Duke of Somerset, temp. Edw. VI. (See Nugæ Antiq. i. 45), where Mr. Park also refers to "Heywood's Dialogue and Epigrams upon English Proverbs:"—"Never trust thou these training toyes . . . for feare of *had I wist* prove a foole." Melbancke's Philotimus, 1583. It is the title and subject of a poem in the first sheet of the "Paradise of Dainty Devices." In a poem entitled "The Way to Thrift" at the end of the "Northern Mother's Blessing," said to be written nine years before the death of Chaucer, and printed for Robert Dexter, 1597, we have—

"And yet beware of *Had I wist.*"

(Brydges' Brit. Bibliog. ii. 555, where more.) It is also used by Latimer, supra in vol. vii. 491, middle.

Page 721, middle. "*Julius Palmer.*"—With regard to Palmer's christian name, see note supra, on p. 201.

Page 722, line 18 from the bottom. "*Confession of Patrick Patingham*"—See Appendix to vol. vii. note on page 331.

Page 725, line 3. "*A bible-babble.*"—The reading in the first Edition, p. 1703, is "a bybble babel." See note on p. 340, sub-note (2).

Page 725, line 14.]—This is Michael Trunchfield's wife, mentioned supra, pp. 101, 373.

Page 725, line 11 from the bottom.]—This account of Maundrell is supplementary to that at p. 102 supra: it has been corrected by Edition 1563, p. 1707.

Page 726.]—The "Note" of Elizabeth Pepper need not have been printed here, as it will be found inserted in its proper place above, p. 153. This "Note"

is from the Appendix to Edition 1563, p. 1707; but was not reprinted in the Appendix to any subsequent Edition, nor even inserted in its right place, till 1583.

Page 731, line 3. "*A woad-setter.*"]—Alcock is before (p. 489) called "a Shearman."

Somner's Anglo-Saxon Dict. gives, "Wad-spilt, Instrumenti genus, a kind of instrument, Fortasse Pastinum, a dibble or setting stick, used in setting or sowing of woad." See also Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dict.

Loudon says that the plant grown in England is properly the *weld*, which yields a yellow dye, whereas woad yields a blue; and that the weld was *gande* in French, *waud* in German.

Page 731, line 12.]—Instead of "Litanie," all other Editions but the first read "English;" and the first omits the words, "used by King Edward."

Page 743, line 4 from the bottom. "*Thus he raging all the reign.*"]—In a speech delivered on the scaffold, this Romish saint (see Wood's Athenæ, i. col. 388) attempted in some degree to neutralize this charge; and the *reason* given for his relaxation is no doubt honest. Rome disowns with much readiness schemes, the issue of which she describes from afar is becoming doubtful, and which are not likely to *answer*.

"To prove," says Dr. Story, "that I was not so cruell as I am reported to be, let this one tale suffice: there were at one time xxviii condemned to the fire, and I moved the Dean of Paules to tender and pity their estate, which after was Abbot of Westminster, a very pitiful minded man [see vol. vii. p. 740], I think the most part of you must know him—it is Mr. Fecknam—and we went up and perswaded with them, and we found them very tractable. And Mr. Fecknam and I laboured to the Lord Cardinal Poole, shewyng that they were *nescientes quid fecerunt*."

"The Cardinal and we did sue together to the Queen, and laid both swordes together, and so we obteyned pardon for them al, savyng an olde woman that dwelt about Paules churchyard; she would not convert and therefore she was burned. The rest of them received absolution, and that with al reverence; berch the Register and you shall finde it."

"Yea and it was by my procurement that there should be no more burnt in London, for I saw well it would not prevaile." ("A Declaration of the Lyfe and Death of John Story," imprinted at London by Thomas Colwell, 1571, and reprinted in Harleian Miscel. iii. 104.)

The "new torment," to which Foxe subsequently alludes, (p. 744), was "a cage of iron," which Story said, "if I live, I will have made for them (heretiques) with a doer on the side, where they shall be enclosed, and the doer made fast, and the fire to be made under them. And then, said he, they shall know what frying is, and their mouths shall be stopped from blowing out their pestilent doctrines."

This account of Story was drawn up, according to Sanders, a personal friend of the Doctor, by one of the noblemen present at his execution; "ut omnes intelligenter, tantas Joannis Storæi virtutes fuisse atque esse, ut neque post funera ejus ipsorum livor et invidia conquiescat" (De Visibili Monarchia, p. 738.)

Page 747, line 5.]—Sir John Harrington was high sheriff of Lincolnshire 1538-1539, 29, 30 Hen. VIII., according to a "Chronological Table of the High Sheriffs of the County of Lincoln," &c. in the London Institution.

Page 748, line 13.]—This has been partly anticipated, p. 397.

Page 748, middle. "*The horrible massacre in France.*"]—Great expectations were formed of the success of this renowned expression of popish "benevolence;" but "the remembrance of St. Bartholomew's Day has continued to exist through successive generations, as a perpetual ground of accusation against the Romish church; and at the epoch of the Revolution, the people, while attacking the priests, pronounced the names of victims that had perished under Charles IX." (Continental Echo, 1846, p. 36.)

As early as the year 1554, ten years before the execution of Anne Dubourg, and eighteen before the fatal St. Barthelemy, the dean of St. Germain l'Auxerrois at Paris, Father Le Ficart, had the effrontery to preach from his pulpit, when speaking of the Protestants, that "the king ought for a time to counter-



felt the Lutheran amongst them, so that thus alluring them into his power, they might fall upon them all, and surge the kingdom of them at once." As the support of the clergy became more and more necessary to the ambitious designs of the Guises, their influence increased to such a point that even the royal will was no longer a bridle to it, and they undisguisedly and unequivocally urged on the populace to rise and destroy the Huguenots. There was soon a general insurrection of the clergy against the moderate and peaceful policy of the king, whose weakness only increased their audacity. For several years priests and monks were everywhere busily engaged in preaching to the people that they should take up arms; they hesitated not to point out to the assassin men of wealth and influence who favoured the Reformers; they even went so far as to proclaim in their sermons that "if the king showed too much reluctance to massacre the Calvinists, he ought to be dethroned, and shut up in a convent;" and at the beginning of the memorable year 1572, a bishop, Arnaud Sorbin of Nevers, *faisait rage* (to use the expression of cotemporary historians) against the king for not killing them, and publicly excited the Duke of Anjou to do the work himself, "not without giving him some hope of the primogeniture, as Jacob had received that of his brother Esau." The pulpit became a power superior to the laws; the king was no longer able to resist, and the result was the catastrophe of the 24th of August, 1572, which is still remembered with horror as the massacre of St. Bartholomew. (*Foreign Quarterly Review*, July, 1846, p. 323. See Elliott's *Horæ Apocalyptice*, iii. 316.) This statement affords a much better view than is commonly given of the causes of the massacre. The French nation had no peculiar connexion with it. It was of *papal* birth, originating in a terror of the increasing numbers of the Reformed, and a determination, if possible, not to be supplanted by the so-called heretics. On its *premeditation* see Allen's "Reply to Dr. Lingard's Vindication," Lond. 1827; and for abundant proof of a general popish conspiracy for the extirpation of the Protestant churches throughout Europe, Turner's *History of England* (Elizabeth), chaps. xxvi—xxx. It is a remarkable circumstance that the papers on the subject of the St. Barthelemy massacre, which should exist in the Paris libraries, are missing! See Sir Henry Ellis's *Letters*, series iii, vol. iii. 376. For further and similar examples of Rome's "glorious conquests," see Mackay's "Jesuits in India," 1845; Wilks' "Tahiti," 1844; and Tate's "Madeira," 1817.

Page 750, middle. "*Furthermore here is to be noted.*"—For some account of the medals struck on this "glorious" occasion, the orations delivered, and the commendations bestowed upon the perpetrators of the massacre, of all ranks—of much of which Foxé probably was not cognizant—see Smedley's "History of the Reformation in France," vol. ii. pp. 34—39; and Mendham's "Life and Pontificate of Saint Pius V." pp. 186—200; and, for important extracts from the correspondence of Charles IX. with the Sieur de Mandelot, Gouverneur of Lyons, recently printed, which throws important light upon the general subject, see pp. 204—209 of the same volume.

Page 751, middle. "*Whereupon began great siege . . . against Rochelle.*"—"Le quatrieme jour de Decembre, suivant le commandement du Roy, le sieur de Biron accompagné de sept cornettes de cavallerie et de dixhuit enseignes de pietons entra au pays d'Onis pour serrer les Rochellois; et lors commença la guerre toute ouverte." ("Recueil des choses memorables en France," p. 464, A. Heden, 1603.)

Page 751, line 5 from the bottom. "*To make short, seven principal assaults.*"—The assaults during this memorable siege were nine in all; see the "Recueil" (*ut supra*), p. 478, and Laval's "Reformation in France," vol. iii. pt. i. page 473. Respecting a subsequent popish assault on this city, see Bishop Hall's "Answer to Pope Urban's inurbanity."

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*Cor* The fifth edition of the Acts and Monuments, which appeared in 1596-97, and consisted of 1200 copies, was printed by "Peter Short, dwelling on Breadstreete Hill, at the signe of the Starre" (*Herbert's Topogr. Ant.* p. 1209); a curious coincidence, as to locality, with the present Edition.

## DOCUMENTS

REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING APPENDIX.



### No. I.

(See Note in the Appendix on page 4 of this Volume.)

From the Latin Edition, Basil, 1559, p. 709

QUUM igitur ab episcopo Lincolnensi Longlando cæterisque ecclesiæ proceribus aliquot regi persuasum esset illegitimum esse connubium verboque Dei dissentaneum, placuit tandem sex delecta capita hominum doctissimorum ex utraque academia Cantabrigiensi pariter et Oxoniensi in quæstionem ejus rei adhiberi, num fas censerent cum ea copulari quæ prius fratris sui esset conjugium experta. In hoc duodecemviratu erat et hic Cranmerus. Sed quia id temporis peregrè abesset ille ab academia, suffectus est ei alter, qui absentis suppleret vicem. Post longam citro ultroque disceptationem tandem in hanc itum est sententiam a duodecim, ut conjugium licet sua natura illegitimum non negarent, posse tamen dispensanti pontifici concessum fieri faterentur. Haud multò post reversus iterum in academiam Doctor Cranmerus suam rogatus super ea re sententiam sic argumentis contendit sic causam munit, cum doctoribus disputans, ut quinque ex his facilè in suas pertraxerit partes. Unde mox per totam Cantabrigiam in diatribis, in colloquiis, in symposiis, in scholis, simulque privatis ædibus publica jam materia frequensque quæstio in omnium ore percubuit: An papa facultatem haberet legem divinam relaxandi, ut fratri liceret fratris uxorem sibi in matrimonium consciscere. Eoque ventum denique, ut a pluribus in diversam partem, hoc est, contra pontificis auctoritatem, sit judicatum. Id ubi intelligit Stephanus Gardinerus, &c."

From the Edition of 1563, p. 1471.

Therefore when the kyng was perswaded by Longland Byshoppe of Lincolne that the mariage was unlawfull, and contrary to the lawes of God: it was decreed that sixe of the best learned should bee chosen out of either the Universities of Cambryege and Oxforde, to decise this matter, whether they thought it lawfull that he might be married with her, that had been before his brother's wyfe. Among these xii was Cranmer one: but because at that tyme he was abroade from the Universitie, another was put in his steade, which should supplie his rowme whyle he was absent. After long debating to and fro, the xii agreed on this sentence, that though the mariage were unlawfull of it selfe, yet by dispensation of the Pope it might be permitted. Not long after, when Doctor Cranmer, returning to the Universitie, was demaunded his sentence of that matter, he so contended in arguments, disputing with the Doctors and prevailing in the cause, that by good learning he pervincend and turned five of them to his syde and sentence, so that by and by upon that, through all Cambrige, in meetings, in talkynges, in drynkynges, in the scholes, and in private houses this was a common matter and question in every mans mouth, whether the Pope had autoritie to release God's lawe, that one brother myght marie an other brother's wyfe. And it came to this point, that most judged against the Popes autoritie.

When Stephen Gardiner, then being the kynges Secretarie, and afterwarde made Bishop of Wynchester, perceived that, he certified the Kyng, howe that Cranmer had driven five of those Doctors determiners to the contrary opinion, and also many other of that Universitie: whiche when the Kyng had heard, he sent for Cranmer, having much debating and talke with him concerninge that matter; by whome the Kyng being more fully instructed, sent hym backe agayne, whiche charged hym that after they had leisurly debated this matter at large, he should bring the same diligently put in wryting. Whiche when he had performed, &c.

## No. II.

ACCOUNT OF THE FINAL PROCESS AGAINST CRANME<sup>n</sup>.*(See Notes in the foregoing Appendix on pp. 72, 82.)*

From the Bonner Register, fol. 421—423.

Transumptum Domini Papæ ad procedendum contra Thomam Cranmerum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, cum toto processu desuper.

[Then follows the Pope's Commission, as given at pp. 69—71 of this volume.]

DIE SANCTI VALENTINI martiris, viz. die Veneris decimo quarto die mensis Februarii Anno ab Incarnatione Domini secundum cursum et computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ 1555, Indictione decima quarta, Pontificatusque Sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Pauli divina providentia hujus nominis papæ quarti Anno primo, Annisque regnorum Illustrissimorum in Christo principum Philippi et Mariæ dei gratia Regis et Regina, etc. secundo et tertio, E littera dominicali existente, hora quasi octava antemeridiana, in ecclesia Collegii regii vulgo appellati Fredyswydes alias Christes College in alma Academia Oxoniensi, apud summum altare ibidem solempniter celebrata fuit missa de corpore Christi atque decantata cum choro et organis: qua pacta, venerabilis et egregius vir Magister Johannes Harpesfelde sacræ theologiæ professor Archidiaconus London, in Suggestu prope chori ostium præfixo constitutus, concionem admodum piam et frugiferam magno ibi populo cetu advolante et præsentate fecit: Ubi præter cetera multum erudita præsentate Thomæ [? præsentate Thoma] Cranmero olim archiepiscopo Cantuariensi ac in summo templi illius loco (ubi crux præfigebatur) notorie locato, omnes opiniones atque hæreses quas idem Cranmerus perperam et erroneè ante docuerat constanterque tenuerat et affirmaverat gravissime et doctissime confutavit atque condemnavit. Qua concione finita atque ab omnibus catholicis maxime laudata Reverendi in Christo Patres Edmundus London et Thomas Eliensis permissione dâvina respective episcopi ab eadem concione ad summum altare antedictum se statim contulere; Et ibi in loco cum tabula sive credentia ac cathedris aliisque ad illud rebus perneccsariis decentissime extructo et ornato præfati Reverendi patres episcopi memorati signis omnibus pontificalibus circumcincti et induti in suas sedes se immiserunt. Nec ita multum postea adductus coramque eisdem reverendis patribus locatus fuit supradictus Thomas Cranmerus, quem pallio ac ceteris omnibus insigniis et vestibus tam Archiepiscopalibus et episcopalibus quam sacerdotalibus et clericalibus iidem reverendi patres indui curarunt. Illis itaque gestis presentataque per me Robertum Johnson (sacra auctoritate apostolica notarium publicum infra nominatum) bulla apostolica sive literis apostolicis executorialibus et commissionalibus dicti sanctissimi domini nostri papæ tam (sic) super assumptione ipsius Thomæ Cranmeri de crimine heresis, sub plumbo, cum chordulis canabis dependentibus, Romanæ curiæ more bullatis alias emanatis (? emunitis), ac per eosdem patres Reverendos cum ea qua decuit reverentia pariter et honore receptis, atque de eorum mandatis per me præfatum Robertum Johnson notarium publicum antedictum, dicti Reverendi patris domini Edmundi London Episcopi Registrarium principalem, publice perlectis, iidem Reverendi patres ob honorem reverentiam et obedientiam dicti Sanctissimi domini nostri papæ et Sedis apostolicæ onus executionis litterarum hujusmodi apostolicarum in se assumpserunt juxta et secundum vim formam et tenorem eorundem ac in dicto negotio degradationis inframentionato procedendum fore decreverunt; Meque eundem Robertum Johnson notarium publicum in eorum Actorum scribam et actuarium in ea parte etiam assumpserunt et deputarunt. Et cum predicti Reverendi patres executores sive commissarii apostolici memorati ad degradationis hujusmodi negotium procederent, statim dictus Thomas Cranmerus porrexit quandam schedulam in scriptis complectentem (ut asserbat) suam appellationem in ea parte ad futurum generale concilium interpositam, dicendo in Angliæ ut sequitur, viz. I doo appeale to the nexte generall counsaile, hoc est latine, Ego appello ad proximum generale concilium, et requisivit me præfatum notarium ad conficiendum sibi instrumentum super hujusmodi sua

pretensa appellatione ac astantes tunc ibidem ad perhibendum testimonium in ea parte, me eodem Roberto Johnson notario et scriba memorato respondente et dicente, quod nollem sibi conficere aliquod tale Instrumentum aliter quam de jure tenebar in hoc casu. Deinde premissis sic pactis, prefati Reverendi patres ad actualement degradationem ipsius Thomæ Cranmer procedentes Ipsum Thomam pallio predicto ac omnibus aliis insigniis et vestibus prememoratis, ab ultima Veste inchoando ac gradatim descendendo usque ad primam vestem inclusive (quæ sibi dabatur in collatione primæ suæ tonsuræ), exuerunt et deposuerunt; Atque omni honore prærogativa ornatu et dignitate Archiepiscopali, ac beneficio, ordine, et privilegio sacerdotali et clericali, juxta juris exigentiam et præteriti temporis morem laudabilem in ea parte usitatum, spoliaverunt privaverunt et degradaverunt. Et subsequenter eundem Thomam sic ut premittitur exutum depositum spoliatum privatum et degradatum atque veste laicali indutum Curiae et potestati seculari viz. Edmundo Yrisshe deputato Johannis Wayte Majoris et Thomæ Wynkle et Johanni Wells ballivis dictæ civitatis Oxoniensis tunc ibidem personaliter præsentibus, cum protestacione et intercessione in tali actu per ecclesiam fieri solita et consueta, commiserunt et tradiderunt. Quem quidem Thomam Cranmer sic commissum et traditum prefati deputatus et ballivi abhinc per se et ministros suos in dicta veste laicali ad carcerem illum vulgo appellatum Buckardo immediate abduci fecerunt. Super quibus premissis omnibus et singulis predicti reverendi patres episcopi et executores sive commissarii antedicti me prefatum Robertum Johnson notarium publicum et eorum Aetorum Scribam memoratum publicum Instrumentum conficere, Ac testes infranonimatos testimonium exinde perhibere, instanter rogarunt et requisiverunt, sicque rogavit et requisivit eorum uterque, præsentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus et egregiis viris magistris Richardo Marshall decano dicti collegii regii vocati Christes Colledge, Jacobo Courtopp decano ecclesiæ cathedralis Petriburgensis, et Richardo Smith sacre theologiæ professore, Waltero Wrighte archidiacono Oxoniensi, Thoma White Custode novi Collegii ibidem, legum doctoribus, Arthuro Poole præsidente Collegii Beatæ Mariæ Magdalænæ Oxoniensis, Alexandro Bolser canonico predicti Collegii Regii, Thoma Benger milite, necnon Leonardo Bolser, Johanne Cooke et Wilhelmo Gilberte, Armigeris, preconibus sive præcipuis bedellis, Anglice vocatis the Squiers bedells, dictæ Universitatis, et multis aliis testibus ad perhibendum testimonium super præmissis, sic ut præmittitur gestis et expeditis, per eosdem reverendos patres specialiter rogatis et requisitis.

EXCELLENTISSIMIS et Illustrissimis in Christo Principibus Philippo et Mariæ dei gratia Angliæ Franciæ Neapolis Iherusalem et hiberniæ regibus, fidei &c. vester humilis et devotus Edmundus Londoniensis et Thomas Eliensis permissione divina respective Episcopi, ac sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Pauli divina Providentia hujus nominis papæ quarti ad infrascripta executores sive commissarii sufficienter et legitime deputati, omnimodo honorem et obedientiam ac salutem in eo per quem [reges] regnant et principes dominantur. Noverit Majestas vestra regia quod cum dictus Sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster papa in negotio hæreticæ pravitatis contra Thomam Cranmerum olim Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum sub certis modo et forma in literis suis apostolicis expressis et jure procedens Eundem Thomam super crimine hæresis, et præsertim quia ipse animæ suæ salutis immemor contra regulas et dogmata ecclesiastica de veritate corporis et sanguinis Ihesu Christi in sacramento altaris, necnon sacri ordinis sacramento, aliisque ecclesiæ catholicæ sacris, aliter quam sancta mater ecclesia prædicat et observat sentierat ac docuerat, sanctæque sedis apostolicæ et dicti Sanctissimi domini nostri papæ primatum et auctoritatem negaverat, denique illam Wiclefi et Lutheri heresim eorumque falsa dogmata crediderat et sequutus fuerat et insuper libros in ea parte scripserat et imprimi fecerat, scriptaque in eisdem publice defenderat, confessum et convictum; atque ea ratione hereticum manifestum credentemque hereticis predictis et illorum sequacem esse, et excommunicationis et anathematis vinculo irritum et innodatum fuisse, tradendumque fore curiæ seculari, inter cætera decrevit et pronuntiavit; Ac demum literas apostolicas commissionales sive executoriales super præmissis, sub plumbo, cum chordulis canabis dependentibus more romanæ curiæ bullatis, de data Romæ apud sanctum Petrum Anno incarnationis domini 1555 xix Kal. Januarii Pontificatus sui Anno primo, ad degradandum prefatum Thomam ac eum curiæ seculari tradendum, nobis prelati



episcopis sub certis modis et forma in eisdem literis apostolicis expressis et designatis direxit:—Noverit celsitudo vestra regia serenissima, Quod nos, prefati Londonien. et Elien. episcopi ad reverentiam obedientiam et honorem dicti Sanctissimi domini nostri papæ onus executionis literarum apostolicarum executionarium hujusmodi in nos prout decuit humiliter assumentes, ac viriute et vigore earundem in dicto degradationis negotio rite et legitime procedentes, memoratum Thomam Cranmerum ab omni honore dignitate et prærogativa Archiepiscopali necnon ab omni ordine beneficio et privilegio clericali degradavimus et eisdem omnibus et singulis privatum fuisse et esse, secularique potestati viz. Edmundo Yrsshie deputato (Thawats majoris civitatis vestræ Oxon. ac Thomæ Wincle et Johanni Wells ballivis ejusdem civitatis vestræ coram nobis personaliter præsentibus juxta juris ac prædictarum literarum apostolicarum exigentiam tradidimus et reliquimus. Vestræ igitur regiæ majestati excellentissimæ tenore præsentium significamus et innotescimus ac certificamus omnia et singula premissa sic per nos fuisse et esse gesta et facta, ac veritatem in se omnino habere: Supplices nihilominus et in Visceribus Ihesu Christi obsecrantes, ut severitatis ultio et severa executio quæ ex legibus et more inextinguibili vestri regni in hoc casu fieri et haberi solet et consuevit sic mitigetur, ut Idem Thomas charitative reformetur, et ejus delicta quatenus fieri potest cum omni mansuetudine et lenitate corrigantur, sic quod rigor non sit valde rigidus, et quod clementia omnino sit ad salutem metumque aliis inculcat a similibus sceleribus abstinendi potius quam fiduciam præbeat dicta scelera perpetrandi. In cujus rei &c. Datum Oxoniæ xiiij<sup>o</sup> die Februarii Anno domini supradicto.

Notandum est quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus fuit potestea [postea], viz. die Sabbati xxi<sup>o</sup> die mensis Marcii, anno Domini secundum cursum et computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto, in quodam loco extra muros borealis partis civitatis Oxoniensis, combustus et in cineres concrematus &c.: et quod idem Cranmer tempore ejusdem concretionis et immediate ante illam suam concretionem publicè revocabat recantaciones suas antea per eum factas, persistendo in erroribus et hæresibus suis &c.

Ego Thomas Cranmer anathematizo omnem Lutheri et Zwinglii hæresim et quodcunque dogma sanæ doctrinæ contrarium: confiteor verò et credo firmissimè unam sanctam et catholicam ecclesiam visibilem extra quam salus non est, atque ejusdem in terris supremum agnosco caput Episcopum Romanum, quem fateor summum esse pontificem et papam ac Christi vicarium, cui omnes tenentur subesse fideles.

Item quod ad sacramenta attinet, credo et colo in sacramento Eucharistiæ verum Christi corpus et sanguinem sub speciebus panis et vini verissimè citra ullum tropum et figuram contenta, conversis et transubstantiatis panem in corpus et vino in sanguinem Redemptoris divini potestate. Atque in aliis sex sacramentis (sicut in hoc) id credo et teneo et credo quod universa tenet ecclesia ac sentit Romana. Credo insuper purgatorium locum, ubi ad tempus cruciantur defunctorum animæ pro quibus sancte ac salubriter orat ecclesia, sicut et sanctos colit, ad illosque preces effundit. Demum in omnibus me profiteor non aliud sentire quam ecclesia catholica et Romana tenet; ac me pœnitet quod aliud unquam tenuerim ac senserim. Deum autem supplex oro, ut pietate sua mihi condonare dignetur, quæ in illum et ejus ecclesiam commisi: fideles simul rogo et obsecro, ut pro me preces effundant: eos autem qui meo aut exemplo aut doctrina seducti sunt per sanguinem Ihesu Christi obtestor, ut ad ecclesiæ redeant unitatem, idemque dicamus omnes, ut non sint in nobis schismata. Postremo, sicut me sub jcio catholicæ Christi ecclesiæ ejusdemque supremo capiti, ita me submitto Philippo et Mariæ Angliæ regibus, et eorum legibus et decretis: et testor Deum optimum maximumque hæc in nullius gratiam nullius meum a me confessa sed ex animo et libentissime, ut mea et aliorum simul conscientis consulam et prospiciam. V. Kalendas Martii Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto.

Per me Thomam Cranmerum.

Testes

Henricus Sidallus.

Frater Johannes a Villa Garnice in hispania.

## No. III.

## LETTER FROM WILLIAM TYMS TO HIS SISTER.

*(See Note in the foregoing Appendix on p. 115.)*

From the Edition of 1563, p. 1513.

In the Historie of the Martyrs nexte goyng before this Supplication above prefixed, mention was made of one William Timmes a Godlye Minister and Martyr of Christ. Thys Wylliam Timmes a lyttle before hys Martyrdome, beyng in pryson, wrote a certayn letter unto hys sister, verve fruytefull and not unworthy to bee redde, whiche letter, to keepe a ryghte order in the History, shoulde have beene placed before the foresayde Supplication: but because the sayde letter came no sooner to oure handes, commynge halfe a daye shorte (whereby it cou'de not bee adjoynd there where wee woulde) so soone as it came, wee placed it here, and yet not greatly (I truste) interruptynge thereby the order of the Historie. The woordes of the letter bee these.

A Letter of Wylliam Tyms mentioned a lyttle before this supplication.

Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus, be unto you my dere syster both now and evermore. Amen.

My moste derely beloved sister, I thank my good God with all remembrance of you alwaies in my prayers for you, and praye with gladnes because my good God hath geuen you so earnest a spirit in his cause; the which I besech hym for hys mercyes sake to continue in you to the ende, both the wil which he hath begon, and also power to performe the same in dede, to the glory of God and your everlasting comforte in Christe. And my dearely beloved \_\_\_\_\_, take good heade and beware of false perswasion; For that is the thing, that the devil doth in these dayes most prevail wyth. For fyrst he wil perswade you that you may go to the Idoles temple with a safe conscience. But answer hym and saye as Syrach<sup>1</sup> sayth, Hee that toucheth pich shalbe defiled therwith: and so saye you, He that is companion among Idolatrs, wher they worship their false gods, must nedes be partaker of theyr wickednes: therefore say unto them, that S. Paule commaundeth me to come out from among them, and to touche no uncleane thing. Yet some of them wyl say, I pray you how say you unto S. Paule, where he sayth, There is no Idole unto him in al the whole world? it is very true: ther was none to hym in dede, and yet there were as many almost I thinke as ther be now. But he never came where they were, but alwayes he preached agaynst them; and so answere them and say, And you go to the Idoles temple to rebuke them of their Idolatry, then I allowe your going and I wyl go with you to here you: but and you go thether to serve the lawe fashioning your selfe like unto them, because you would not beare the crosse, and so to flatter both with God and the world, for savegard of your life, then say that Christ saith, He that saveth his lyfe shal loose it, and he that looseth his lyfe for my sake shal find it. And therefore tell hym, I know (say you) that my lyfe is in the handes of God, and not in the handes of men; and he himselfe saith in the Gospel that al the heares of my head be numbred, ye and sayth there shall not one of them fall to the ground except it be his good wil. Then seing that he is so loving a God unto us as he hath bene from the beginning, fyrst consider that he made us like unto his own image; and then consider through the transgression of our first father Adam we had al lost the joies of heaven, and by our own synne made the firebrands of hell: yet here marke the greate love of God to us ward: heaven was soughte, the earth was sought, to see and if any creature could be founde, that was able to pacify the wrath of God towards man. But there was neither man, neither Angel that could do it: then he like a most lovinge Lord, spared not his onely and most derely beloved sonne, so that if he had had a more precious jewel, as he had none,

<sup>(1)</sup> Ecclesiasticus xiii. 1.—Ed.

he would have geven it for the redemption of man. So that he sent hym down to take our nature in the wombe of the blessed virgin Mary, &c.; and last of all to suffer the most shameful death upon the crosse even for our sinnes, and so by hys death hath purchased pardon for al our sinnes; and not so leving us, but hath also by that death and precious bloodshedding purchased us everlastinge joye in the Kingdom of heven. All these thinges wel considered methink should cause us to say with S. Paule, Who shall separate us from the love of God? shal tribulacion, or anguish, or persecution, ether hunger, ether nakednes, ether peril, ether sword, as it is written; for thy sake are we killed al the day long, and ar counted as shepe appointed to bee slayne; yet never the lesse in all thinges we overcome stronglye throughe hys helpe that loved us; yea, and I am sure that neither death, neither life, neither Angels, neither rule, neyther power, neither thynges present, neither thinges to come, neither high, neyther low, neither any other creature shal be able to departe<sup>1</sup> us from the love of God, shewed in Christe Jesus our Lorde: yea, and all the aforesayd love of our good God were of us so well considered, as it was of Sainte Paule, it then would cause us to say as he sayd, and rather desyre to be absent from this enemy of ours, this our vile bodye, and to bee at home with our so deare friend our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the which desire God graunt us; and also power to fulfill the same, if we bee called thereto even by fyre, and so through fyre into the kingdome that our lord and saviour Jesus Christ both God and man purchased wyth his precious bloud. To that kyngdome I beseeche hym to bryng you and your deare husband, with all the rest of your family, Amen. My deare syster I pray you grete my sister Glascocke, and one of you comfort another in Christe.

*Continue in prayer, aske in fayth and  
obtaine your desyre.*

By me William Tyms, thys 7. of September, praying for you, accordyng to my bounden duty, especiallye for my sonne Amos,<sup>2</sup> whom I commit into your handes, and I thanke you for your gentle token that you sent me by one that came with my syster Wod of Retchford.

#### NO. IV.

#### LETTER FROM JOHN CARELESS TO LATIMER.

*(See page 201 of this Volume.)*

From the MSS. in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1. 2. 8. No. 27.

Oh my dear father, Mr. L., that I could do anything whereby I might effectuously utter my poor heart towards you; but for want of power my prayer unto God for you shall supply some litle part of my duty. God increase faith in me, that the same may be effectual. And, dear father, I beseech you to remember me when you talke with your good God, that he may give me the strength of his Spirit, that I manfully yielding my life for his truth may do you some honesty, who have put me into his service to be a soldier in his Camp: whereas if I run away like a coward, I shall shame you and all other that have holpen me into his service: and yet at length I shall be hanged in hell like a traitor to God and man; from the which God defend me and all his children, Amen. Oh that you knew how good your faithful servant Austen is to me for your sake. The Lord keep and preserve you now and ever, Amen.

Yours JOHN CARELESS.

(1) See note at vol. iii. p. 826. The above quotation from Rom. viii. is in the main according to Tyndale's version.

(2) Alluded to in Letter at p. 115.—Ed.

## No. V.

*(See Note in the foregoing Appendix on p. 527.)*

From the Edition of 1563, p. 1694.

Having safely, deare beloved in Christ, by the power of God waded through the depth of a mightye Ocean, in collecting and discoursing the lives and endes, as well of suche which with constante courage moste valiantly and Stephenlyke suffered for Christ and his truth y<sup>e</sup> cruel and bitter death, as also of them which professynge the lighte of Christes Gospel, afterward, leaving their houses and countrey were constrained to flye from place to place, or els have bene tryed wyth other punishments of roddes, racks, handburnings, beard pluckinge, &c. I bethoughte myselfe of a thirde kind of people, no lesse in mine opinion worthy of croule and posteritie, I meane those which beinge in the very middest of all daunger, and invironed rounde aboute wholly with jeopardy, and no lesse constant in the truthe, by the singular grace of God, John and Daniel-like, most miraculouslye and against all mens expectations in savety were delivered from the wicked and wolvishe handes of their enemies. In the whiche table and catalogue pleaseth the Queenes moste excellent majesty, and our redoubted Lady, amongst the chieftest to bee accompted and wrytten.

For is it not more clere then the lighte, yea and more bright then the sunne, that her grace was only preserved by the mighty hand of the helper Christ, and playne miracle of divine providence? Otherwise verely it could not possible be, that her majesty so longe in safetye could continue, being a Ladye of so excellent vertue, so well qualyfied, so godly disposed, so constant in Christes religion, and beinge placed in the daungerous tyme and hurlyburly amongs the thickest of her enemies, at whome only they shotte, and by all kinde of wayes and policies trayterously and violentlye sought to dispatch.

Which this her escape I cannot otherwise so wel ascribe, as unto the deth of Winchester. Who if any longer had contynued, it had bene a greate hasard if that by his wycked and bloody fetches, both her grace had not lost her head and England bereft of her liege Lady and righte lawfull inheritor. But laude and prayse bee unto God, England quietly enjoyeth her, she lyveth and prosperously reyneth amongs us, and that by hys divine providence, which by his inscrutable goodnes searcheth, ruleth, and worketh al thinges. And here, by the way, under your maiestyes correction with desyre of your graces pardon I re'erre my self to your highnes in what extreme misery, disease, daunger and perill ye were, how from poste to piller ye were tossed; how narrowly, nerely, and hardely ye escaped, how straungelye miraculously from daunger ye were delyvered, what favour and grace you found at thalmightyes hands, which when all hope of recovery was past stretched out his mighty arme, and preserved your maiesty, and placed your grace with such quietness, rejoicing and sufferings of al, as seldom hath bene herd of, in this your rightful throne of England, ther to lyve and raigne over us, your liege and natural people, teach and trade<sup>1</sup> us in the righte pathes of the gospel of Christ, to be a zealous example of it to the rest, to maintaine the teachers and prechers therof, to bridle the stouborne transgressors and breachers, and finally to be hys very substitute and Vicar here in this Realme under hym: beseeching your highnes after most humble maper, and that in the bowels of our Saviour Christ, and in the name of my Country, thys your most high and worthy function as you have most godly begonne, with earnest zeale to rule and go thorough with courage to maintayne Christes quarrell, with al your strengthe to defende it agaynst the enemies, wherin ye shall do your maister Christ most thankful service, shal answer to hys holy giftes bestowed upon you, and finally after long helth and prosperity in this your earthly kingdom, which is but temporall, shall enjoy the heavenly kingdome which is everlastyng.

(1) An uncommon use of this word, "to guide along a certain track or course:" "trade" is the past tense of "tread"; "tread-an" or "tred-an" in Anglo-Saxon is a path or way *treaded*, or *trodden*: hence "to trade," to guide along such a path: see "trade of life" *supra*, p. 12; and Richardson's Dict. *in voc.*



## No. VI.

*(See Note in the Appendix on page 549 of this Volume.)*

From the Edition of 1563, pp. 1677—1679.

The persecution of godly men and women of Suffolk in Quene Maries time.

[After mentioning William Browne, Robert Blomefield, Elizabeth Lawson, and Robert Hollon's wife and son, it proceeds]—

Item, there was one Robert Siegolde, an old husband man, persecuted out of Erle Stonham, in the sayd Countye, for the same causes that John Holland and hys mother were, as is aforesayde.

There was persecuted out of Rekengale [Rekenhall], in the County of Suffolke, mother Birlyngam, and her two Sonnes, and Agnes her daughter, and Katherin Browne a good vertuous maide, because they would not go unto the church to heare Masse, nor allowe the ceremonies, nor receive the sacrament of the altiar, nor yet shew any sygne to worship it.

There was persecuted out of Cornefeld one Spurdance, and afterwarde he was taken by Lauson and Barker of Todnam [Tuddenham], and burnt at Berry, and there was persecuted out of the said Hamlet called Cornefield, Jhon Blomefield and his wife, Peke and his wife, husbandmen both, and Jhon Thornes wife; because they would not go to the church and receive the sacrament of the altar.

There was persecuted oute of the Citye of Norwiche a shomaker and his wife, named William Hammon, by maister Attkins, mayster Minge, maister Spencer and maister Head, because he would not kepe theyre ceremonies, holy water &c., nor yet beleve in the sacrament of the altar, nor worship it.

Out of Ipswiche were persecuted maistres Tolly widow, and Jone Bocking, wydowe.

From Nedeham, by Ipswiche, was dryven from her house, one Bakers wife: her husband was a Myller, who remained secretlye the most part of her trouble with one Wylliam Corbold of Brodishe in Norfolke, who succoured many in those daies, and at a sister of hers in Sylam,<sup>1</sup> hard by.

Out of Hoxne was one good wife Barker of Chickering compelled to flee, within a few daies after she was brought to bed of a child, not without the consent of her husband, and peryl of her lyfe.

Many other, yea a great multitude were persecuted in Suffolke also, whych for that I lack their names, I omit at this tyme.

*The Persecuted in Norfolke.*

One maister Launcelot Thexton, a divine, was sore persecuted, and hys goodes muche spoyled.

Also another called maister Henrye Birde dwelling in Norwich (who married Alice, the daughter of one maistres Jone Morrant, wydow, of that city of Norwich, a very nurse to al good people) was lykwise driven from his dwelling, to seke the hyding of his heade in straunge places.

Further one Richard Chambers<sup>2</sup> nowe dwelling in Carlton by Bucknam [Buckenham], was likewise persecuted with the good woman hys wite, and traveled from place to place.

Moreover there was &c. [as on p. 525 supra.]

Among these was a good yong man called Thomas Cullier, who had his persecuted part in those perilous daies. These and an infinite number besides, were grevously molested, which for tediousnes to the booke, and reader, I leave here unrehearsed.

(1) All near Harleston.—Ed.

(2) Is he the one mentioned in the "Troubles at Frankfort," pp. 17, 23, Edit. 1846, in Strype's Mem. under Mary, ch. 17?—Ed.

*The Persecuted in Essex*

Out of Dedam were driven William Bets and William Birde, with their wives.

There was one Robert Searles, of the age of xxxviii yeares, an honeste godly man, and very zelous in the Lordes cause, who accustomed himselfe with the harpe, and could playe very well thereon: but in saint Nicholas parish in Colchester all kinge Edwards dayes hee solde grocery. When quene Mary came, and her lawes stablished, he fledde from his home, with his wife and children, and lay night and day in woods and groves abroade in Essex. At the last he syckned, and lay at one George Manners in East Thorpe in Essex, and there dyed verie constantlye in the faith of Christe. And by reason the house of the sayd Georges stode in controversy, whether it were in East Thorpe, or in Markestay, the Commissary of the one towne, and the Prieste of the other, being for the matter in sute, the Commissary to have an entresse<sup>1</sup> in the said house, commaunded that he should be buryed in East Thorpe, although he knewe certainlye his religion, and dyd accompt him as an heretike. So religious was he, that for luces sake he woulde doo against his own conscience. This Robert Searles dyed upon a Wednesday, a moneth before Christmas.

Thomas Stettel of Bocking in Suffolk [Essex], being by his science a taylor was apprehended, and broughte to be examined. Where it was demaunded, among many other thinges, whether he did beleve in the Masse or no. And he answered no: his beleve was in Christ crucified. "Why," saith one, "dost thou not beleve in the Crede?" "Yes, sir," saith he, "that I do." "Well, then, is not the crede in the Masse?" *Stettel*. "What of that?" "Mary then thou muste nedes beleve the masse." *Stettel*. "Although I graunt sir, that the crede be in the Masse, yet I am sure the Masse is not in the crede."

Out of Colchester was driven the wydow Dibney, who being in one of her neighboures house secretly, sawe when the Papistes went into her house, and spoyled her goods, and yet was enforced to suffer it, unlesse she woulde venture her life therefore.

Out of the said towne also was persecuted one Wilsons wife, maistres Elkins, with other.

Out of Bocking was driven one Thomas Upcher,<sup>2</sup> and his wyfe.

Out of Barne Hall was driven one master Laurence, and his wife.

Out of that countrey fled one maister Parker with his wife.

One maister Turner with his wife. One Thomas Brice, a younge man, who now is Minister of Bursted; wyth a great multitude besyde.

*The Persecution in Kent*

Out of Feversam was persecuted one Robert Coles, wyth his wyfe and chyl-dren, who is now person of Bow in London. Also one Richard Proude.

Out of Ashford John Lydley and his wife, and one Margaret Wullet, wydow.

From Caunterburye went one Newman, Maistres Joyce Hales, maistres Nevell, and maistres Mantell.

In the said Kent in March was one maister Mantell &c. [as in vol. vi. p. 546.]

Out of that countrey fled maister Cole Archdeacon of Essex,<sup>3</sup> maister Isaac, a Justice, and his wife, maister Allyn, maister Grenewaye, and one goodwife Chittenden, with divers others, an infinit number, which here now we may not recite for divers considerations, but brefely go forward with our story, as the matter wyl suffer us.

*The Persecuted in Coventry.*

And nowe likewise some thinge to speake of Coventry, and other places, in the order and race of these, which under this persecution were comprehended, the name and remembrance of one John Hopkins, a man wealthy, and then sheriffe of Coventry is not to be overpaste. [The remainder of this paragraph goes on as in vol. vii. p. 248.]

(1) An interest.—Halliwell's Dict. and Nares' Glossary.—Ed.

(2) See "Troubles at Frankfort," p. 185, Edit. 1846.—Ed.

(3) Thomas Cole, afterwards Archdeacon. See Strype's Grindall, pp. 52, 103, Edit. 1821.—Ed.

It were to longe here to recite, how many other good men and women<sup>1</sup> (beside this godly sherife, in this tyme of Quene Mary, dyd flee over the sea, of whom som wer in France; [&c. as in vol. vi. p. 430] whereof a great part was of studentes and learned men, such as now be for the most part Byshops, Deanes, Archdeacons, or Ministers, rulyng and instructing the church of England. Such was the provision of God, so mercyfullye then to provide for the tymes to follow.<sup>2</sup>

And as these dyd flee without the realme, so no doubt many there were at home within the realme, which dyd flee no lesse from place to place, to keepe their conscience free, as the Scholemaister of Lynne, maister Rackestraw, a scholemaister at Norwich, maister Henrye Bird before touched, the scholemaister of Alesham &c. And who knoweth, or can recite al which in the tyme of this persecution were afflicted and spoyled, some of theyr lande, some of their house and stuffe, some of bookes, many scarce escaped with their lyves, &c.

Among the other of Norfolke, Robert Watson is not to be forgotten, who sustayned imprisonment in the city of Norwich for the gospel, almost two yeares together, tyll it pleased God at length to delyver hym by this subscription. Fyrst, the proposition or article laid unto him, was this:—

*I beleve and confesse that the bread and wyne in the Eucharist, throughe the omnipotencye of God's woord, pronounced by the Priest, are turned into the body and bloud of Christ; and after consecration under the formes of bread and wyne remaineth the true body and bloud of Christ, and no other substance besides the substance of the body and bloud above said.*

His answer and subscription to the same.

*His omnibus catenus assentior et subscribo, quatenus verbo Dei nituntur, eoque sensu quo sunt ab ecclesia Catholica, et a sanctis Patribus intellecta.*

‘To al these I doo assent and subscribe, so far as they are grounded upon God’s woord, and in such sense as they are understood of the catholike church, and the holy fathers.’

Whether this was a recantation or subscription, here I doo not discusse: but so God wrought, that by meanes and procurement of Doctor Barret, hee was delyvered upon the same. After whose deliveraunce came Christopherson, then Deane in Norwich, and beyng greatly angrye with the same, caused hym to bee soughte for agayne. But hee throughe the helpe of good men, was conveyed over the seas, and so escaped the daunger.

Ibid. p. 1681.

If oure story shoulde proceede here soo wyde and large, as dyd the troubles of those days, we should compile here, I thinke, an endles proces. For what countrie almoste in England did not fele some sorowe then of that persecution. And as I have spoken of other countries, so also coming to Stamford, I might have just occasion somewhat to saye of W. Cooke, who not only sustained trouble, but was also committed to vile prysyn, for that he suffered this oure printer to print the boke of Wint. *De Vera Obed.*<sup>3</sup>

Also at Oundel, T. Hensen a worthy maintainer of the Preachers of the Gospell was so assaulted, that he never durst com to his house, but died in Q. Maries time. And one Warde felt the like crueltie.

Not far from these dwelt Maister Grene of Swynsted, and maister Armstrong in Lorbey [Corby], of whom the last was caused to beare a fagot, who for the sorow therof lived not long after.

And to retorne to Norfolke againe, what should I speak of Jenings Hassot, the Pepsies with divers mo, tossed from post to piller by the meanes of Cantrel, and one How: father Moore of Norwich worsted wever, for the same religion was troubled of the Papistes, being put in the stockes with a paper on his head.

Likewise in Kent, one Trewe was pursued out of his house by Sr Edward Gage, and at last brought to his house, and ther layd in the dungeon: from thence had to the next market town, was set on the pillery, and lost bothe his eares, for dissuading not to come to the church.

(1) A Ramish writer reckons the English exiles at 36,000, “supra triginta millia hæreticorum exulare jussi.”—*Wadding, Annales Minorum Conventum* tom. xvii. p. 220, Romæ, 1740.—Ed.

(2) See “Original Letters relative to the English Reformation,” (Parker Soc.) 1847, p. 153.—Ed.

(3) This is a curious intimation. What Edition can be referred to? When was Daye so oppressed?—Ed.

## No. VII.

*(See Note in the foregoing Appendix on p. 559.)*

From the Edition of 1563, p. 1700.

with Robert Cole. In speaking of which persons, I cannot but something say in their justly deserved commendation, who in so dangerous a tyme, setting all thinges apart, not onely their goods, ease and liberty, but also neglecting their own bodyes and lives, woulde enter so venterous a charge for Christ, and in the churches cause, wherein seemeth to me to appeare the true triall of a sincere and assured faythfull minister, worthy to be preferred and have double honor in the church of Christ, whereof would to God the Church this daye had more plentye. Although he to take the charge and care of Christes flocke at all tymes and seasons is woorthy of muche reverence and commendation, yet in prosperity it may chauce that respecte of lucre, ease and worldye honour maye allure peradventure some times some men therunto: but in time of peryl and daunger, where is no lucre but losse, no gayne but payne, no life but death, no living but labour is looked [for], no safetye but miserye remayneth; there and then to enter into that yoke and function, onely upon the symple zeale and regarde of the flocke of Christe, and nothing els: He that so will do, where so ever he bee, I take hym to be a man, not onely rare, but a perfect Minister in deede, and worthy eternall commendation. But to returne agayne to Quene Maries tyme, as I have shewed the great and merciful woorking of the Lord, in delyvering and rescuing the publycke Congregation here gather'd: so neyther dyd hys providence fayle in the private cases lykewise of the ministers of the same, as especially in this one case of Maister Bentam.

## No. VIII.

*(See Note in the foregoing Appendix on p. 628.)*

From the Edition of 1563, p. 1703.

To recite and collect all the tirantes and bloody persecutors in Quene Maryes tyme, nether is it my purpose in this present chapter, nether doth any laysure serve therto at this tyme. And as for such as wer most principal and chiefest doers in this persecution agaynst God's saintes, seing they are notorious and known to al men alreedy, I nede not here greatly to repete them. For as no man is ignorant, but that of al Byshops Boner was the chiefest instrument of this persecution, Steven Gardiner ever excepted: so amonge all the commissioners who knoweth not doctor Story to be the principall? likewise among the Chauncellors doctor Douning of Norwich to be the cruellest? Although doctor Dracot of Lichfield cam nere unto him: Of Archdeacons, Nicholas Harpesfield:<sup>1</sup> of Commissioners, Robert Collens: of justices, Sir Edward Tirrell:<sup>2</sup> of accusers, Thomas Tye, priest, but that John Dexon<sup>3</sup> (whom Gardiner was wont to call Jhon thaccuser) semeth not to come behind him herein: Of promoters Robert Caly, otherwise called Robin Papist: Of Sumners, Cluney: Of Jaylors, Alexander keeper of Newgate exceede all other. These I saye who doth not know to be famous and notorious persecutors of Christes flocke, who by their owne factes and doings have uttered themselves so manifestly to all the world, that they nede not by me to be recited. And yet as I sayd, my purpose in this chapter is not to recite any, but only to set forth God's manifest scourge and judgment upon suche, whose punishment may engender a terror in al other persecutors to beware hereafter of spoylinge innocent blood.

(1) See Wood's *Athenæ Ox.* Ed. Bliss, i. 439.(2) Corrected into "Edmund Tirrel, Esquire," in another case, in the *Errata* to Ed. 1563.

(3) Probably the John Dixon mentioned at p. 524 of this volume.



Page 145, note. "*Ex testimo. Joan. Lond.*"]—Read here *Lond.* Foxe's informant was John Loude or Louthe, Archdeacon of Nottingham, who sent various reminiscences to Foxe, which are preserved in his autograph among the Foxian MSS., whence they have been printed by John Gough Nichols, Esq., in his "Narratives of the Days of the Reformation," published by the Camden Society in 1859. The editor regrets that he did not meet with this valuable publication in time to insert this and the following Addenda in their respective places in the foregoing Appendix.

Page 210, note.]—Large portions of Thackham's defence of himself, and part of John Moyer's reply, are printed among the "Narratives," pp. 85—131.

Page 251. "*John Horne, and a woman.*"]—A communication from one John Deighton to Foxe is printed among the "Narratives" (p. 69), stating that no such person as John Horne suffered at Wootton-under-Edge; but that one Edward Horne suffered at Newcut, in the same diocese, about eight weeks before Queen Mary's death: this would be about Sept. 25th (the date assigned by Foxe in his Latin "*Rerum Gestarum*," &c., p. 730, and edit. 1563, p. 1546), but in A.D. 1558 not 1556. Deighton states that Horne's wife, who was condemned with him, recanted and escaped.

Page 380, line 4. "*Seager.*"]—This is probably Segar Nicholson, mentioned iv. 586, v. 27. He ministered to the wants of Thomas Mountain at Cambridge. (See above vi. 394, and Mr. Nichols's "Narratives," pp. 203, 209.)

Page 554. "*John Davis.*"]—This account is condensed from that of John Davis himself, printed among the "Narratives," p. 60. It seems that Mr. Canon "Yewer" was Richard, and "Yould" should be *Youle*: these are corrected in the Index.

Page 638, bottom. "*Mention was made, not long before, of one William Maldon.*"]—Foxe has not hitherto mentioned William Maldon at all; but he evidently had intended introducing an account, drawn up by Maldon himself, of his treatment by his own father in the time of Henry VIII. for the Gospel's sake: this curious document is printed among the "Narratives," p. 348.

Page 647, bottom.]—This account of Dr. Williams's death was furnished to Foxe by the before-mentioned John Loude, who states that he had it from Dean Jennings himself. It will be found among the "Narratives," p. 20.

Page 765, note on p. 201.]—To this note add Mr. Nichols's information, that an epitaph in Ripon Cathedral (1651) makes mention of one "D. Julius Hering Evangelii dispensatoris valde fidelis." ("Narratives," p. 85, note.)

Page 778, note on p. 396.]—The conjecture that *St. Rouses* means *St. Osythe's* is confirmed by a passage in Thomas Mountain's Autobiography ("Narratives," p. 210): "This vyage [from Colchester to Holland] was tryshē [thrice] attemptyd and always was put bake; and at the laste tyme we were caste a land at *sent towsys*, wheras I durste not longe tary, bycause of my lord Darsy, who laye there, havynge a straye comysyon sent unto hym from quene Marye, to make dylligent searche for one beyngē callyd *Troinge over the worldē*, and for all souche lyke begars as he was." Mr. Nichols has misread it: "*sent Towhs*" instead of "*sent towsys*." This colloquial form of "*St. Osythe's*" is obtained by repeating the final *t* of "*sent*" at the beginning of the next word: thus a few lines lower Mountain repeats *n*, "*an noneste man*" So, "*Tooley Street*" is an abbreviation or corruption of "*Saint Ooley's* or *Olave's Street*." "*S. Rouses*" was another colloquial form of "*St. Osythe's*;" or Foxe may have mistaken the *t* in *touses* for an *r*, which Mountain's writing suggests as probable. For other abbreviations of "*Osythe*," see Foxe, iii. 829; v. 406.

*Erratum*:—At p. 515, line 22, for "*made*" read "*had*": the error first appeared in the edition of 1684.

# GLOSSARIAL INDEX.<sup>1</sup>

- A, ah! : vii. 99 *bis*, 758.  
A, a Saxon prefix : "a working," vi. 384 ; "a going," vii. 254 ; "a celebrating," viii. 105, 266.  
A, by or in : "a God's name," v. 784 ; "a middle," ii. 729 ; "a part," viii. 409 ; "a rew," viii. 61, 729.  
A, he : "quod a," viii. 165.  
A, of : "alate," ii. 368, 386 ; iii. 472 ; iv. 127 ; "Anne a Cleve," iv. 585 ; "manner a man," viii. 25, 442, 757.  
A, prefixed to a portion of time or space : vi. 206, 697, 777 ; vii. 557 ; viii. 292, 363, 384, 483, 523, 524, 777, 782, 787 ; or to a quantity, iv. 502 ; viii. 763.  
A. B. C., children's horn-book : vii. 69, 209, 226, 241, 764, 793 ; called "abcie," viii. 610, 793. See "Christ's Cross."  
A. B. C., a ballad against the clergy : iv. 259, 679, 765.  
Abase or Abate, to debase coin : vi. 749.  
Abased, lowered : iv. 482.  
Abashed, surprised : viii. 404, 550, 788.  
Abasing, behaviour : ii. 87 ; vii. 85, 402, 734, note (5), 756 ; viii. 367 *bis*, 464.  
*Ab equis ad asinos* : iii. 31.  
Absolve or Assoyle, to absolve : ii. 202, 216, 361, 709, 743 ; v. 419, 853. See "Assoile."  
Accaiotuli, a firm of money-lenders in Lombardy : ii. 890.  
Accompte, to recount : vi. 65, 74.  
Achates, provisions : viii. 572. See "Cates."  
Acheivance, performance : iii. 361.  
Acknowen, to be, to acknowledge : viii. 367, 776, 802.  
Acolyte, one of the inferior ministers in the Romish Church : iii. 227.  
Acquite or Reacquite, to requite : v. 192 ; vi. 20.  
Acresed, debilitated : viii. 548, 788. See "Crased."  
Adorne, to adore or worship : v. 630, 631, 859.  
Avenge, to avenge : v. 133.  
Advoutry, adultery : v. 599.  
Advow or Avow, avouch : iv. 283 ; vi. 625, 777.  
*Æquivocce*, a logical term : i. 7 ; iii. 189.  
Aleared, alarmed : ii. 84 ; iii. 101, 637 ; v. 193 ; vi. 16, 587. See "Fear."  
After, in imitation of : iv. 150, 720.  
Againsay, to gainsay : vii. 495, 503, 507, 509, 777.  
Againward, on the contrary : v. 185.  
Agast, afraid : ii. 738.  
Agistment, depasturing of cattle : vii. 776.  
Agnes, pope Joan : iii. 472, 841.  
<sup>2</sup>*Ἀγωνιστικὸς* : vii. 621, 782.  
Agrest, sour or clownish : viii. 253.  
Agrime, arithmetic : vii. 216, 763.  
Airlies, a pledge of matrimony from a man to a woman, an earnest penny : vii. 737.  
Albe, a clerical habit : iii. 227 ; vi. 378.  
Ale-brew or Aleberry or Aubry, bread and beer : iv. 653, 763.  
Alorisme, arithmetic ; v. No. VI. of "Documents" ; vii. 763.  
Alguazil, a Spanish term for an apparitor : viii. 513.  
All, an intensive prefix : ii. 100 ; iii. 269 ; iv. 473 ; v. 195, 205 ; viii. 607 *bis* : sometimes "A l to:" v. 424, 425, 470 ; vi. 669, 682 ; vii. 512, 561, 719 ; viii. 635, 774, 790 ; sometimes "All to be:" i. 231 ; ii. 100, 382, 871 ; iii. 180 ; v. 424, 425 ; vi. 340 : "All be," v. 423.  
Allgates, at all events : viii. 372, 776.  
*Allusio*, a parody : viii. 527.  
Almery or Aumbry, a closet : viii. 499.  
Almose, alms : iii. 22, 802 ; v. 365 ; vii. 645, 784.  
Alonely, only : vii. 446, 506.  
Alow, low down : v. 133 ; below, v. 238.  
*Alter immediate subsequens*, next but one : ii. 905.  
Amanati, a firm of money-lenders in Lombardy : ii. 890.  
*Ambages*, circumlocutions : iv. 275, 728.  
Ambassade, embassy : iii. 680, 699.  
*Ambo*, a pulpit : vi. 783.  
Amice, a clerical habit (grey) worn by dignitaries : v. 423, 836.  
Among : see "Ever among."  
Amove, remove : vi. 423.  
Amplect, to embrace : vii. 277.  
An, if : v. 834.  
And, *quasi* an't, if it : v. 416, 828.  
And, a corruption of "an," old English for "if" : ii. 733 ; iv. 704, 771 ; v. 508, 575, 834, 840 ; vi. 43, 76 ; vii. 469 *bis*, 489, 512, 612, 657, 672, 674, 675 ; viii. 324, 537, Document No. 111. *qualer*.  
*Andabata*, a kind of gladiator who fought blindfold : iv. 697.  
Anempst, concerning : vii. 277.  
Angel, a coin : iv. 763 ; viii. 172, 209.  
Angelic Doctor, the, Thomas Aquinas : ii. 894.  
Anker or Ankerer, an anchorite or hermit : iii. 284.  
Anniversary, an institution of the Romish Church : vii. 571.  
Annuel, an anniversary mass : iii. 115, 861.  
Anoiling or annealing, extreme unction : i. 86 ; v. 652 ; viii. 271, 769.  
*Anteferri*, a clause in papal grants, giving precedence for promotion : ii. 789, 916.  
Antempe, anthem : vi. 762.  
Apaid, contented : ii. 359, 360, 361, 743 *bis* ; iii. 123, 276, 296, 826 ; viii. 343, 364, 775.  
Apaused, struck, brought to a stand : vii. 647, 791.  
Apocrypha, the, quoted as the Bible : viii. 340, 775.  
*Anoplexia* : iv. 446.  
Apostata : ii. 357, 358, 360, 361, 871 ; vii. 433.  
Apostles, letters dismissory : ii. 601 ; v. 784, 786, 790, 860 ; vi. 264, 265 ; viii. 761.  
Appair, impair : ii. 732 ; viii. 201, 291, 765, 771.  
Appeach, impeach : iv. 229 ; viii. 241.  
Appaler, one who betrays an accomplice : iii. 255, 823.  
Appose, to ask or examine : iii. 187, 215, 250, 263, 273, 825, 826 ; v. 190, 851 ; vi. 405 ; vii. 111, 112, 340 ; viii. 17 *bis*, 103.  
Apprentice apparel : viii. 95, 397, 778.  
Approve, to prove : vii. 632.  
*Aqua composita* : viii. 149.  
Aray him, to prepare himself : iii. 294.  
Arctetur, a Master of Arts : v. 422, 829, 854.  
*Archimagus*, high priest of the Persian Magi : i. 284.  
Aret, to constrain : vi. 119, 130. See "Co-arct."  
Arcar : see "Rear."  
A rew, in a row : viii. 61, 759.  
*Armilausa*, a cloak : iii. 581, 848.  
Arrected, reckoned : iii. 129 ; vii. 503, 777.  
Article or Articulate to put in the form of articles : viii. 53, 490.  
Articularly, in the form of articles : viii. 28.

(1) Fuller explanations and illustrations of the words and phrases in this Index will usually be found at one or more of the places referred to.

- As, asif : iv. 17, 450, 712, 739; v. 586, 590; vi. 65; viii. 91.  
 Ascertain, to assure; iii. 706.  
 Ascite, to cite : iv. 659; v. 50, 806.  
 Ascomred, indignant : ii. 574.  
 As good never a whit, as never the better : ii. 369; viii. 151.  
 Ashore, ajar : viii. 42, 758.  
 Aslope, said of hope, insecure : viii. 530, 787.  
 A-pasalem, Alp Assan : iv. 118.  
*Asperges* : iii. 576, 802.  
 Assassins, the; ii. 467, 880, 898.  
 Assay, to take the : iv. 596, 749; v. 564. See "Say."  
 Assemble, to resemble or compare : v. 199, vi. 201, 203.  
 Assigning, signature : iv. 483, 742.  
 Assistances, assistants or assessors : iv. 631, 691.  
 Assistors, assessors : ii. 777; vii. 751.  
 Assolve, to solve : iii. 294; iv. 135; vii. 110. See "Absoyle."  
 Aubry, see "Ale brew."  
*Aubaietov*, free will : iv. 275.  
 Aumby, a closet : vii. 499.  
 Auto-da-fé : viii. 514.  
 Avail, to vail or put off : iii. 335.  
 Avicenne, a learned man : iii. 293.  
 Axis or Access, a fit of the gout : vii. 334, 777.
- B from a battledore, not to know, a phrase for ignorance : v. 516, 834. See "Notes and Queries," 3d S. ii. 178.  
 Bagged with children, said of animals with young : viii. 47, 758.  
 Baily, stewardship : iii. 294.  
 Baily-arrant, a constable : iv. 182, 723.  
 Balaamite, a term of reproach for the Papal ecclesiastics : vi. 652, 779; vii. 655, 656.  
 Balaam's mark : vii. 511.  
 Balk, a crossbeam or rafter : vi. 700, 781.  
 Banbury glosses, blundering, clumsy : vii. 506, 777, 796.  
 Barbaric, barbarism : vi. 16.  
 Bardi, a firm of money-lenders in Lombardy, ii. 890.  
 Bare-arst, objects of contempt : vii. 664, 671, 786.  
 Barrator, a riotous disorderly person : viii. 302, 772.  
 Basted, used figuratively : v. 360.  
 Bate, strife : ii. 648; iii. 350.  
 Battel, division of an army : ii. 551.  
 Banger or Beggry, beggarly : iii. 336.  
 Beadhouse, an almshouse : viii. 306, 773.  
 Beadmen, almshouse-people : vii. 306.  
 Bear in hand, to try to persuade with false pretences : i. 225; vi. 141.  
 Bear with, to comply with : ii. 169, 210.  
 Become, to go : ii. 337; iii. 728; viii. 585.  
 Bedred : ii. 358, 359; viii. 280.  
 Bee-master, the chief bee : viii. 161, 432, 764.  
 Befool your heart, a sort of imprecation, confound you : vii. 400, 758. See "Beshrew."  
 Before, originally : iv. 214, 725.  
 Begin to, to drink one's health : vi. 627, 777.  
 Behite, to promise : ii. 733, 745. See "Hight."  
 Belack, to censure : vii. 488.  
 Believe and believe in : iii. 331, 831.  
 Bell, the Lady bell of Bampton : vi. 566, 772.  
 Bell-wether, the sheep which wears the bell : ii. 374.  
*Benda* (Italian), a bandage : iv. 473.  
*Benedicite*, to be brought under, to be brought to confession : i. 86; ii. 592; vii. 259.  
 Benet and Collet, the inferior orders of the Romish Church : iii. 584, 634, 852; iv. 364, 578, 579, 734; v. 191, 448; vi. 652, 779; viii. 78, margin.  
 Bent money : ii. 250. See "Bowod."  
 Beshrew your heart, may confusion happen to you : vi. 32. See "Befool."  
 Bewray, to foul : ii. 323.  
 Beth, be : ii. 732, 736.  
 Bibble-babble, foolish talk : iii. 413; viii. 162, 764.  
 Bible-babble, a sneer at those who quoted Scripture : viii. 340, 725, 775, 802.
- Bible, to babble the : viii. 775, subnote (2).  
 Bible, Coverdale's : v. 839.  
 Bible, sometimes applied to uninspired religious books : viii. 340, 775. See "Scripture."  
 B ble, the Great : v. 410, 824, 826, 839.  
 Bicker, to fight : iv. 49 bis, 715.  
 Bind and loose : viii. 324, 773.  
 Binemen, to take away : ii. 729, 731, 732; iii. 298.  
 Bird-bolt, a sort of arrow : viii. 577, 791.  
 Bis, fine linen : iii. 300.  
 Bishop, boy or child : v. 38, 805; vii. 596; viii. 222. See "St. Nicholas."  
 Bite-sheep : vii. 248, 713, 764, 787.  
 Bleak, pale : viii. 221, 766.  
 Blent, blinded : iii. 296.  
 Blind, dark : vii. 611, 646; viii. 210, 213, 217, 801.  
 Blind eateth many a fly : vii. 497, 796.  
 Blind house, a dark hole, a prison : vii. 611; viii. 213, 217.  
 Blind knight, the : iii. 253, 823.  
 Blinding : iii. 338.  
 Blive, quickly : ii. 736.  
 Blow, to discolour and disfigure : iii. 253, 823.  
 Blow the *morle*, a hunting phrase, to triumph : vi. 500, 766.  
 Bob, to beat or strike : vi. 38.  
 Boisteous, boisterous or noisy : v. 626, 859.  
 Borsholder, a constable : vi. 288, 291.  
 Bote, a boot : v. 406, 409, 853, 854.  
 Bote, help, alternative : v. 409.  
 Bottle of hay, a truss of hay : v. 36, 37.  
 Bowed money : vii. 369; viii. 213, 328, 774. See "Bent."  
 Bowne, ready : vii. 203, 793.  
 Brabble, a contest : viii. 575.  
 Brabble, to wrangle or reason : v. 443, 446; illustrated, v. 535, 708; vii. 291.  
 Braid, a sudden blow or assault soon ended : vi. 727. See "Rebraid."  
 Brasile, red colour : iii. 300.  
 Bravery, finery : v. 396; viii. 604.  
 Bring one going, to accompany or escort him : vii. 660, 785; viii. 429, 780.  
 Broder, to broider : v. 654.  
 Bugge, bugbear : vii. 476. See "Fraybugge."  
 Bull : see "Golden."  
*Bulla* : v. 677.  
 Burnish, to glorify : vii. 760.  
 Buskle or Buscle or Buckle, to prepare : ii. 572; vii. 203, 400, 793; viii. 551, 633, 789.  
 But for, but because : ii. 744.  
 But if, unless, except : ii. 332, 333, 731, 736, 742, 743; iii. 279, 293, 861.  
 Buttery, spirit of the : vii. 665, 786.  
 Buxome, obedient : iii. 113, 129, 254, 823.  
 By, about, against : v. 452; vii. 106, 653, 721, 758, 785; viii. 57, 243, 278, 619, 770.  
 Bycause, because : v. 217, 219, 223; vi. 75. See "'For."  
 Bytrap, to entrap : ii. 339.
- Callet, a drab or scold : viii. 498.  
*Camarina* : i. Foxe's Prefaces, p. xiii.  
 Can, to learn or know : v. 169, 363, 592. See "Could."  
 Canicular days, the dog days : ii. 525.  
 Canning, ability : vii. 274.  
 Cap, to put off the, at mention of the "sacrament" : v. 230; vi. 598, 776; vii. 340, 543, 765. See "Vail."  
*Capa*, a cope : viii. 769.  
 Caption, a quirk or cavil : iii. 103.  
 Caraynes, carrion : iii. 301.  
 Cards and tow, spinning : viii. 498, 784.  
 Careful, anxious : viii. 607, 624, 793.  
 Carfax, four ways, the market-place at Oxford : v. 428; vi. 534.  
*Carmen*, a set form of worship : i. 115.  
*Carnaria*, a charnel-house : iii. 821.  
 Caroccio, a car, used as a rallying point in Italian armies : ii. 479, 882.  
 Carp, to talk : iv. 640, 776.  
 Cashed, cashiered : vii. 288, 771.  
 Cast, the latter, the last venture : iv. 259.  
 Castle-come-down, a : v. 605; viii. 627.  
 Caste, tricks : viii. 286, 771.

- Casule, a clerical habit: ii. 257, 856; iii. 86; iv. 364. See "Chisil."
- Catalla or Cattle, chattels: ii. 437.
- Cater cousin, cousin-german: vii. 515.
- Caterpillars, devourers: v. 419.
- Cates, provisions: ii. 540. See "Achates."
- Catholicon* or *Summa*, the, a dictionary by Johannes Januensis: iii. 90, 814.
- Cat in the pan, to turn the, to act the turncoat: v. 79; vi. 46.
- Cauponation, crafty dealing: vii. 497.
- Caurisini or Cawarsini or Caorcini or Corsini, a firm of Italian money-lenders: ii. 389, 403, 530, 890.
- Causes, to stand in, to take a side: ii. 383, 872.
- Cease, to cause to cease: iii. 702.
- Cephas, the head: iv. 154, 720; vi. 438.
- Certain, a, a quantity: iii. 115; iv. 664, 764, 777; viii. 385, 777.
- Chaffer, wares: ii. 745; iv. 279.
- Chaffes or Shafts, the chops or cheeks: v. 407, 824.
- Chappel, chaplains: v. 61.
- Charge, to care for: ii. 733.
- Chasible, a casule: ii. 856.
- Cheavance, arrangement, jobbing: viii. 22, 756.
- Cheavance or chevisaunce: iii. 820. See "Shifts."
- Cheivances, achievements or doings: viii. 625, 756.
- Chieve: viii. 157, 764.
- Childermass day, Innocents' day, December 28th: v. 38.
- Chimer, a clerical habit: ii. 257, 358, 531, 856; vi. 640, 641.
- Chincough, hooping cough: viii. 790.
- Chisil or Chesille: iii. 86; iv. 364. See "Casule."
- Christ's Cross, children's horn-book: iv. 234; vi. 680, 780; vii. 209, 226, 241, 764. See "A. B. C."
- Christ-Cross row: iv. 234.
- Church-ale, a village-wake: iv. 582.
- Charls, ceorls: ii. 81, 821.
- Chynch, a covetous person: iii. 298, 307.
- Cierges, wax tapers: iv. 453.
- Circumstances, modifications: iii. 686, 857.
- Ciser, cider: ii. 342.
- Cisterciensis*, a chronicler: iii. 270; iv. 673, 675, 767.
- Clanculary, s-c-ret: vii. 413.
- Clergy, learning: ii. 712; vi. 784.
- Clerkly, learnedly: vii. 110.
- Clerks, learned men: iii. 303.
- Clientel, a dependant: ii. 379.
- Clink, a part of Southwark: vi. 691, 780.
- Club half-penny: vii. 512.
- Coal-house: vii. 725.
- Coals for gold: iii. 205 margin, 601, 848.
- Coaret, to straiten or constrain: vii. 281. See "Arct."
- Cob, a rich covetous person: ii. 618.
- Cock in the hoop: vi. 690, 787.
- Cog in, to foist in: iii. 393, 833.
- Cohors Prætoria*, or *Prima*, life-guards: i. 265.
- Coifi, the chief of the Druids: i. 345.
- Coker noses: iii. 284.
- Coll, to embrace: vii. 224, 764; viii. 796.
- Collateral, an assessor: iv. 516, 746.
- Collation, a short sermon: iii. 423; iv. 654, 763; v. 532, 554.
- Comitatum*, ad: i. 32.
- Commence, to take a degree: ii. 799; viii. 5, 286, 771.
- Commencement, an assembly: ii. 127, 827.
- Commandator or Commander, head of a religious house: iv. 373, 733, 734; v. 629.
- Common Place, Common Pleas: v. 358, 822; vii. 756.
- Communed, received to the sacrament by the priest: iii. 284, 823.
- Comone forth, to communicate: iii. 253, 823.
- Comorth, see "Gomortha."
- Compatient to, sympathizing towards: ii. 806.
- Comperta et delecta*: vi. 216, 747.
- Conipline, Evening prayer: v. 424.
- Concile, to conciliate: viii. 601.
- Conclude, to silence: iii. 253, 823.
- Conducted, hired: vii. 16.
- Confiteor*: viii. 206.
- Congrue, fitting: iii. 706.
- Conspicate, defiled: vii. 215.
- Contest, a co-witness: vi. 198.
- Con thank, to give thanks, *savoir gré*, *χαίρειν*: iv. 479.
- Continue, to adjourn: iii. 36, 224.
- Continently, immediately: viii. 535, 536, 788.
- Convey, to manage artfully: ii. 204, 250.
- Conveyance, management, device: vi. 431; vii. 497; viii. 220, 269, 769.
- Convinced, convicted of error: v. 608, 840; viii. 39.
- Coomb, a measure: ii. 365, 425, 537, 870, 874.
- Cope, a clerical habit: vi. 441.
- Coping tanck, a conical hat: viii. 514, 785.
- Copy, abundance: iii. 611.
- Cordelier, a grey friar: iv. 736.
- Corneleader or Corndealer: iii. 587.
- Corody, an allowance: iv. 187, 717.
- Coron silver (Dutch), corned or cupellated silver, i.e. of a superior standard: v. 201, 851.
- Corporas, a cloth for the sacrament: v. 590; vi. 378.
- Corpse-present, a mortuary or burial fee: iv. 611.
- Corsey, vexation: v. 691.
- Co-termonger, a fruit-seller: vi. 650.
- Cough out, to disclose or confess: vi. 167.
- Could, the past tense of *can* "to know": vi. 90, 784. See "Can."
- Countable, accountable: iv. 659.
- Course, to make a, to make an attack: viii. 789 *bis*.
- Courtesans, papal courtiers: ii. 115. See "*Curtisani*."
- Cousin germans removed, i.e. one remove: ii. 93, 822.
- Covetise or Covetous, covetousness: iii. 307; vi. 391.
- Covin or Coven, a deceitful bargain, to the injury of a third person: vii. 12, 545, 754, 779.
- Cow, God gave the shrewd cow short horns, i.e. prevented a mischievous person from doing all the mischief he wished to do: v. 492.
- Cowcher, a register book: vi. 83.
- Craft, to deal craftily: vii. 481, 785.
- Crased, debilitated: vii. 427, 795. See "Acraled."
- Crayer, a small ship: viii. 149, 219, 763.
- Creast, a crevice: vi. 631.
- Cromerus*, Dr. Cromer: v. 351, 822; vi. 643, 778.
- Cross, the sign of the: v. 285.
- Crosses placed in the corners of streets, to prevent nuisances: iv. 623.
- Crowns of the sun, a coin: ii. 789, 916; iv. 446, 738; v. 148, 815; not of the sun, v. 815; of the rose, *ibid*.
- Cum strepitu*, &c.: v. 775. See "*Sine strepitu*."
- Cunning, knowledge: iii. 295; vi. 784.
- Curtisani*: ii. 709; iv. 13, 712. See "Courtesans."
- Cushion, to miss the, to miss one's purpose: vii. 477, 775.
- Cushion, to put beside the: iv. 143.
- Customer, one in the customs: v. 121, 812.
- Custos* of the city of London: ii. 802, 865, 919; iii. 820.
- Dag, a pistol: iv. 36, 66, 70; vi. 580; viii. 575, 662, 791, 797.
- Dalmatic, a deacon's habit: iv. 364.
- Dan or Dane, master, a term formerly applied to monks: iii. 258; v. 627 *bis*, 637, 859, Document No. VI. last two letters.
- Danger, power: iv. 202, 773; v. 99; vii. 252, 441, 467, 770; viii. 303, 505, 785.
- Dare, to confound, a phrase borrowed from the mode of catching larks: iv. 200.
- Dotary, a papal officer: vii. 259, 770.
- Dazing, a dazzling, amazement: v. 133.
- Deal, a, a part: ii. 361; v. 211; vi. 655; vii. 424, 434, 767.
- Dealbabor*: iii. 376, 832.



- Decided, decided : iv. 18.  
 Declaration, an exposition or sermon : iv. 620.  
 Declare, to clear or pronounce innocent : i. 258.  
 Declare, to explain Scripture : vi. 212 ; to explain generally : vii. 559, 779.  
 Defend, forbid : vi. 353.  
 Defender of the Faith : iv. 596, 750.  
 Degrees, academic, explained : vii. 768, 769, 772.  
 Demerits, merits : iii. 300, 862 ; viii. 585.  
 Demour, sojourn : vi. 430, 786.  
 Denarius, the whole of a thing : ii. 909.  
 Denounced, announced : vii. 553.  
 Depart, to divide : ii. 746, 914 ; iii. 271, 300, 826 ; v. 240 ; viii. Document No. 111.  
 Derogate, to degrade a member of a religious order from his standing : viii. 443, 781.  
 Derive, to divert : ii. 129.  
 Despect, disrespect : vii. 535.  
 Despota, the ruling prince : iv. 32, 36.  
 Devil on the neck, an instrument of torture : v. 452.  
 Devotion, religious oblations : ii. 267.  
 Diffuse, obscure : vi. 410, 785 ; vii. 450 ; viii. 202, 242.  
 Dimitted, let go : iv. 658 ; v. 6.  
 Ding, to knock : iii. 253, 823.  
 Dirge : vii. 571.  
 Disable or Disallow, to excuse one's self as unable : v. 531, 835 ; viii. 8, 66.  
 Discharge, to put to rout : iv. 66.  
 Discover, uncover : vii. 519.  
 Disme, a tenth : iii. 341.  
 Disparata : vi. 451.  
 Disparkle, to scatter : iii. 304, 816, 828 ; iv. 95 ; disperse : iii. 130, edit. 1583.  
 Disperle, to scatter : iii. 130, *bis*, 816 ; vi. 609, 789.  
 Disple, to chastise : iii. 592 *ter*. 600 ; vi. 561.  
 Distaunt, disagreeing : viii. 156.  
 District, strict, severe : ii. 437, 875.  
 Distroublance, disturbance : iii. 266.  
 Dizard, a fool : v. 680.  
 Do ; what is there to do ? i.e. what is this ado or bustle about ? vii. 89.  
 Dodipall, dotipole : iv. 695. See "Dotipole."  
 Dog, to hunt insidiously : iv. 681.  
 Do off their caps : iii. 265, 825.  
 Do to death : iii. 336, 831.  
 Doctors, the four chief, who : iii. 189, 817.  
 Δογματικὸς : vii. 782.  
 Dorsarium, a curtain : ii. 941.  
 Dorsells (*quasi* door-sills), thresholds : ii. 421, 874 ; v. 59.  
 Dotipole, a term of reproach, blockhead : v. 678, 842. See "Dodipall."  
 Doubt, to fear : ii. 380.  
 Drachm, Attic : i. 244.  
 Dragons, cohorts : i. 146.  
 Drieth, drought : viii. 346.  
 Drinkings, religious, founded : v. 843.  
 Dronken, drunk : viii. 729.  
 Dronkenship, drunkenness : v. 202.  
 Drossart, the title of a Flemish magistrate : iv. 382, 735.  
 Drumslade, a kettle drum : iv. 592, 749, 776.  
 Dungei or Doungel, a dungeon : iv. 770, 771 ; viii. 524 *ter*.  
 Dunstical, fanciful : i. 149.  
 Dure, endure : vi. 714.  
 Dyscolous, ill-natured : viii. 52.  
 Earnest penny : vii. 735, 787.  
 Ear-rowner, a whisperer : iii. 297, 827.  
*Ecus de soleil* : see "Crowns of the sun."  
 Eft, sometimes : viii. 266.  
 Eize, resemblance : iii. 298.  
 Elective benefices : i. 11.  
 Elengenesse, desolation : iii. 304.  
 Embezzled, imbeciled, weakened : ii. 369.  
 Embued, sequest : ii. 449.  
 Emeran, St. the patron saint of Ratisbon : ii. 502, 886.  
 Encombre, encumbrance : vi. 36.  
 Engraft, to engross : ii. 117.  
 Endeavour, as a reflexive verb : vi. 33, 783.  
 Endeavor, apparently for "endure" : vii. 590.  
 Enformed, informed : viii. 342, 775.  
 Engreased, overfat from over-feeding : v. 615.  
 Ennious : iv. 665 ; ennyang, *ib.* 660.  
 Enorme, enormous, uncommon : iv. 630.  
 Enpart, to impart : v. 147.  
 Ensure, assure : vii. 424, 433, 488, 531, 539, 553 *bis*.  
 Enstalled and estallment : viii. 570. Ducange defines *estallamentum*, assignatio ; and refers to *estabilitas*, of which he says : "Vox fori Normannici, cum scilicet res de qua est controversia in manu regis penitet, donec iudicio decisa est." A debt is said in Foxe to be *enstalled*, because the time and mode of payment were appointed by legal commissioners. Hence "Instalments."  
 Ententif, earnest : vii. 284, 825.  
 Entier, complete : vii. 124.  
 Entresse, an interest in a thing : viii. Document No. VI.  
 Erst, before : vii. 611.  
 Evangely, Gospel : iv. 671—673 ; v. 200, 207, 209, 211—214.  
 Even christened, fellow Christians : ii. 363 ; v. 473, note.  
 Ever among, at intervals : iv. 644 ; viii. 550, 784.  
 Everich, each : ii. 732, 743 ; vi. 426, 428, 709 ; vii. 715.  
 Ever the longer the worse : vi. 163, 784.  
 Evil will never saith well : vii. 487 ; viii. 18, margin.  
 Evulgate, publish : v. 399.  
 Excuss, to discuss : iii. 380, 862.  
 Exemplify, to make a copy of : vi. 98.  
 Exempted, excommunicated, debarred : vi. 587 ; vii. 400, 716 ; viii. 447.  
 Exhibition, a pension : iv. 617, 618 ; v. 5.  
 Exorcist, a minister in the Romish Church, a holy water clerk : iii. 227.  
 Expedition, expediting : ii. 531, 682 ; iv. 388, 735 ; v. 656, 841.  
*Excripts*, written extracts : iv. 276, 723.  
 Extorter, one who violently takes away : v. 309.  
 Extra, a reference mark, denoting the Decretals of Gregory IX. : ii. 635.  
 Fyre : see "Finnervari."  
 Faced away, defaced, fretted away : iv. 199, 725.  
 Facinorous, atrocious : viii. 327.  
 Fail, to deceive or be deceived : iii. 10.  
 Faitour, impostor : iii. 713, 863.  
 Famously, publicly : iii. 491.  
 Fare, to behave : i. 208 ; ii. 337 ; iii. 349, 542 ; iv. 40 ; v. 441 ; vii. 538, 788.  
 Fastly, steadfastly, firmly : iii. 713, 863.  
 Payne, gladly : viii. 415, 486.  
 Fear, to alarm : iii. 312 ; v. 588 ; vii. 47.  
 Feared, alarmed, frightened : ii. 767 ; iv. 355, 694 ; v. 458 ; viii. 419. See "Afeared."  
 Feat, dexterous : viii. 269, 769 ; feater, *ib.* 771.  
 Featly, dexterously : ii. 681.  
 Feile times, oft times : ii. 729.  
 Fell, a skin : iv. 634.  
 Felted, matted : iv. 695.  
 Ferme : ii. 333.  
 Fery, a day of the week : ii. 209, 712, 861, 912 ; iii. 805, 806, 825, 842, 843 ; iv. 729.  
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 779; viii. 726.  
 Take in worth, i.e. in good part: "Life of  
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 Tally for his cates, to purvey for himself: ii.  
 540.  
 Tarrie, to delay, transitively: iii. 258, 274, 278,  
 805, 824, 826; iv. 654, 763; v. 599, 840.  
 Tax, to accuse: v. 211.  
*Taxa*: ii. 536, 567, 891, 898.  
 Teen, vexation: ii. 505. See "Tine."  
 Tender, to regard with tenderness: vii. 229 bis.  
 Tent, to search a wound as a surgeon does  
 with a "tent," or roll of linen (Fr. *tente*):  
 ii. 560.  
 Testament, Tyndale's: v. 811.  
 Testify, call to witness: vi. 434.  
 That and This, applied to a plural noun: iv.  
 706, 772; v. 213; viii. 709, 801.  
 Thau: see "T."  
 "The Lord," a mark of heretics: v. 507, 600,  
 884; vii. 775.  
 Then, afterwards: vii. 144, 403, 761.  
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 Thoff, though: vi. 777.  
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 Thome: v. 643.  
 Thuailles, bondmen: ii. 740.  
 Three-man's song: v. 364.  
 Threnes of Jeremy, Lamentations: v. 605.  
 Tilthe, cultivation: iii. 326, 862.

- Tind, to burn or kindle, called "light" bottom of page : iv. 238.  
 Time, spleen : viii. 326 ; see "Teen."  
 Titivillers, worthless fellows : ii. 648, 906.  
 Titular bishoprics : iv. 724 ; v. 857.  
 To, an intensive prefix : v. 395, 853. See "All."  
 To, until : iii. 128, 861 ; viii. 304 *bis*, 772.  
 Tofore, ago : ii. 270, 735.  
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 Tollers, collectors of tolls : ii. 531.  
 Tolbooth, the Excise office or Town Hall : viii. 378.  
 Took it upon his death : iii. 707 ; vi. 168 ; on his conscience, viii. 249.  
 Tops, to be in the tops of : iii. 24, 30, 805.  
 Tordes : iii. 129.  
 Tormentors, jailers : v. 634, 859 ; vi. 628.  
 Tormentors' talk : viii. 360. See "Pilate's Voice."  
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 Tours pounds : ii. 538, 892.  
 Toward, to be, to belong to : viii. 80 *bis*, 570, 761.  
 Towards, in hand, under preparation : v. 503.  
 Tract, to protract : v. 52.  
 Tractus, part of the popish service : vi. 371, 783.  
 Trade, to guide : viii. Document No. V.  
 Trade : vii. 193, 408, 453 ; viii. 12, 269, 790, Document No. V.  
 Traguli, friars' coarse garments : ii. 531.  
 Trattle, to prattle : ii. 330, 864 ; vi. 58 ; vii. 168, 762.  
 Treaties, treatises : v. Documents No. I. *bis*, and No. VI. *bis*.  
 Tree of Troth : iv. 698.  
 Tree, wood : v. 624.  
 Treen, wooden : ii. 351.  
 Trental, a mass of thirty days : i. 85 ; ii. 358 ; iii. 180 ; vii. 571 ; viii. 500, 784.  
 Trente-et-une, a game at whist : viii. 785.  
 Troparium, a book of Popish Church music : ii. 849.  
 Trindle or Trundle, anything round, a roll : v. 711.  
 Truss of the cord, an instrument of torture : iv. 369.  
 Try with, to encounter : ii. 437.  
 Tucker, a fuller of cloth : viii. 384.  
 Tumbrel, a punishment by carting or pillory : ii. 578.  
 Turn head to tail : viii. 333.  
 Twelve Peers of France, the : ii. 378, 446, 871, 877.  
 Twick (Saxon), to tweak, *i.e.* pinch : vii. 477.  
 "Tyranny of the bishop of Rome," &c. a clause in the Old English Litany : vi. 683, 692, 780 ; vii. 91, 94, 96, 107, 797.  
 Ugsome, ugly : i. 239 ; viii. 403.  
 Undernime, to instruct : ii. 358 ; iii. 294.  
 Unfoiled, undaunted, said of conscience : vi. 625.  
 Unguilty : ii. 348 ; iv. 488, 743.  
 Unio dissidentium : iv. 667, 748, 764 ; v. 186, 189, 216, 421, 449, Document No. VI.  
 University : ii. 395, 872.  
 Universities, universals : vii. 499.  
 Univocé, a logical term : i. 7 ; iii. 189.  
 Unkunning, folly : ii. 362.  
 Unneth, scarcely : i. 151 ; ii. 159, 801 ; iii. 319 ; iv. 330 ; v. 202 ; vii. 53, 269.  
 Unsemlie, unseemly : viii. 758.  
 Unto, until : vi. 121, 732.  
 Upon, about : v. 485 ; viii. 782.  
 Ὑπαπισταίης, lord lieutenant : i. 256.  
 Up-going, ascension : iii. 253.  
 Urceolum, a pitcher used by the acolyte : iii. 227.  
 Ure, use : iii. 238, 821 ; vi. 401 ; vii. 56, 421 ; viii. 289.  
 Usher : see "Ostiarius."  
 Utas Ulaves or Octaves, the eighth day or a week after : ii. 785 ; iii. 38.  
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 Vail, to put off : iii. 335 ; viii. 570. See "Cap."  
 Vails, profits : ii. 441.  
 Vaivode of Transylvania, the ruling prince : iii. 762, 859 ; iv. 53.  
 Vaumure, an outwork : iii. 550.  
 Vengeable, revengeful : iv. 660 ; with a vengeance, vehemently : v. 142 ; vi. 602, 739.  
 Venter non habet aures : ii. 369.  
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 Viage, an expedition : ii. 571, 672 ; iii. 405 ; iv. 45, 51, 112 ; v. 563 ; viii. 384.  
 Vice in a play, the : vi. 691, 781 ; vii. 544.  
 Vidame : viii. 749.  
 Vie crowns, to drop : viii. 615, 794.  
 Viginii, Foxe's error in translating the prefix "de" as if it were "et : " iii. 670, 765, 855, 860 ; iv. 354, 731.  
 Vinow, to grow musty : viii. 499.  
 Viragin : viii. 674.  
 Virgins, eleven thousand : i. 312, 406, 407.  
 Virtue of necessity, to make a : iii. 620, 851.  
 Waff, waffie : viii. 793.  
 Waft or waffet, to hover : viii. 614, 793.  
 Wainable, tillable land : vii. 401.  
 Wait, watch : v. 70.  
 Waits, the : v. 102.  
 Waith : viii. 793.  
 Waldensis, Durand of Osca : ii. 353.  
 Walish leper, a Welsh leaper : ii. 744.  
 Walsingham, our lady of : iv. 756 ; v. 33, 405, 804.  
 Walsingham way : v. 804.  
 Wanhope, a forlorn hope : v. 430, 830 ; viii. 59.  
 Wanyand or Wany (edit. 1596), with a : v. 291, 819.  
 Waster, a cudgel : vi. 699, 781.  
 Watchet, pale blue : viii. 397, 778.  
 Weed, a garment : i. 217.  
 Weele, a twig snare for fish : v. 231, 725.  
 Weld or Weold, a forest : iii. 341.  
 Welmost, almost : viii. 167.  
 Wem, a blemish in cloth : v. 177.  
 Weten, know : ii. 736 ; vi. 484.  
 Where-against : vii. 49.  
 Wherethrough, whereby : ii. 357 ; vi. 552.  
 Whetstone, to lie for the : ii. 40, 816 ; iii. 359 ; v. 682.  
 While, until : iii. 751, 859 ; vii. 386, 393 *bis*, 740, 766 ; viii. 381.  
 Whister, to whisper : vii. 628, 783 ; viii. 170, 765.  
 White son, immaculate : v. 600 ; vii. 343.  
 Whittle, to elevate : viii. 296, 771.  
 Wild, weald : iii. 341 ; viii. 305, 772.  
 Wilfully, willingly : iii. 258, 261, 279, 861 ; vi. 15.  
 Willingly, wilfully : v. 747.  
 Wily-beguile : see "Play."  
 Winfarthing, the good sword of : iv. 756.  
 Windlass, a circuit or compass : viii. 285.  
 Wist, the band of a casket : viii. 322.  
 Within forth, inwardly : vii. 744.  
 Within them, *chez lui* : viii. 220, 766.  
 Without forth, outwardly : iii. 305.  
 Without, unless : vi. 570 ; vii. 123.  
 Withsay, to gainsay : v. 68.  
 Wits, the five, bodily and ghostly : iv. 238, 773.  
 Wood-setter : viii. 731, 781, 803.  
 Wood, mad : iv. 17, 712, 739.  
 Woodcocks, simpletons : v. 765.  
 Woodness, madness : ii. 92 ; iii. 130 ; iv. 593, 750 ; v. 633, 634.  
 Woolward, to go woolward, to wear linsey-woolsey, or coarse woollen cloth, in contradistinction to soft raiment, a common and ancient penance : ii. 253, 254, 827, 855 ; v. 654 *bis*, 841 ; vii. 477 ; exemplified in the emperor Henry IV. : ii. 124.  
 Worse : see "Ever."  
 Worship, to honour : iii. 265, 825.  
 Worth, to take in worth. See "Take."  
 Worthies, the Nine : vi. 557, 758.



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Wrate wrote : viii. 204, 294, 296, 717, 765.  
 Wreak their time : viii. 326. See "Teen."  
 Ye a do? : vii. 663 *bis*. See "No do?"  
 Ye ar minds : iii. 183.

Yeld Hall, the Guild Hall : iv. 653, note (1).  
 Yeoman of the buttery : vi. 248.  
 Yersaid, beforesaid : iii. 113.

Zaduke, Seljuk : iv. 118.

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Achon, Aix-la-Chapelle : v. 124, 813.  
 Adisbene, Diarb-k : i. 283.  
 Agaurun, St. Mauritz in Switzerland : i. 234.  
 Alba Græca, Belgrade : iii. 764, 765, 860; *Alba Julia* or *Regalis*, Stuhl-Weissenburg, iii. 688, 764, 860; iv. 72, 81, 93, 715.  
 Ambrii, Salisbury : i. 321.  
 Anthony's school, St. : v. 803.  
 Aquisgrane, Aix la Chapelle.  
 Armorica, Bretagne : i. 321.  
 Asse, St., St. Asaph : iv. 632, 756; v. 51, 806.

Barrois, Bergen-op-Zoom : v. 123, 812.  
 Berghen, Mons, the capital of Hainault : iv. 290.  
 Boardo, a prison at Oxford : vi. 534, 767.  
 Boisars, Burntwood or Brentwood : ii. 399, 873.  
 Botolph's, St., Boston : i. 381.  
 Bristowe, Brixton : viii. 638.  
 Buckingham College, Magdalen College, Cambridge : viii. 4.  
 Burnt Tower John of the, Johannes de Turrecremata or Torquemado : vii. 497.  
 Byrling, in Kent, a seat of Lord Abergavenny's : v. 152, 850.

Cærlleon : i. 309, 338.  
 Calet, in the diocese of Canterbury : vii. 883.  
 Calipolensis Episcopus : iv. 188, 724; vii. 769.  
 Candidalia or Candida Casa, Whitehorn, a see in Galloway : v. 607.  
 Centum Cellæ, Civita Vecchia : i. 183, 189.  
 Chester, Cærlleon : i. 338; ii. 5, 25, 27, 28, 37, 814, 816.  
 Chorasmians, the inhabitants of Chorassan : ii. 413, 448, 873, 877.  
 Cloveshoo : i. 365, 407.  
 Cornwall, Cornhill : viii. 384.

Dornick, Tournay : iv. 380.  
 Dutch, German : iv. 282, 284, 729, 739; vi. 592.

Ebrunensis Episcopus : iii. 607, 630, 850.  
 Elmes, Tyburn, ii. 907.  
 Estivelio, Stirling in Scotland : ii. 649, 667.  
 Ewerikeshire, Yorkshire : ii. 255.  
 Ewrigge, Eridre, a seat of Lord Abergavenny's, near Tunbridge Wells : v. 152, 850.

Flouctius, of Florence : iii. 105, 815; iv. 113, 715.

Gernemine, of Yarmouth : ii. 720.

Gracious Street, Grace Church Street : viii. 384.

Hennegow, Hainault : iv. 383, 735.

John's Town, St., Perth : v. 623, 624.

Legacester, Cærlleon : i. 338.  
 Luke, Liège : v. 132, 813; vii. 322, 794.

Machelen, Malines, ii. 672.  
 Mettelon, St. Mary's de, Whitechapel Church : iv. 182, 794.  
 Maubert, Place de, the Smithfield of Paris : v. 411, 826.  
 Monia, Isle of Man : ii. 60.  
 Montenfiasconem, Monte Fiascone : ii. 930.

Oc'todurum, Marigny in the Valais : i. 234.  
 Osney, St., St. Osyth's : iv. 583.  
 Osos, St., St. Osyth : iii. 348.  
 Othonia, Odensee in the Danish isle of Funen : vi. 707.  
 Overs, St. Marv. the Lady Chapel at St. Saviour's, Southwark : vi. 789.

Quærvivium, Carfax : vi. 574.  
 Quiterne, Whitehorn in Galloway : v. 607.

Reginoburgum, Ratisbon : ii. 683.  
 Replingdon, Repton : i. 357; ii. 19.  
 Rouses, St., St. Osyth's : viii. 396, 778, *Addenda*.  
 Ryselles, Lille in Flanders : v. 132, 813.

Siis, St. : See "Osiiis."  
 Sinderovia or Striegau, Sendrew or Semendria or Zenderin, in Servia : iv. 32.  
 Size Lane, St. Osyth's Lane : iii. 829.  
 Streaneshalch, Whitby : i. 350, 381.  
 Swanawic, Swanage : ii. 22, 813.

Thomas of Acres, St., Mercers' Chapel : vii. 351; viii. 517, 519.  
 Tooley Street : viii. *Addenda*.  
 Towsys, St., St. Osyth's : viii. *Addenda*.

Urbs legionum, Cærlleon : i. 309, 338.

Verle Place : iv. 384, 735.  
 Vies, Devizes : ii. 184, 838; viii. 103.

Waynesworth, Wandsworth : viii. 698.  
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
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